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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

TENTH SESSION

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY

AND

BOMBAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BOMBAY

1947

ALLAHABAD

The General Secretary, Indian History Congress

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PREFACE

The publication of the Proceedings Volume of the Bombay session has been unusually delayed in spite of repeated reminders to the Press. The work could not be completed before the Delhi Session. There may have been errors of printing. The Volume of work has increased to such a large extent that it is impossible to tackle it without a properly paid whole time office staff. Paucity of funds has been responsible for the curtailment of the size of the Volume. Members will very kindly pardon the omissions. We are grateful to the Reception Committee of the Bombay session for promising a munificent grant towards the publication of the Proceedings Volume.

May 4, 1949.

O. P. BHATNAGAR,
Joint Secretary.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE M. C. CHAGLA

Chief Justice of Bombay and Chairman of the Reception Committee

It is a very great honour as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian History Congress to welcome the distinguished delegates who have foregathered here. I see before me noted academicians, scholars and men of letters. When I was invited to be the Chairman, I happened to be the Vice-Chancellor of our University and holding that high office, I perhaps had some right to occupy the position that I am occupying. When I ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor, I felt considerable qualms of conscience as to whether I was qualified to offer you welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee. But I sincerely hope in passing a severe historical judgment on me, you will remember that I was a student of history at Oxford in no less a company than that of the President of the Congress, Mr. Habib, whom I am very happy indeed to meet after a long interval of time and to welcome to our city.

The object and purpose of this Congress is not merely to read learned papers on various historical subjects. It has a much more imposing and worthwhile task before it and that is to prepare a standard history of India.

The first problem for a historian is to decide whether history has "a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern". Fisher in his *History of Europe* sadly confesses that the intellectual excitement of discerning those harmonies in history were denied to him. He points out that the only safe rule for the historian was that he should recognise in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen. One is reminded of Hardy's lines in the *Dynasts*:

> ".....Like a knitter drowsed,
> Whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness,
> The Will has woven with an absent heed
> Since life first was ; and ever will so weave."

But it is impossible to assert that history does not record any progress. The progress may not be continuous.

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There may be ups and downs. There may be times when mankind has lapsed into barbarism and has shown a capacity for brutality and cruelty which makes one despair of the future of the world. But with all that, slowly and imperceptibly men and ideas have advanced. On the whole there is more liberty, more tolerance, a greater sense of social justice to-day than there was in the ages past.

But what is the pattern that the historian must try and discover in the history of India? Should the history of India be a history of liberty, a history depicting how men fought against power and tyranny, against invasions and against the might of strong European nations so that men should live in a free society? I am afraid our history will not lend itself to that treatment. Liberty is a rare, exotic plant which has been recently nurtured in our Indian soil. It is just shooting up and we are watching its growth and development with anxious care and unfaltering vigilance.

Indian history has often been depicted as a history of action, rise and fall of dynasties, the clash of arms, invasions through the passes of the north-west. This is what the historians have thought has been the sum and substance of Indian history. But the people of the country carried on with their tasks, thought their own thoughts and dreamt their own dreams untouched and unaffected by royal splendour or the panoply of power.

The true history is really a history of ideas which have influenced not only the people of the country but whose influence has spread far beyond the frontiers of India. But on the whole these ideas have not been political in character. They have not been concerned with this world or the affairs of this world. Our seers and our philosophers have been more concerned with the other world. Being absorbed in the question of the salvation of the soul, they refused mere mundane considerations to weigh with them and took no part in the so-called history that was being enacted round them. Therefore, down the ages we have built up a great spiritual legacy. No historian can afford to ignore it. It has to be appreciated and fitted in into the texture of history which records the march of events and the political transformations of the country. It is often apt to be forgotten that thoughts and ideas have played a much bigger part in the shaping of a country's destinies than wars and invasions.

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The idea of nationality has considerably influenced modern Indian history. It is a modern concept even in the evolution of European thought and on the whole its effect has been far from happy or fortunate. The idea of nationality has led to nationalism and it has produced exclusiveness and an aggressive outlook. Nationalism can be territorial, giving rise to patriotism which idealises the country irrespective of the divisions and differences between the people who reside in it. American nationalism for instance is the most outstanding instance of territorial nationalism. Men of different European nations and even some of non-European nations enter America. They pass as it were through a crucible and they emerge as American citizens. They may speak their own language, they may have their own customs, they may follow different religions, but they glory in the achievements of God's own country. Nationalism may be racial and may pierce the boundaries of the state. The last war gave us the instance of German nationalism which was not confined to Germany but became racial in its character seeking to engulf Germans residing outside the state. It may be ideological as is now being demonstrated by Russia which proudly proclaims that the ideas for which she stands know no national frontiers, and finally we have the brand of nationalism which is purely religious and communal in its character. The best or the worst example —and that depends upon how you look upon it—is what we have been witnessing in India in recent times.

Originally nationalism in India was territorial. It was intended to be a spurt to freedom and it was a weapon of offence against the foreigner with a view to attaining political liberty. But the foreigner realised the danger and erected barriers against man and man in this country. The impending transfer of power made people greedy and power-conscious and nationalism took a communal turn. Instead of having political majorities and minorities which would be fluid and change from time to time, we erected permanent majorities and minorities and shut them up in communal watertight compartments. We forgot that democracy could only be based on common citizenship and instead of emphasising our oneness we began to exaggerate our divisions and differences. This fantastic and unreal nationalism reached its culminating point in the two-nation theory with all the terrible and bloody consequences which we have been witnessing. When the transfer of power did come, the heir to British rule was not a united

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India but a divided and truncated country. I venture to say that all that has been happening in the recent past is a foreign trend which does not fit in with the pattern of our history.

That brings me to what I think is the true pattern of our history. Our history, truly visualised, has been a history of unity. Nowhere else in the world has there been such a synthesis of different religions, cultures and ideas as in this country of ours. In varied and manifold diversity there has run like a golden thread the oneness of India. Invaders have come and India has absorbed them. New civilisations have come triumphant and after the passage of time they have taken on an Indian pattern. Our greatest thinkers and our greatest statesmen have thought and dreamt about the unity of India and if historians must find a rhythm in our history that is the rhythm to which historical events have marched.

It is difficult to speak to a body of experts as to the method that should be adopted for the writing of the history of India. There is the old question which has to be answered. Is history an art or a science, or is it something of both, and on the answer to these questions would largely depend the solution of the problem. History cannot be a mere recording and narration of facts. It must be an interpretation of the past in order to serve as a guidance for the future. It may be that the research of the past has its own importance and carries its own reward from the scientific point of view. But no historian who is worthy of his high calling can help casting a peep into the future. A historian then to my mind must both look to the past and to the future. The interpretation of the past must not be a biased one. The famous answer given by Ranke to the divine who also had written on the Reformation and congratulated Ranke as a comrade, should always be remembered. "You are in the first place a Christian. I am in the first place a historian. There is a gulf between us."

I have been re-reading the inaugural address that Lord Acton delivered to the University of Cambridge in 1895 and I have been profoundly impressed by the realisation of how true are his judgments on history. There is a great necessity in our country which has recently won her freedom to guard against the corrupting influence of power and there is nothing which can act as a greater or better safeguard than a study of history. Acton quotes

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the famous sentence of Sir John Seeley: "Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history" and he himself observes, "for the science of politics is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history like grains of gold in the sand of a river; and the knowledge of the past, the record of truths revealed by experience, is eminently practical, as an instrument of action and a power that goes to the making of the future." There are certain values and standards which history has rescued from the limbo of the past. These are everlasting and afford a touchstone by which we can judge men and events. History also is a compilation of the traditions of the past and is a pointer to the heritage which we living in modern times have inherited. A country without standards and without traditions is like a ship without a rudder sailing in stormy seas. The duty of the historian is to supply the rudder to the statesman so that he should know the direction he is taking, what are the dangers ahead and how far the course he has decided upon is in keeping with the traditions of his country. Every politician and every statesman must always bear in mind that the final tribunal where his actions will be judged is the tribunal of history and I can do no better than to end this short address of mine by repeating this exhortation of Lord Acton to historians "to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong."

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THE INAUGURAL SPEECH

BY

HON'BLE MR. B. G. KHER

(Tenth Session of the Indian History Congress)

I do not think that at the present time in India there can be any more wholesome study than that of history, nor any more necessary development than the growth of the historical sense. The tendency of modern politics and modern journalism is all in the direction of short views and sensationalism. The tongue and the pen are often used to attract attention, excite feeling, and to gain the victory of the moment at the expense of reason, proportion and truth. Scientific and impartial history must confine itself to facts, to causes and effects. The historian must be impartial not only, as the Chairman has said, between Europeans and Indians, but between Indian and Indian. To achieve impartiality he must rid himself of preconceived notions, whether they are based on prejudice, philosophy or religion. It is easy to pick out events which confirm a certain theory of life, but the historian must start from no such theories. He must not take for granted that there was a golden age in the past from which we have fallen, nor that we are working up towards a golden future. He must not accept blindly the divine right or inevitability of any institution or custom, nor the sanctity of theories of the rights of man. Nor must he judge actions and events in the terms of morals or ethics. The work of the historian is merely to calculate the results of event upon event and action upon action.

I believe this expresses the work of the historian very beautifully. As has been said: "Truthful reconstruction of past states of society that have been long forgotten and misunderstood must be recovered by the patient work of historians, and that the task of history is to reveal the past as it was for its own sake, and to explain the evolution of the present state of things from the past." You will agree with me that in India there is a great dearth of historical records and material which would enable us to reconstruct the past. The late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar attributed this to two reasons. He said that, in the day of the ancient Hindus, who developed almost other sciences,

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the department of history was sadly neglected and he contrasted this with the state of affairs in Rome and Greece which could provide a good deal of reliable material for writing a scientific history of those countries. The first reason for this absence of historical record in India according to him is that it is only when wars or revolutions etc. take place people like to write about them and to preserve the record. Having impenetrable boundaries all round Indians of those days had a fairly peaceful and quiet life and left no authentic records from which history could be written. His second reason is that being by nature more interested in the next world than in this, in the well-being of their soul more than the body, in spiritual realisation than in material, they did not think it worthwhile to write about these evanescent passing events, but wrote more readily about Brahma and Maya. Be this as it may, it is absolutely necessary now for us not to repeat the mistakes of the past and to write history in order to reconstruct the past as far back as possible and as accurately as possible.

We are all painfully conscious of the old tendency on the part of certain foreign writers on Indian History to exhibit us to the world at large as ignorant, degraded and dishonest and to magnify our faults and to gloss over our virtues. Our Indian historians know that they have an opportunity to re-write the history of their country in an atmosphere of complete political freedom, should not go into the other extreme and begin to whitewash all our blemishes, for that would be, indeed, a picture without shadows. It will be as unreal as the former picture was untrue. The need for a balanced outlook on the part of our historians was never greater than it is today. They should not lose sight of the abiding human values, for, in the eyes of the world today and in generations to come, they and their work will rise or fall in accordance with the measure of success that they achieve in sticking to the principles of truth and of the right and rational interpretation of facts.

I understand that the Indian History Congress has undertaken the onerous task of producing a monumental work in several volumes on the history of India. I wish you the greatest success in this venture, and I have not the least doubt in my mind that our scholars will eschew all parochial, communal and even national bias in the writing of history. History based on preconceived notions degenerates into propaganda. A heavy responsibility,

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therefore, rests on the historians and teachers of history in India. They must not stray from the right path. Wars are often created in the minds of men by the teaching of history on partisan lines. If the future peace of human race is to be assured, history will have to be written and taught in a different manner.

In the year 1938, the Indian History Congress passed a resolution to the effect that 'well-equipped record offices should be established by all the Provincial Governments and Indian States at an early date in order to facilitate historical research. The Congress considered it essential that adequate facilities should be afforded to 'bona fide' scholars of history in such offices.' I wish to tell you that Government of Bombay has resolved to implement this resolution and is doing its best to give effect to it. We have in Bombay considerable historical material and a number of associations devoted to historical research. You are all familiar with the work done by Mr. Sardesai and Mr. Potdar and we can never forget the debt that we owe to men like Sane, Vasudevshastri Khare, Rajwade and Parasnis. We have the Peshwas Daphtar and the historical museum and our own records in Bombay where huge wealth of valuable historical material still remains to be made use of. It must be all brought to light. It is necessary to have a trained expert archivist. The work on manuscript records requires long and laborious training, and there are very few experts trained in these methods. I have every hope that the establishment of three new Universities, namely, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnatak will give a great impetus to the study of history and to historical research. We are still so unmindful of the relics of our past of which we have every reason to be proud. You have had distinguished historians to guide your labours in the past and your patient labours for over 12 years are now bearing fruit. I have great pleasure in welcoming your President and other eminent historians back to our province. I do not happen to be a historian myself, but that only enhances my respect for you. I bid you welcome and have great pleasure in inaugurating your conference."

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

MOHAMMAD HABIB

Professor of History, Aligarh

In this solemn and sacred hour, when our organisation is meeting for the first time under the flag of a free and independent India, it is our privilege and duty on behalf of ourselves and of students of Indian history in generations yet to come to pay our humble tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian National Congress for their world-historic achievement. This is not a question on which the opinion of well-informed contemporaries can be overthrown by the researches of posterity. At a time when, in an atmosphere of inexpressible gloom, our country was lying helpless under the heel of the foreigner, without self-respect, without vision and without hope, it pleased the Lord to send to us the greatest Indian teacher of all times; and under his divinely inspired guidance we have, after a bloodless struggle of thirty years, liquidated peacefully and by mutual agreement one of the most powerful empires the world has seen. Neither the foreign ruler nor his Indian underling has suffered anything in the process; the wounds and the sufferings have been entirely ours, and ours also the glory of the moral endeavour and accomplishment. No Revolution so pacific and so momentous is found in the history of any land.

But this great achievement, unfortunately, has been accompanied by a great failure and tarnished by a greater disgrace. Soon after the Mutiny, the British Army Commission evolved the formula of "counterpoise of natives against natives"; and this formula was taken up by the civil administration and applied to every sphere, including the subsidisation of pseudo-religious movements, whose main purpose was the creation of friction and bitterness. With the institution of communal electorates, a hideous arrangement which no western democracy would have tolerated for a moment, a political platform was prepared for the perpetuation of communal conflicts. Normally the representatives of a people are by their very position driven to seek the interests of the people as a whole, and the reconciliation of conflicting interests is one of their

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primary duties. But the artificial arrangement of communal electorates provided that a representative would be primarily judged not by what he did for the country or even for his community, but by what he did against the rest. The differences of religion, inevitable in a large country like ours, were thus fused into two opposite political groups, and their increasing hostility was inevitable as with each succeeding election, and an expanding body of voters, all representatives were required to appeal exclusively to masses of their own denomination. It was obviously calculated that in this struggle the minority would lean more and more on the foreign power, and try to prove worthy of its support by sabotaging the national movement. So, finally, both east and west of our constitutional, secular and democratic Republic, they have created the Dominion of Pakistan under the pretence that it is a 'Muslim State'. Of the horrors with which this Partition has been accompanied—of the six million people or more uprooted from the homes of their ancestors, of corpses that no one has been able to count, and of crimes seen and credibly reported—this is not the place to speak. But no amount of provocation by the guilty can justify retaliation against those who are perfectly innocent. Mussalmans, Sikhs and Hindus have proved themselves almost equally guilty; and this mark of disgrace on the forehead of our generation will be remembered for years to come. As a result of this hideous criminality, the like of which is not to be found in the whole history of our ancient land, no Hindu minority worth mentioning has been left in West Punjab and the Frontier Province; and as an inevitable consequence, which everyone with common sense could have foreseen, the Muslim minorities have been driven out of East Punjab and the adjoining Indian States. At the moment it seems that the blame for the destruction of the Hindu minority in West Punjab and the Frontier rests entirely on the League leaders in Pakistan, while responsibility for the destruction of the Muslim minority, as a retaliatory measure, rests on the Hindu and Sikh leaders of the area concerned. But it is evident to the discerning even now, and will be accepted as an incontrovertible fact in course of time, that another agency has been at work and is responsible for the situation that has inevitably led to this holocaust. Alone among the political groups of this country, the Congress High Command has retained its sanity and balance and has adhered, in spite of increasing difficulties, to its

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conception of a democratic and secular state, which derives its strength from the age-old moral and spiritual traditions of our people. Judging from what it has accomplished, the Nehru Cabinet gives us a fine vision of the future National Governments of India.

It is absolutely unnecessary to state that, so far as the historian of India is concerned, the country has always been one and indivisible, and will always continue to be so. The unity of India is one of the fundamental postulates of Indian moral consciousness, and the longing for a centralised administration has been one of the most visible and persistent demands of the political spirit of the Indians throughout the ages. All the greatest achievements of our past have somehow gone with the establishment of a central administration at Pataliputra, Kannauj, Ujjain or Delhi. The breaking up of India into two separate States, or law making organisations with exclusive citizenship, which creates a spirit of hostility, and in any case of independence and separateness, not only between the governments but also between the people, and the establishment of one of these States on a purely religious and communal basis—this sort of monstrosity has never been known to the history of our land. The public opinion of the Indian Union persistently demands a re-unification of the country. I will humbly put it to our rulers here that they are not only responsible to their electorate and their party-organisation but also to history—to the generations that have gone and the generations that are yet to come. National freedom without national unity loses three-fourths of its value, and the reunion of India should be one of our primary aims. But if the universal verdict of history is of any value, this reunion should be brought about by peaceful methods. Force in modern times creates more problems than it solves, and the alternative to peace is death. No intelligent Indian should talk of civil war. Our demand for unity is based on the fact that, in spite of the present political arrangements, the conception of a common citizenship continues on both sides of the present artificial frontier. Given wise, statesman-like and patient guidance—even on one side—this conception will in due course re-assert itself in the political institutions of our people.

II

Current political problems do not come within the scope of our Congress, but the study of Indian civilisation

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in all its aspects is our primary aim. It is also (as Carlyle puts it) the duty of the historian "to tell what o'clock it is in the history of mankind."

On the fundamental unity of our country—the sacred land where the black gazelles graze and the *munja* grass grows and the *pan*-leaf is eaten, and where the material and the spiritual are organically interwoven—there has been no difference between the Indian intelligentsia at any time. But the character of that unity has differed from age to age, and I will content myself with examining one aspect of it, which in some respects is of supreme importance.

Of the founders of Indian unity and Indian civilisation during the Indus Valley period and the centuries preceding it, no memory remains either in legend or song. But it is possible to define the character of the civilisation of the Hindus or the Indians (both these words are derived from our frontier river, the Indus) as a unified growth within the historic memory of our people. Its basis is *Dharma*, the universal law of morality which must always regulate the relation of man and man. Hinduism has no known founder, no dogma or exclusive standpoint and, interpreted in its largest sense, it has no scriptural texts in which all are required to believe. The Khwarazmian scholar, Abu Raihan Alberuni, in trying to discover a universal principle in the religion of the Indians in the early eleventh century, thought he found it, first, in the doctrine of metempsychosis, and, secondly, in the belief in the one and unseen God; the Hindu intelligentsia, he tells us, "would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent Him. But philosophical atheism has been freely" tolerated in our land and belief in metempsychosis has not been so universal as Alberuni supposed. Still, the first foreign scholar, who made a critical study of Indian 'culture-groups,' could not fail to note that supreme principle of Indian civilisation—the principle of toleration—without which the co-existence of the 'culture-groups' would not have been possible. But he underrated its importance. "On the whole," he says, "there is very little disputing about theological topics among themselves; at the most they will fight about words, but they will never stake their souls or their bodies or their property on religious controversy." It was not to be expected that in a country so large all people would develop the same world-philosophy of agree on a uniform mode of living.

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So almost from the beginning of our recorded history every Indian, who had the capacity to do so, has been free to organise any sort of sect, philosophical school, religious order or *sangha*. The process, as we all know, still continues. There was, if anything, too much of freedom and even criminal practices were tolerated where outsiders were not concerned. These culture-groups were by their nature expansive and lived by proselytisation. One and all they tried to get an all-India status, for without such a status their footing could never be secure. And in the course of their organisational work, they inevitably drew closer the bonds between the various parts of the country. All that is great in the history of the Hindu period is due to the achievements of the culture-groups. The free development of these culture-groups was only possible on the basis of tolerance; religious persecution is totally alien to the spirit of our land. But it followed as a necessary corollary that every Indian had to be a member of some culture-group. The man with no culture-group to protect him and to guarantee his behaviour was a complete outlaw.

The advent of Islam made no essential difference in the general character of our country. But in order to lift the curtain that, for political purposes, has been laid over the history of our middle ages. I feel bound to make a few explanatory remarks. There is no term in classical Arabic or Persian that can express the conceptions of 'sovereignty' and 'state', which Europe evolved in the sixteenth century. The conceptions themselves are absent. The term "Allah and His Prophet" are used by the Quran; but all educated Muslims have during the last thirteen centuries agreed with Imam Abu Hanifa that there could be no question of continuing the government of "Allah and His Prophet" after the death of Hazrat Ali. All Muslim governments, thereafter, have been secular organisations, combinations of politicians for their political objectives, bourgeoisie affairs. Neither in India nor elsewhere did medieval Islam ever postulate a "Muslim state" as distinct from a government by Muslim officers—apart perhaps from a sort of spirit-consoling dream that the government of "Allah and His Prophet" would be possible once more when Jesus Christ arises or Imam Mahdi returns. Concerning existing governments, and their possible alternatives, Muslim religious consciousness of the higher type has always adhered to the traditions of Imam Hambal and Imam Abu Hanifa and regarded them as sinful organisation

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whose service is forbidden to the true seekers after Allah. In the religious literature of the Indian Muslims, there is no idolisation of the great rulers of Delhi and, so far as possible, even reference to contemporary rulers is avoided.

The overwhelming mass of the Muslims of this land have an undoubted Indian paternity. It is true that there are innumerable Muslim families in India who claim a foreign origin, but this affiliation is purely fictitious. Owing to the Suljuq, Ghazz and Mongol invasions of Central Asia and Afghanistan, such Turkish fugitives as could do so migrated to our country in distress during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. It is these fugitives, and not the so-called 'invaders', who have given us the only block of immigrants worth mentioning in the history of the middle ages. But their identity has been completely lost, and no one meets Central Asian Turkish families in India today. As to the Indian Muslim 'foreigners' of the last four or five centuries, the general practice has been that a Rajput converted to Islam is called a 'Pathan', while a converted working man and peasant is pushed still higher and becomes an Arab of the Koraish tribe. Most converts to the new faith belonged either to the lower peasantry of the countryside or to the working classes of the cities, and mostly to the latter. There is a complete historical justification for the claim of the 'Koraish' and 'Ansar' political organisations that between themselves they represent 80% of the Musalmans of India. Their proportion is in all probability higher still. The Muslim culture-group or *millat* has always been what it is today—a body belonging primarily to the indigenous working class and the *petit bourgeoisie*. This is also the primary reason for its survival, in spite of the complete disappearance of the Turkish governing class.

In days when we were suffering from an inferiority complex owing to the brutal fact of a foreign government, which seemed unshakable, we made the best we could of our medieval Rajput Rajas and Turkish Sultans. That attitude is no longer necessary; and the plain truth has to be told that all our medieval governments were intensely exclusive aristocratic organisations. Some of them worked for the public good; others most certainly did not. But one and all they were confined to the cream of the aristocracy--Rajputs among the Hindus, Turkish and Afghan bureaucrats and nobles among the Muslims. War and politics were games which only the well-born were allowed

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to play. The governments were in no sense governments of the people. An analysis of the officers of the Moghul and the pre-Moghul governments of Delhi will reveal the plain and sad fact that Muslims of Indian birth were rigidly excluded from the higher military and civil offices of the state. An Indian Muslim had as little chances of becoming war-lord of the Empire of Delhi as a Hindu *Sudra* had of ascending a Rajasthan throne. The so-called Muslim period of Indian history is really the Turkish period with two Afghan interludes in between. It seems ironical giving the name of Muslim period to a time when the Mussalmans of India, by the unfortunate fact of their birth, were excluded from all high offices. The position of the Indian Mussalmans in the middle ages was, if a very rough simile be allowed, not unlike that of the Indian Christians during the British period. The democratic spirit of Islam and its principle of equality has been a powerful social influence among the indigenous Muslims, but it would be vain to regard our medieval period as an expression of Islamic democracy or Islamic equality. Neither of the two great Empires of the middle ages gave to the Indian Muslims the representation they have got in the present Congress regime.

To sum up : Government during the Hindu period had been a function of the aristocracy, never of the culture-groups or their leaders. The same principle of political organisation continued during the Turkish period with a change in the personnel of the governors.

Two reforms in this time-honoured system, which was becoming unworkable, were attempted by Akbar the Great. First, he combined the Turkish and Rajput nobility into the bureaucracy of the Moghul Empire with remarkable success. Secondly, in consonance with his policy of *sulh-i-kul* (universal peace), he made a vigorous attempt to harmonise all Indian culture-groups. In the semi-religious and non-religious spheres, like architecture, painting and music, his success was significant. But in the purely religious sphere he failed completely. We need not be surprised at the fact that the greatest of our medieval rulers failed in achieving what Indian public opinion alone can accomplish.

The English government succeeded against its European rivals because, among other things, it was out to establish not the dominance of a Christian culture-group but merely of an English governing class with the

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help of existing Indian vested interests, and of interests specially created to support the foreign power. So on the one hand, it subsidised a conflict of culture-groups and established for itself the prestige of being the sole possible arbiter between them. On the other hand, it felt that as a governing authority it would not be able to function successfully unless it deprived the culture-groups of a large sphere of their power. It is to this fact that we owe the establishment of the modern judiciary and the promulgation of the Anglo-Indian codes. But even here it had a historical precedent to follow. Criminal law even in ancient times had been a function of government. The Moghul Empire had developed its own system of criminal law, independent of the *shariat* and the *shastras*, along with principles of adjudication where litigants of two different culture-groups were concerned.

The problem must not now be viewed in its medieval setting. The situation has completely changed. While on the one hand, Akbar and all previous rulers could only give us an all-India or imperial government, the national movement has given us a sovereign or law-making State. On the other hand, the culture-groups have also completely altered their basic character along with their aims and objects during two centuries of British rule. The old culture-group provided for its members the road to salvation. Incidentally it also promised a 'culture-group paradise' and denied that paradise to all other culture-groups. But since their points of differences could only be settled in the other world, there was no difficulty in working on the principle of religious toleration here below. The modern culture-groups have completely shifted their ground; they have become "communities" seeking their material interests at the expense of other communities and the general body. There is little or no theological conflict in the land worth mentioning; only the material interests of the old historic groups are involved. And since material interests, unlike spiritual values, are believed to be hostile, so that one group can have nothing except at the expense of another, the conflict has become increasingly bitter. The only relation between the modern community and the old culture-group is the fact of physical descent and such historic continuity as physical descent involves. The spiritual values so dear to the culture-groups of the past have almost completely vanished; simultaneously what was best in the moral and spiritual acquisitions of the old culture-groups has become the inheritance of all Indians.

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The tragedy of it from the view-point of the Indian nationalist lies in the fact that while the historic culture-groups are more and more inclined materialism and, I feel sorry to add, even to gangsterism, the hold of the 'community' over the individual is as complete today as it was in the middle ages. It is impossible even now to be an Indian without being member of an Indian community. There is, I believe, at present no graveyard in the land to which an Indian could lay claim merely on the basis of his Indian citizenship, and admission to every one of them lies through some community-rite. Apart from the meagre and insufficient provisions of the Act of 1873, the Indian citizen has neither a law of marriage nor a law of inheritance. Social conventions and social prejudices, stronger than they have ever been in the past, strengthen the slavery of the individual. He is completely at the mercy of the community and its leaders in every sphere, including even the sacred sphere of his personal and domestic life.

This, I believe, is the real challenge of the hour. The old culture-groups have (as already remarked) no longer any specific spiritual concepts nor any particular modes of life, except such as have survived through dead habit. It has been generally accepted in India since Akbar's time that there is little or no difference between the fundamental principles of religions, and our communal leaders do not raise the religious issue. The struggle is entirely between the self-seeking communities, descended from the old culture-groups, and the national welfare as represented by the State. The present-day 'communalist' is a creature of tradition, a tradition so vitiated as to be next door to barbarism. The future 'citizen' will be a creation of laws consciously planned for the public good. The fundamental task of the Indian State, therefore, is to create 'a National Culture-group' or 'a National Community', which may inherit all that is best in the culture-groups of old, and set us free from the vicious interests, which are seeking to dominate over lives. The process requires a thorough uprooting of old and proved evils and a careful co-ordination of elements of proved value. Differences of religion there are and will be; in this there is no harm. But unless the Revolution succeeds in creating one State, one Law and one National Community for the whole land, we will be faced with a period of anarchy such as India has never witnessed in the course of her long and much-troubled past.

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III

The history of the British period can now be written, and it is to be hoped that it will be written without enmity or resentment—that all defects of Indian character and Indian institutions, which made the foreign rule possible, will be frankly confessed and every element of value that we have received from the Britisher will be gratefully recognised. The material for it in this country, though not complete, is both extensive and unexplored.

We have, further, to squarely face the fact that our historical vision will and must undergo a complete change with reference to all our past. History, of course, begins with fact-finding. But there are always gaps between facts, and these have to be filled up by some sort of hypothesis. History at its very foundation cannot, therefore, get rid of a certain pragmatic element. There is, on the other hand, the personal equation of the writer—the tendency, for example, of many historians like Froude, Emile Ludwig and Harold Lambe and, I add with considerable hesitation, a fairly large section of our own writers on ancient and medieval India, to live in a dream world of their own construction. The temptation of pandering to the fanaticism of our culture-group or community, I feel confident, most of us can resist. But we have to take care that the traditions of our culture-group do not subconsciously colour our vision. History, as a Persian writer has rightly remarked, is quickly exported from the academy to the *bazar* and "shopkeepers, who cannot distinguish white from black and black from white, confidently venture to pass judgments on historical matters." In the peculiar conditions of our country, when history as a subject of basic education will be taught to an increasing number of raw youths on a nation-wide scale, we cannot be too particular about the moral issues involved. The historian must speak the truth. On that question there can be no two opinions. But history is a normative science; the historian is not only concerned with facts but also with judgments; and this involves a conception of morality and justice. The Greek historians wrote to show the supremacy of the free-born Greeks over the barbarians, and the Romans to harp on the right of the aristocracy of their City to dominate the world. A very large number of English histories of the nineteenth century were written to serve the cause of British imperialism. The Indians also have to find some standard, subjective, as

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well as objective. If we are true to the teachings of our greatest thinkers from the composers of the Vedic hymns to Mahatma Gandhi, our moral standards will be universal and absolute. Every man and every movement must be judged by the highest standards of morality of which that age was capable. Humbly, but confidently, I feel that if we here could adopt for history the standards accepted by our ancestors for the highest interpretation of religion and ethics, it will be a refreshing and much-needed contribution to the historical vision of mankind. If on the other hand, we merely write to justify the exploitation of one group of Indians by another in our own country—or of man by man anywhere—our freedom has been won in vain.

It is to be hoped that the National Governments will be able to do something about a matter that has been distressing most of us—provision of the basic material of history. The National Archives is an excellent institution, but its scope is limited. The Archæological Department deserves the gratitude of all students of history, but its sphere of work has to be expanded. The basic material for the history of a country like ours would include everything from the stone-implements of the earliest man to the latest government records, and my humble suggestion is that we should have at Delhi a National Institute similar to the British Museum and Provincial Institutes at the provincial capitals. The material collected should not be confined to history only; everything that concerns Indian culture should be there. The unfortunate fact is that individual effort and enterprise can do very little in this sphere, and the development of sound Indian scholarship is conditioned by the state undertaking this necessary task. Without it we are helpless. All available material should be provided at one place or at a few easily accessible spots. My humble suggestion is that we should put our heads together and submit a complete and detailed plan for the consideration of our Governments.

The proper and necessary sphere of state-action is the provision of material, including all other steps that are necessary for its proper utilisation, such as the publication of photographic copies and of translation which private enterprise will not take up. But the state should not interfere in the question of interpretation. Organisations like ours are entitled to partial help from the state, but these grants should be unconditional. The writing of

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histories should not, as a rule, be directly subsidised by the state and the creation of monopolies in text-books is objectionable on many grounds. In those rare cases where a work of great historical merit, or of merely local value, cannot find a market, is publication should be left to state-aided and semi-official bodies. Under the old regime we wrote in a spirit of constraint; even when we wrote courageously, the fact of foreign domination deflected our minds in some direction or other. Our national leaders should now be willing to pass on to us a fraction of the freedom they have obtained. A state-dominated interpretation of history is one of the most effective means of sabotaging democracy. A free India implies a free history of India in which every point of view has a right to be heard. Free and untrammelled discussion will lead us to the truth; and there is no other way of teaching it.

The last consideration I wish to submit is necessary in view of the changing conditions of our country, and fear that it may raise controversies does not justify silence. Most writers of Indian history in the past, it has to be frankly confessed, have belonged to the "bourgeoisie culture group" and this fact has inevitably coloured their vision. Modern works on Indian history do not show any antipathy to the peasants and the working classes, but their attitude to the higher classes has been one of uncritical adulation. So apart from some specific phases—the constitution of the Hindu village organisation, for instance, or our medieval land-tenures—the life of the Indian working classes has received scant attention at our hands. The general tendency has been to turn away from the problem; the little good that has been done to them by our revenue administrations and royal and aristocratic charities has been boastfully recorded. The great misfortunes under which they have laboured throughout the centuries go completely unnoticed. I do not wish to postulate the theory of class-conflicts, nor am I unaware of how difficult the application of this theory becomes when, regardless of the fact that is based on the experience of Europe during the modern machine-age, it is applied to all countries and all times. That the lower classes have always been taxed heavily to maintain their superiors is undeniable; but considering that man over the larger part of the earth's surface—Australia, Africa south of the Sahara, Siberia and the two Americas—has been unable to make any progress in the course of history, it is difficult to decide whether, in the interest of humanity as a whole,

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aristocratic and bourgeoisie leadership has, or has not, deserved the price it has exacted. Still the fact remains that we are content, like our predecessors, to survey the Indian social landscape from the foot of the royal throne. The lot of the Indian worker and everything connected with it—his wages, the prices of commodities necessary for the maintenance of his family, the struggles of his life, his joys, his sufferings and his hopes—all these are a virgin field for the historical investigator. The material is not so plentiful as one could wish, but industrious investigation will enable us to get a fairly complete picture. The same applies to the culture of the working class groups; a few elements of it have worked their way into recognition, but most of them have only been noticed in order to be condemned. The free India of today demands an urgent rectification of this "oversight". We are at the threshold of the machine-age. Most of our future problems will be labour problems and problems of social reconstruction. It is not our duty to knock down old temples; every element of value in them must be preserved. But we have to build a new shrine. The tendency towards socialism will gain in weight and volume as with every succeeding year the working classes strive to come to their own. The historian must not fail to do his duty by India as, in the generations to come, she marches forward courageously and hopefully to prostrate herself with reverence and devotion at the mist-shrouded steps that lead to the shrine of her new-found, classless God.

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SECTION I

Ancient Period

(From the Earliest Times to 711 A.D.)

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

R. N. DANDEKAR

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

The Antecedents and the Early Beginnings of the Vedic Period

Colleagues and Friends :

My first word on this occasion is one of gratitude to the authorities of the Indian History Congress for having elected me the President of the Ancient Period Section of this their tenth Session. I am sure that, while doing me this honour, they must have been prompted by a desire to express their approbation of the great work being done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, with which I have the honour and privilege of having been closely associated for the last few years, rather than by any claims which my own work may have in itself. It is needless to add, therefore, that, in the proper execution of my duties as President, I entirely depend upon your good will for the Institute, a portion of which, I expect, you will kindly spare for me.

During the last year, death has snatched away from amongst us several distinguished colleagues. A couple of months before the last session of the Congress, Dr. Lakshman SARUP died at Lahore most unexpectedly. Those of us, who had met him at Nagpur, just a few days prior to his death, could not have even dreamt of the impending tragic event. Dr. SARUP'S work in the field of Vedic studies and other branches of Indology is too well-known to need mention. In the same month, namely, October 1946, also passed away two distinguished European scholars. Professor DODWELL was a Joint Editor of the famous *Cambridge History of India* and Professor Paul PELLIOT, who was, for some time, the President of the Asiatic Society of France, has distinguished himself in the field of language, history, and archæology of Central Asia. Sri Dharmananda KOSAMBI, who died in June 1947, besides being an internationally recognised authority on Pali and Buddhistic studies, has made some very original and thought-provoking contributions to the study of ancient history. By the

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death, in July 1947, of Professor Richard BURN, we have lost another scholar closely associated with the *Cambridge History of India*. For, BURN was mainly responsible for the second edition of that great work. Dr. Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY, who passed away in September of this year, was one of the most versatile scholars of the recent times. One really marvelled at his prolific writings on a wide variety of subjects, prominent among them being, of course, Indian Art, in its several aspects, and comparative religion and philosophy. Mm. Gourishankar OJHA was the grand old man of Indian History, and no serious student of Indian history can do without a careful study of his magisterial work on Indian palaeography. In him we have lost a universally recognised and respected authority on the history of Rajputana. Dr. N. K. BHATTASALI was an ardent student of Ancient Indian History, and his recent unexpected death has removed, from amongst us, a very capable Curator of historical museums, at a time when his services, in that capacity, would have proved of the utmost value. In grateful remembrance of their services to the cause of Indian History, I take this opportunity of paying my respectful homage to the memory of these *Savants*.

This is the tenth session of the Indian History Congress, and, as such, it will be regarded as a significant landmark in the history of historical studies in India. I, therefore, thought that this would be the most appropriate occasion to present before you, by way of a Presidential address, a comprehensive and systematic survey of all the important work done in the field of ancient period of Indian History, during the last decade. That would have helped us to realise where we now actually stand, and what still remains to be done. Accordingly I had actually started collecting material for such a survey—in fact, I have already prepared more than 500 index-cards—but I had to give up that idea very soon. The work done by scholars, during the last ten years, in connection with the History of India from the earliest times to 711 A. D., is indeed much too vast and much too valuable to be surveyed within the necessarily limited compass of a Presidential address. Strange as it may sound, my failure to accomplish what I had originally intended to accomplish was a matter of joy to me, and, I believe, it will be so also to you. For, does this vast and varied material of historical value, produced in recent years, not redound to the credit of Indian historians?

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I am at present working on the problem of the proper fixation of the Vedic period on the background of the history of India, as a whole,-which latter is now prolonged backwards even beyond the stone-age. On this occasion, therefore, I propose to place before you, for your consideration and criticism, some of my ideas relating to the history of the Vedic period. A considerable amount of work, of really sterling merit, has been done, in this field, by generations of scholars—Indian as well as foreign. I am, however, inclined to think that, generally speaking, the Vedic period has been studied, up till now, more or less as an isolated period. Efforts must now be made to fix up that period into the whole scheme of the history of India, which, in its turn, must be properly linked up with the history of the world. In other words, the many problems connected with the Vedic period must not be studied, each by itself, but, all together, correlating, at every stage, the results of our investigations in each case. To my mind, any attempt in the direction of reconstructing the history of the Vedic period, to the fullest possible extent and with the highest possible plausibility, must necessarily be governed by the consideration of the following five points :— (1) The relation of the Vedic Aryans with the other Aryan-speaking peoples of the world. As I shall presently endeavour to show, the Vedic period of Indian history began, in more senses than one, outside the geographical limits of India—that is to say, outside the geographical limits of the pre-15th of August India, most certainly of the post-15th of August India. (2) The relation of the Vedic Indians with the Harappa civilisation—more popularly known as the Indus Valley civilisation. This is indeed very important. For, our knowledge of the Vedic history and civilisation is based mainly on literary sources. That knowledge would gain greater historical validity, if it were possible to correlate it with the surer facts brought to light by archæological evidence, achieved during the last nearly thirty years. Thanks to the untiring labours of archæologists, the Harappa culture now no longer remains the 'abstraction' that it was. It is becoming possible to fill in some of the human details and materially vitalize what had hitherto been an 'abstraction'. (3) The course of the development of Vedic history and civilisation as seen from the Vedic literature itself. It will be easily realised that Vedic literature, from the *Rgveda-Samhita* down to the various Vedic *sutras*, refers to different epochs in the Vedic age and to different strata of social life in any particular

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epoch. We see, in the Veda, development from the hunting stage of life to the origin of the conceptions of various advanced forms of government; from the life of nomadic warrior tribes to growth of capitalism and landed aristocracy; from pastoral communities to rise of class-consciousness and class-struggle; from magic to monism; and from sorcery and witchcraft to organised priest-craft. All this development needs to be systematically and rationally explained on the basis of Vedic literature. Moreover, it has to be remembered that Vedas are not exclusively the documents of Vedic Aryan life and thought, but that a considerable portion of them is the result of culture-contacts and racial fusions. In this context, we have to consider the problem of the impact, on the Aryans, of the Dâsas, the Vrâtyas, the Sûdras, and various other non-Aryan communities mentioned in the Veda, and the consequent inter-racial and intra-racial conflicts and reactions. On such a background, several characteristic features of Vedic civilisation, such as, cultural *rapprochement*, race-co-operation, class-solidarity, professional interdependence, societal planning, etc., will be conspicuously brought out. (4) The co-ordination of the history of the kings and princes, mentioned in the Veda, with the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas. This would also include the historical fixation of the families of Vedic Hymn-makers, priests and purohitas. Attention may here be drawn to the antiquity of *itihasa-purana*, which go back to the early Vedic times. It is observed that, ever since then, distinction has been made between *itihasa* and *purana*. As is shown by one of my predecessors in this position, a careful analysis of ancient Indian historical traditions made with reasonable caution, may produce results, which would prove helpful for our purpose. While reconstructing the history of India prior to the Mahābhārata-war, which is presumed to have been fought in 1428 B. C., Dr. ALTEKAR has tried to fix the dates of the *dasarajna-yuddha* (1900 B. C.), of Gṛtsamada (2700 B. C.), of Sṛmjaya Sahadeva (2000-1800 B. C.), etc.[1] (5) The Vedic period must finally be correlated with the main trend of events in the post-Vedic periods of Indian history, such as the antecedents and consequences of the Mahābhārata-war, the rise and fall of city-states indicated in the Rāmāyaṇa, and the expansion of the Aryans to the various parts of India.

1. Proceedings of the Second Indian History Congress, Calcutta 1939 : Presidential Address—Archaic Section.

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All the five points mentioned above should be made to serve as effective checks on one another. The history of the Vedic periods, in other words, will have to be judged by these five criteria.

Let us take up for a brief discussion only one of these points. The relation of the Vedic Aryans with the other Aryan-speaking peoples, or, put in general terms, the problem of the Aryans, has occupied the attention of nearly four generations of scholars. The fact that it still continues to engross scholars will become clear from the work, relating to that problem, which has been produced in more recent times.[2] In 1785, Sir William JONES put forth the epoch-making suggestion regarding the possibility of there being a common source for Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Germanic. In 1816, Franz BOPP made the first attempt to raise the structure of Indo-European (IE), and, in 1900, the primitive IE may be said to have been firmly established. It must be emphatically stated here that the science of linguistics is now no more in an experimental stage, hazarding its conclusions on the strength of unsatisfactory relics of speech scattered over a number of tongues. The labours of linguisticians, throughout the last more than a century, have enabled us to form a clear idea of the primitive IE speech as a single and almost homogeneous language. Thousands of words of the original speech have been reconstructed, and, in most cases, the endings, stress, and precise meaning determined. This must indeed be regarded as one of the greatest achievements of human intellect. If, then, a single IE speech existed, there must have been a people to speak it. And it is further warrantable to presume that this people lived in a fairly contiguous locality, which has been differently called the 'cradle', the 'home', or the 'Urheimat' of the IE. The problem of the original home of the IE is thus as old as the comparative study of languages. So much has been written on this subject, and so many mutually divergent theories and hypotheses have been put forth in this connection, that one is likely to feel inclined to give up the

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2. For a survey of important work done in this field, see A. B. KEITH: The Home of the Indo-Europeans. *Pavry Comm. Vol.*, London 1933, pp. 189-199. R. N. DANDEKAR: Some Recent Theories about the Indo-Europeans. *Pracyavani* I(2), April 1944. pp. 93-99. Among recent articles on the subject may be mentioned: H. T. SORLEY, The Puzzle of the Aryans. *J. Anthrop Soc.*, Bombay, NS Vol. II (1), pp. 1-14. S. Srikantha SASTRI: The Aryans. *Bk* VIII (5-7), pp. 140-167.

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problem as insoluble. I am, however, convinced that it is possible to evolve, out of this labyrinth of apparently divergent theories and hypotheses, a consistent and systematic scheme, and that a time has now definitely come to attempt to do so. I admit that confession of ignorance, however tantalizing, is better than assumption of knowledge. But, at the same time, I do believe that, in the interest of historical progress, a theory worked out on the basis of all linguistic, archæological, anthropological, and culture-historical material, wherever available, with the use of what HUXLEY calls 'scientific imagination', wherever necessary, would be far more desirable than either excessive caution or counsel of despair.

The problem of the IE involves, so far as it concerns the historical fixation of the Vedic period, the critical consideration, primarily, of four points: namely, (1) the Urheimat of the IE, (2) the Hittite problem, (3) the question of the Aryan vestiges in the Near East, and (4) the relations between ancient Indians and Iranians. Before I proceed with the discussion, I must make one point quite clear and that is about the exact implication of the term 'Aryan', which is frequently employed by scholars in this context. It will be found that, in many cases, the word 'Aryan' is used more or less as a synonym of the word 'IE'. This is, to my mind, not quite justifiable—and for two reasons: Firstly, the word 'Aryan', as such, is not clearly attested by the European members of the IE linguistic family, except, perhaps, through the very doubtful names, *Ariovistus* and *Ariobriga* in Celtish and *Ariobindus* in old Germanic. At any rate, the special connotation, which that word gained in the proto-Aryan period, such as is indicated by Vedic *arya*, by Avestan *airya*, and also perhaps by *Harri*, occurring in the Mitanni records, had not developed in the photo-European period of the history of the IE. And secondly, the identification of the Aryans with the IE is associated with the unscientific suggestion that the IE-speakers originally formed a racially homogeneous group and the vicious and dangerous repercussions of that suggestion, as seen in the pan-Germanism and anti-Semiticism. There is overwhelming evidence to show that the IE-speakers did not form a uniform biotype. It is suggested that the original IE-speakers were dolichocephalic, leptorrhinian, tall, bright-coloured and blue-eyed blondes, who evolved out of the *milieu* of Northern Europe. The sponsors of this theory eventually introduced, in this context, another synonym for the words 'Aryan' and 'IE', namely,

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'Nordic'. But DIXON has convincingly shown that the Nordics were not a pure race, but that they contained both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic elements.[3] It may be further pointed out that a closer ethnological scrutiny leads one to the irresistible conclusion that blond biotype did not evolve only in North Europe. Blond groups of men were found among the Tartar races of Europe and Asia. Similarly, light-coloured people were found among different races even in Asia. There is also evidence of the existence, in ancient times, of brachycephalic people in Eastern and Central Europe. The theory of Nordicism, or 'Aryanism' (as understood in Germany), presupposes that race was intellectually far more advanced than other races. In this connection, one need only remember the wise words of RIPLEY that the correlation between cranial contours and intellectual characters is yet to be discovered.[4] Similarly it is not possible to connect any specific funeral custom with any particular race as has been attempted to be done by some scholars. SERGI'S suggestion that the brachycephals from Asia were the carriers of the custom of cremation into Europe has accordingly not received any convincing support.[5] CHILDE has clearly shown that the custom of cremation was not restricted to any single racial group that can be definitely identified.[6] To approach this question from another angle, it may be pointed out that all Nordics did not speak IE languages. The Finns, for instance, were Nordic, but cannot be said to have been IE. Conversely all the IE-speakers were not Nordics or dolichocephalic blondes. As a matter of fact, even all Nordics were not blondes. The oldest proof of the appearance of the IE is to be found in Egyptian sculpture belonging to the latter half of the second mille—nium B. C. There they are shown to be brachycephalic. Among the seers of the Veda, who must necessarily be regarded as IE, several are described as having been dark in colour. The Indian caste-system also, by no means, represents division of society according to biotypes. There is another proof of the appearance of an IE people. It is to be found on the lower column of victory of Tiglat-Pileser IV of Assyria in 800 B.C. There they are represented as dark-coloured type

3. DIXON: *Racial History of Mankind*, pp. 33-34. Also V. G. CHILDE: *The Aryans*, pp. 183 ff.
4. W. F. RIPLEY: *The Races of Europe*, pp. 501-502.
5. G. SERGI: *The Mediterranean Race*, pp. 262 ff.
6. V. G. CHILDE: *op. cit.* p. 149.

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of men. The ancient Persians, who were clearly IE-speakers, are shown with black beards in the mosaic pictures of Pompey. The speakers of the Hittite language, which was a proto-IE dialect, consisted mainly of men belonging to the Armenoid race. As depicted in sculpture, they appear broad-skulled, long or hook-nosed, middle-sized stocky-built men. We have, therefore, to conclude that there did not exist any IE race as such. Several distinct races.—Nordic, Alpine, Southern European and Asiatic Mediterranean—spoke IE languages. All ethnological speculations have to be scrupulously eschewed, while dealing with the problem of the IE. We have to depend, in this connection, principally on the evidence supplied by linguistics, archaeology, anthropology, and comparative folklore. Linguistic palaeontology, by itself, is fraught with several pitfalls. The results of investigations in all the four sciences mentioned above must be pooled together and checked and counterchecked. Thus alone may we hope to derive a full and sufficiently authenticated picture of the habitat and the life of the primitive IE.

It is not possible here to undertake a detailed examination of the several theories relating to the IE Urheimat, that have been put forth by scholars, up till now. Nor is it necessary. What I should like to do is merely to attempt a restatement, in a consistent and constructive form, of the results of the many investigations made with reference to this problem. To begin with, it may be pointed that the Arctic home theory is now entirely discountenanced by scholars—and quite rightly too. But the theory that the original home of the Aryans was India itself is being still put forth—more vigorously now, perhaps owing to nationalistic considerations. The main argument of the sponsors of this theory is that, in the Vedic, or, for the matter of that, in the entire ancient Indian literature there is not the remotest hint of the original home of the makers of that literature having been outside India. This argument can be met, I think, satisfactorily, by showing that when the Vedic Aryans entered into the Sapta-sindhu country, they could not have had any consciousness that they were entering a new land. In their case, as will be pointed out in the sequel, it was a matter of gradual expansion from their secondary Urheimat, and not of entry into a foreign land. Apart from this, may it not be asked why, if the Aryans migrated out of India, as they must be assumed to have done, according to this theory, there

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should be no clear reference to such migrations in ancient Indian literature? To assume further that the Vedic language is the most archaic form—almost the original primitive form—of IE is to negative the entire body of results of the science of linguistics. Such an assumption can ill explain the development of individual IE languages. The astronomical evidence, produced to prove the hoary antiquity of the Veda, has always appeared to me as of doubtful validity. We observe that there are as many dates fixed on the basis of that evidence as there are astronomical scholars! Moreover such a high antiquity for the Veda is not likely to fit in well with the scheme of the later course Indian history. The Indus civilisation may have, in that case, to be regarded as just an aspect of the Vedic civilisation, against overwhelming archaeological evidence to the contrary. Would such an assumption not lead one irresistibly to the conclusion that the language of the Indus seals must be Vedic Sanskrit or some form of it? It is also difficult to understand why, if writing was so common in the Indus civilisation, it is not even referred to in Vedic literature. We can be hardly justified in saying that there was no occasion, in the Veda, to refer to writing. Similarly the obvious iconism of the Indus valley ill accords with the emphatically aniconic religion of the Veda. From the anthropological point of view also, it would be a tall claim to say that, in India, man had attained to a high level of civilisation, long before 6000 B. C., when the offshoots from the same stock, at least from the linguistic point of view, still showed a lower type of civilisation much later. The early Veda, as a matter of fact, presents a picture of the life of a nomadic warrior people. And, as will be shown subsequently, this fact can be understood, in its proper perspective, only on the assumption that the Vedic Aryans were not autochthonous in India.

Another theory, which had caught the imagination of scholars in the initial stages of the study of this problem, and which was again vigorously canvassed, in recent times, under the ægis of the Nazis, is the Nordic home theory. According to KOSSINA, who is its greatest exponent, the IE or the Aryans, who were the 'Herrenvolk'—physically and intellectually superior to other people—Nordic by race and Aryan in speech, armed with stone battle-axes and riding in horse-drawn chariots, carrying with them cups decorated with impressions of whipcord, set out from Germany, and made themselves

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lords over all the peoples of Europe and some in Middle East.[7] The original IE were dolichocephalic, leptorrhynian blondes; who evolved out of the *milieu* of Northern Europe. In the course of the history of the IE-problem, several variants of this theory have been put forth—their main essentials being, however, more or less similar to those of KOSSINA's hypothesis. At the very outset, it must be pointed out that this theory suffers from two main obsessions—namely (1) that the IE were a pure homogeneous race, and (2) that the proto-Germans—and consequently their present descendants—must be considered to be ever the 'Herrenvolk' in the history of the world. It is needless to add that both these claims are unscientific, and, therefore, unacceptable. The Nordicists try to explain the Vedic *varna-vyavastha* also as the result of a conflict between the dolichocephalic Nordics and the original brachycephalic inhabitants of India. If we were to examine this theory from the linguistic point of view, we would further realise its obvious invalidity. The accent in old Germanic is a stress accent, while the accent in the reconstructed IE is a pitch accent. The sound-shifts of the old Germanic language also go against Germany being the original home of the IE. If the Teutons were really the direct historical representatives of the early IE-speakers, there was no reason why there should have occurred such a rapid decline of the IE system of inflexion in Germanic. These and similar other linguistic changes in Germanic, coupled with the facts that the Germans could not preserve their speech outside Germany and that the Germanic vocabulary, in certain spheres, is distinctly non-IE in character, make the conclusion inevitable that the IE-speakers entered in Germany as a minority and imposed their speech on a pre-existing population. Culturally, too, the ancient Germanic-speakers could not have been the direct representatives of the original IE-speakers. The battle-axe of the IE is certainly not derived from Germany. Moreover, ancient Teutons were not particularly fond of horses—a characteristic which betrays that they were not the original IE. In their social origanisation also they have made a significant departure from the rigidly patrilinear organisation of the IE. It is further to be remembered that archæological investigations have proved that Nordic neolithic culture began late as compared with British

7. G. KOSSINA: *Die Indogermanen*, 1921.

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and Danubian, and only when the neolithic economy had been left behind in the East.[8]

The Urheimat of the IE must, therefore, be sought elsewhere. The suggestion of Dr. GILES that Hungary may have a claim to that honour is mainly based on two assumptions: Firstly, that the original IE followed the custom of cremation, and that that custom has radiated out from Hungary. And secondly, Hungary, which is an agricultural country, must be regarded as suitable for the breeding of horse and sheep. It may, however, be asked: Why should a settled agricultural community have at all migrated out of Hungary? Why is there no attestation, in the early IE speech, of fish and fish-eating, which must have always been a common feature of that region? The archæological finds in that locality do not show any traces of arrow-heads or other weapons, which were clearly known to the IE-speakers. On the other hand, we find in the early Danubian culture, traces of the worship of the Mother-Goddess, which was unknown to the IE. As a matter of fact, the very mentality of the Hungarian peasants must be regarded as somewhat irrelevant vis-a-vis the activities of the warlike IE nomads.

To approach the problem a little differently let us first try to reconstruct a picture of the habitat and the life of the early IE on the basis of the latest linguistic researches. We may then get our results tested and checked, and, if possible, confirmed by archæological, anthropological, and culture-historical evidence. The early IE must have been most certainly nomadic. Otherwise the question of their migrations would not have arisen so conspicuously. Their original home must therefore be well adapted for nomadic people. It must allow sufficient scope for extension of tribes in various directions. Further the latest linguistic researches have shown that the IE speech, before it was divided into different linguistic groups, must have received threefold influence. There is, first of all, the influence from Mesopotamia. For instance, IE words like *aster* and *parasu* show clear affinity with Akkadian *ishtar* and Assyrian *pilakku* respectively. The early IE vocabulary is also seen to have been influenced by inner Asistic speech. This must have become

8. V. G. CHILDE: The Antiquity of Nordic Culture (in *Die Indogermanen-und Germanenfrage*, Wien 1936, pp. 517-530).

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possible only through the agency of the Altaic culture. To give an example, the IE word **guos* (= cow) is not derived from the Sumerian *gu* (*d*), as was hitherto believed, but from Altaic **kuos*. Similarly significant is the influence of Ugro-Finnic on the early IE. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the home of the early IE speech must have been located in such a region as would be directly contiguous with the Sumerian-Akkadian-Mesopotamian linguistic zone, the Inner-Asiatic-Altaic linguistic zone, and the Urgo-Finnic linguistic zone. It will be seen that the region between the Ural mountains and Altai, to the North-West of the Caspian Sea, that is to say, the North Kirghis steppes, fulfils the foregoing conditions better than any other region. The threefold linguistic influence on the early IE was also accompanied by corresponding cultural influence. The taking over, by the IE, of the domesticated desert horse points unmistakably to the cultural contacts with the Altaic region. KOPPERS has made a penetrating study of the horse-sacrifice of the IE, and has been able to prove conclusively that, though horse-sacrifice is essentially IE in character, it shows some significant proto-Turko-Mongolian traces.[9] A similar close cultural connection can be proved to have existed between the IE and the proto-Finns on the one hand, and the IE and the Sumero-Akkadians and end the Caucasians on the other.

A study of the IE flora and fauna also substantiates the fixation of the proto-IE home in North Kirghis steppes. That the IE word for 'cow' is borrowed from Altaic is already indicated. The 'horse' also came to the IE through the same source. The paucity of any traces of horse at other sites, named as the Urheimat, would seem to confirm this assumption. AMSCHLER'S study of the IE, from the zoological point of view also leads him to the same conclusion[10]. Hilly tracts are particularly favourable for the breeding of goat and sheep. The wide use of the latter by the primitive IE-speakers would show that the original IE tribes stretched from the steppes in the east to the hilly tracts in the west. The trans-Caspian wild sheep still has a range from the Ust-Urt plateau to Turkistan, and, it is possible that, in earlier times, it had extended further north to the spurs of the Urals. As a

9. W. KOPPERS : Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen (in *Die Indogermanen-und-Germanenfrage*, Wien 1936, pp. 279-412).

10. W. AMSCHLER : Die altesten Funde des Hauspferdes (in *Die Indogermanen-und-Germanenfrage*, Wien 1936, pp. 479-516).

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matter of fact, it is impossible to localise some of the animals which were so common to the IE, in any other region. The animals, which were presumably unknown to the IE such as, tiger, leopard, and camel, also point to the Urheimat having been located in the Ural-Altaic region. In this connection, a reference may be made to an objection, which may be raised against the foregoing hypothesis. It may be suggested that, since honey was so common among the IE, their original home must be located near the Black Sea, where there must have been an abundance of lime-trees to attract bees[11]. But it is quite plausible that the IE* ***medu*** was not honey, but just a juice of some kind of berries. The word derived the specific sense of 'honey' only in its later semantic development. Turning to the flora known to the primitive IE, one would, at once, be struck by the fact that the IE were not familiar with great forest. Further, there is, in the IE speech, complete absence of words for fruit-trees. It can be shown that there are no common words in the IE dialects for flora belonging specifically to Europe. All this again fits in well with the hypothesis that the Urheimat of the IE was the northern Ural-Altaic region. *Hirt's* beech-argument does not go against that hypothesis, for, it can be shown that beech was unknown to the early IE[12]. There should also be no difficulty regarding the birch, for it grows freely in northern steppes. The fact that the early IE did not possess any knowledge of agriculture would support the assumption about their Kirghis Urheimat. It was only later, when some IE tribes migrated to the West, that they became acquainted with plough and other agricultural implements. The main business of the proto-IE was cattle-breeding and they must have herded cattle on the grassy steppes. The original habitat of the IE, as indicated by linguistic palaeontology, must have been rocky in formation, with rushing torrents. There were no fixed path-ways, and the region generally required free but quick movements, and travel by wagons. The climate was continental with not much rain and damp. The diseases were few, the most common being 'limping' and 'bent'. Thus the geological character, the climate, and the general way of life accord well with the Kirghis steppes. The condition of vegetation, in that locality, must have necessitated large-scele migrations and movement of herds.

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11. A. CARNOY : *Les Indo-Europeans*, p. 87.
12. HIRT : *Indogermanische Gramatik*, I, pp. 92-94.

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What archæological and anthropological evidence do we find in support of the results derived from linguistic evidence? In ancient Near East and Europe, valuable archæological evidence has been obtained in many ways, but principally through the examination of graves and their contents. As CHILDE points out: The mode of disposal of the dead is often regarded as one of the most fundamental customs of a people and one that they would tenaciously preserve[13]. The earliest method of disposal of the dead, practised by the IE, is to bury the dead in single graves. Over such graves, holding the body of the departed, they used to throw a mound of earth dug from a surrounding ditch. They seem to have been also in the habit of surrounding the mounds with one, or perhaps two, timber fences. In *Rgveda* also (X. 18. 4 and 18. 13), we get attestation of a similar procedure, which fact may be regarded as a proof of its widespread even among the distant members of the IE family. The Kirghis steppes are thickly dotted with such 'Kurgans' or mounds, several of which go back, according to the Russian archæologist, BOGDANOV, to neolithic times. It must have, therefore, been from this region that the custom of 'Kurgans', enclosing contracted skeletons of the dead, and covered over with red ochre, was taken to the West and the South-East by the IE immigrants. Another archæological source is pottery. Earthenware decorated with incised designs—particularly bearing the impression of whip-cord—is believed to have been the speciality of the early IE. Its origin too is traced to the Northern Kirghis steppes. EICKSTEDT'S anthropological researches, and particularly the study of the sites, where stone battle-axes are discovered, lend further support to the Kirghis region being the Urheimat.

Linguistic, archæological, anthropological and culture-historical evidence produced by some scholars would, however, seem to point to two other regions which would fulfil the necessary conditions of the Urheimat. But a closer and more critical examination of that evidence convincingly shows that those regions could have only been what may be called 'secondary' Urheimat. A comparative study of the European members of the IE linguistic family shows that the speakers of those dialects must have separated from the main stock and marched into low and marshy regions, at a sufficiently early date. Words for damp and rain have increased in those Western IE dialects.

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13. V. G. CHILDe: *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

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Their new habitat was perhaps more extended, and presented a different type of flora and fauna. Stuart E. MANN has made a careful study of the IE cognate languages, mainly dealing with some of the names of wild animals, trees, plants, domestic animals, tools and devices with a view to arriving at an approximate location of the primitive home of the speakers of these dialects, by a process of elimination[14]. According to him, those people had no common words for tropical and sub-tropical vegetation and fauna They lived a highly organised life, reared cattle, sheep, pig, goat, and kept dogs. They made carts of wood, complete with wheels, rims, axle, and yoke. They ploughed land, sowed seed, and reaped harvest. Their tools had reached a degree of excellence. All this would, according to MANN, unmistakably point to the Baltic plain being the Urheimat. The Baltic plain, however, could not have been primary Urheimat. Firstly, the primitive IE could not have had any contact with sea. The primitive IE speech has no words for 'sea', 'fish', or 'salt'. Secondly, highly organised life and agriculture do not accord well with the life of the primitive IE as reconstructed elsewhere. The climate, land, flora, and fauna also are of different character. On the other hand, the linguistic evidence, produced by MANN, is not insignificant. It certainly favours the Pripet region. If, however, we were to go deeper into the evidence, produced by MANN, we would find that he has taken into account primarily the European members of the IE linguistic family[15]. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the ancestors of the speakers of those dialects separated from the main stock, migrated into the Pripet region, and settled down in that region, in unity, for a considerable length of time. In other words, the Pripet region was the Urheimat of the forerunners of the European members of the IE family, who may, for the sake of convenience, be called proto-Europeans. It was thus only a secondary Urheimat. Those tribes must have migrated to the Pripet region along the northern coast of the Caspian Sea, and through South Russia. The Volga-Dnieper valley in South Russia, again, could not have been their original habitat, because the same objections, as are put forward above against the Baltic region home, would

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14. Stuart E. MANN: The Cradle of the 'Indo-Europeans'; Linguistic Evidence: *Man*, 1943 (64).

15. Harold J. E. PEAKE: The Origin of Indo European Speakers. *Man*, 1945 (50).

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hold good even in that case. South Russian region was used essentially as a passage. The Tripolje culture of the Volga-Dnieper valley, which presents close resemblance to the primitive IE culture, indicates the westward march of one great migration of the IE-speakers.

Even prior to this major migration into the Pripet region, however, there must have taken place a major migration from the Urheimat in the south-eastern direction. In the latter case, the immigrants did not experience much radical change in the matter of habitat, climate, flora and fauna. For, the region around Balkh, where these tribes migrated and settled down, was just the south-eastern end of the series of steppes, originally inhabited by the primitive IE. From the Balkh region, a rolling grass-covered steppe stretches westward to the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. From this steppe, passing northwards along the coast of the Caspian, it is usually possible to pass by means of dry steppe or salt desert round the northern end of that sea to the Volga, whence another steppe stretches westwards until it passes by means of a belt of park land into the dense deciduous forest that occupied the most of Central Russia.[16] That the speakers of some members of the IE linguistic family settled in the region around Balkh, for a considerably long time, can be proved on the strength of linguistic, archæological, and anthropological evidence. As a matter of fact, some scholars are inclined to believe that it was the Urheimat of the primitive IE. In that region, one comes across a large number of graves with mounds, around which are placed one or more, mostly two, circular timber fences. Linguistically also it is shown that the ancestors of the speakers of the Eastern group of IE dialects—whom later history entitles us to name proto-Aryans—separated from the main body of the primitive IE, leaving behind the remaining stock of the IE-speakers, in the original home. A study of the meanings of certain words and roots in the original IE speech, on the one hand, and, in the immediate ancestor of the Aryan dialects, on the other, clearly proves that the original meanings of the former were retained in the latter, while those roots and words had developed newer meanings in the European members of the IE linguistic family. We may therefore draw two con-

16. Harold J. E. PEAKE: The Fencing of Early Tombs. *Man*, 1944 (54).

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clusions in this regard. Firstly the proto-Aryans must have separated from the main stock earlier than the proto-Europeans; and, secondly, the proto-Aryans must have migrated to a region not radically different from the IE Urheimat. As will be shown in the sequel, the further course of events in the history of the Aryans clearly points to that region being the region round Balkh. Archæologically also, the Balkh region can be the proper connecting link between the Urheimat, on the one hand, and the different localities too which the Aryans migrated later on, on the other. The investigations made by Dr. HEINE-GELDERN in this connection are highly suggestive and helpful for the reconstruction of the history of the Aryans[17]. It appears that these tribes merely moved southwards from the Urheimat via the Jaxartes and Oxus. The region around Balkh was therefore not the primary Urheimat of the IE, but only a secondary Urheimat—in a sense, the Urheimat of the proto-Aryans.

To recapitulate, we may say that linguistic, archæological, anthropological and culture-historical evidence entitles us to assume that the North Kirghis steppes, between the Urals and Altai, was the home of the IE, whom, as will be shown later, we shall have to call, more precisely, the proto-IE. This was the primary Urheimat. From this region, the first major migration started in south-eastern direction—the immigrants ultimately settling in the Balkh region, before their further migrations. It was, thus a secondary Urheimat, or the Urheimat of the proto-Aryans. The other major migration passed through the Volga-Dnieper valley, and the immigrants settled in the Pripet region, prior to their further migrations. It was, therefore, another secondary Urheimat—the Urheimat of the proto-Europeans. It should, however, be borne in mind that, even before these two major migrations took place, there had occurred an isolated migration—that of the Hittites, which we shall consider presently. Before doing so, it may be, incidentally, pointed out that, on the strength of the evidence provided by the facts that the proto-Hellenes can be shown to have entered Greece in about 2200 B. C., that the Hittites, as will be soon pointed out, started on their isolated migration in about 2800 B. C., and that the proto-Aryans must be assumed to have separated from

17. R. von HEINE-GELDERN: Archæological Traces of the Vedic Aryans: *Jisoa* 4, 1936.

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the main stock in about 2600 B. C., the proto-IE unity can be, with reasonable certainty, dated from 3500 B. C.

The Tocharian dialect, which was brought to light in comparatively recent years, should present no difficulty for the foregoing hypothesis. The facts of morphology show that Tocharian bears closer affinity to Slavonic and Armenian. It was believed that Tocharian belonged to the *centum* group of IE cognate languages. Recent researches in linguistics, however, tend to show that the division of the IE languages into *centum* and *satem* groups is not very valid [18]. Even as it is, there is evidence to show that Tocharian was a *satem* language. On the whole, it may be assumed that the proto-Tocharians first turned westwards, went up to Dnieper, but thence retraced their steps and started towards Central Asia. That would explain why their language presents characteristics peculiar both to proto-Aryan and proto-European. Such sporadic and irregular migrations must have, however, been rare.

Turning now to the Hittite problem, we find that four main stages can be distinctly marked in the history of that problem : (1) Already, in the eighties of the last century, two cuneiform tablets discovered in the Egyptian state archive—popularly called the Arzawa letters—were known to the world of scholars. Even as early as 1902, KNUDTZEN had tried to interpret those letters, and had declared their language to be IE in character. But greater impetus was given to the study of this problem by the discovery by Hugo WINCKLER, in 1906-07, of the great state archive of the Chatti empire, containing more than 10,000 cuneiform tablets. The script of the tablets was Accadian cuneiform, and the language more or less similar to that of the Arzawa letters. Unfortunately WINCKLER died before he could apply himself to a deeper and closer study of the tablets. (2) The second stage in the history of the problem is marked by the publication, in 1916, of the monumental work of HRONZY, wherein that scholar calls the language the Hittite language, definitely fixes its IE character, and presents, in a systematic manner, its main features from the linguistic point of view [19]. (3) In the third stage, a scientific approach was made towards the problem by

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18. Stuart E. MANN. The Cradle of the "Indo-European Speakers." MAN, 1945 (16).

19. HRONZY. *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau und ihre Zugehorigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm.* 1916-17.

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Ferdinand SOMMER of Munchen, who combined in himself profound knowledge both of IE linguistics and Assyriology. (4) The fourth, and perhaps the final, stage is characterised by the outstanding contributions made in this field by American linguisticians—more particularly by STURTEVANT.

The sources for the study of the Hittite problem are mainly three, namely, the 10,000 or more cuneiform tablets from the state archives of the Chattri empire ; the Arzawa letters discovered at El-Amarna ; and the fragment of lexicons, in which Sumero-Akkadian words are explained by corresponding Hittite words. For the sake of convenience of the discussion, the results of the investigations in this field may be, with advantage, classified under three heads : racial affinities of the Hittites ; the Hittite language ; and the history and general culture of the Hittites. As indicated elsewhere, while dealing with the IE problem, it is always desirable to avoid, as far as possible, all ethnological speculations. It may, however, be pointed out incidentally that the Hittites, that is, the speakers of the Hittite language, seem to show three racial layers—the original Mediterranean racial type was superimposed by brachycephalic Armenoid type, which, in its turn, was superimposed by the nomadic Turks. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that this mixed racial set-up, in Asia Minor, has throughout persisted even in spite of linguistic vicissitudes, towhich have occurred in that region, and persists even to this day. The study of the Hittite language is obviously more important from our point of view. It should be remembered, at the very outset, that the cuneiform tablets, discovered by WINCKLER, present not one but at least eight different linguistic types, out of which we are concerned, at this stage, only with Hittite and perhaps Luvian. A superficial study of Hittite led scholars to suggest that it was a hybrid language, [20] which shows considerable affinity with the primitive IE, but which cannot be clearly assigned to any specific IE sub-group, or that it was a Caucasian language with Aryan influence on it[21]. There were also observed, in that language, certain Mongolian traits, and, consequently its close connexion with Tocharian was assumed. A deeper and more scientific study of Hittite has, however, brought

20. S. FEIST. *Indogermanen und Germanen*, pp. 131-32.
21. E. F. WEIDNER. *Studien zur hethitischen Sprachurssenschaft*, I, 1917, p. 32.

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out the following main features of that language. It bears closer affinities with the *centum* group of the IE dialects. Further, in the field of vocalism, it is more akin to the Western IE group. There is no feminine gender in it. The character of the plural number is incomplete, and only faint traces of the dual can be observed. It possesses a peculiar 'H' sound. Its verbal system and case-system appear to have been of a much simplified character. There is only a small number of tenses and almost complete absence of moods. Though, from the point of view of phonology and vocabulary, the IE character of Hittite may not be quite evident, its grammatical structure definitely proves that it belongs to the IE family. It is IE language in its flexional structure[22]. There can be hardly any doubt that Hittite is the oldest off-shoot of the IE family, that can be attested. Its special peculiarities, some of which are mentioned above, are not to be regarded as indicating deterioration or aberration of any IE speech, but they can be scientifically explained to have been the result of a natural process of development of an earlier stage of the IE speech, such as has now been reconstructed. When compared with the other members of the IE linguistic family, Hittite appears distinctly primitive in character. We have, therefore, to conclude that its origin and early development coincide with the origin and development of IE speech itself. In other words, it is a sister, rather than a daughter, of the early IE, existing side by side with it, prior to the emergence of the proto-Aryan and Proto-European language-groups. The Mongolian or Altaic influence on Hittite can now be understood in its proper perspective, for, a similar influence has already been shown to have worked on the primitive IE. We may, therefore, now put the whole history of the Hittite language like this : From a hypothetical language, which must now be called proto-IE language, there developed, in course of time, two languages, namely, the IE and the Hittite—one hypothetically reconstructed and the other now actually attested by records. The Hittite-speakers must have separated from the IE-speakers almost in the initial stage of the development of the two languages, presumably some time between 2800 and 2600 B. C., migrated in the south-western direction, and eventually settled in Asia Minor. They must have entered that region along

22. F. SOMMER, *Hethitische Boghaz-koi-Studien*, IV, 1920.

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the north coast of the Caspian Sea and across the Caucasus. It is impossible to accept the suggestion, made by SCHACHERMEYR, that the Hittites entered Asia Minor via West[23]. There is to be found no trace of theirs in the West. And, further, why should they have proceeded to Asia Minor abandoning the rich plains of the West, which they are assumed to have crossed? In Asia Minor, the Hittites seem to have been soon absorbed among the indigenous people of that region, and, though their language preserved much of its original character owing, perhaps, to its superiority, it was not a little influenced by the languages of Asia Minor and the surrounding localities. The affinity, which Hittite bears to the Western group of IE languages, thus becomes easily understandable.

These conclusions arrived at, on the basis of the study of the Hittite language, are fully confirmed by the history of the Hittite people, as can be reconstructed from the sources mentioned above. The fact that the Hittites, under Mursitis I, conquered Babylon in 1760 by overpowering the dynasty of Hammurabi, would indicate that they must have set up a powerful empire in Asia Minor, at least a few centuries before this event. The subjugation of a powerful dynasty like Hammurabi's could not have been achieved otherwise. It may further be pointed out in this connection, that their own records, which begin from 1900, do not show any consciousness, on the part of the Hittites, that they were immigrants in that locality. They must have, therefore, settled there some centuries prior to 1900. It will thus be not too much to presume that the Hittites entered Asia Minor between 2800 and 2600 B. C. We are not particularly concerned with the events in the history of the Hittites. We may only add that, in the earliest period of their history, the Hittites were influenced by the Assyrians from Cappadocia; that, in the glorious regime of their illustrious king, Subbiluliumas, they concluded a peace treaty with the Mitannis, who were, from the linguistic point of view, distantly related to them; and that, by about 1230 B. C., their power began to dwindle until at last it disappeared completely after a quarter of a century.

This brief study of the Hittite problem will now enable us to understand properly how and why some IE names

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23. SCHACHERMEYR: *Indogermanen und Germanen.*

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can be discovered in the Hittite mythology; how and why the Hittite religion presents some apparent resemblances to that of the Minoan Greeks, who were not IE-speakers; and how and why their culture was so significantly akin to the Babylonian culture.

Mention has already been made of the sensational discovery of records, made during the two decades before and after the beginning of this century, in Asia Minor and the surrounding locality. The linguistic, historical and other related facts, which have been brought to light by these records, have materially changed the conventional ideas about the IE problem. One very striking result of the new investigations, based upon these records, namely, the Hittite problem, and its significance, have been already referred to. Some of these records have further brought to light names of kings, places, and gods, and certain other words, in the dialects employed in them, which indicate surprising resemblance between these dialects and the IE languages, which have already become quite well known to us from the ancient literatures of India and Iran, in other words, the languages belonging to the proto-Aryan group. We have to confess that the material at our disposal in this connection is not much, and that, therefore, no very definite results may be expected from the study of that material. At the same time, it must be pointed out that whatever conclusions can be reasonably drawn, on the strength of that material, are quite revealing so far as the history of the IE—or, more particularly, the history of the Aryans—is concerned.

Let us first collect together all the relevant information about the tribe, which is known to history as the Kassites. The Kassites lived in Zagros mountains, between Media and Babylonia. As for their language, which is, for our purpose, of greater value, only forty words in it can be attested with some amount of certainty. DELITZSCH and SCHEFTELOWITZ, who have made a special study of those words, feel no doubt about their IE character.[24] It is observed that, in some vocal and guttural sounds, the Kassite language comes nearer to the Vedic language than to any other language, and that there are, in it, no traces of specific Iranian and Armenian peculiarities. That, in its essential form, the Kassite language has no connection with Sumerian and Elamite would become obvious even

24. F. DELITZSCH: *Die Sprache der Kossaer*, 1884. T. SCHEFTELOWITZ: Die Sprache der Kossaer. Z. Vgl S. pp, 38, pp. 263-69.

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from a casual study of it. In its vocabulary Kassite seems to have preserved many archaic Aryan words, though some of them are seen to have been lost in the later developments of the Aryan speech. But far more significant than all this are the Kassite names. Attention may be drawn only to a few of them. *Surias*, *Marattas*, *Sumalia*, *Suquamuna*, and *Abirattas* remind us, for instance, respectively of Sanskrit *Sūrya*, *Marut*, *Sumālī*, *Śu* (*śo*) *cāmāna*, and *Abhiratha*. The word *Bugas* in compounds corresponds with Sanskrit *Bhaga*. This linguistic evidence should, therefore, leave no doubt about the fact that the Kassite language had been a member of the same group of IE languages, to which the Vedic Sanskrit belongs. In other words, the Kassite language must have been an off-shoot of the proto-Aryan language. When could have the speakers of Kassite separated from the main stock of the proto-Aryans? The history of the Kassites tells us of their conquest of Babylon in the eighteenth century B. C. It would, therefore, be necessary to assume that they had come and settled in those parts of South-western Asia sufficiently long before that event. Another fact also must be taken into account in this connection, namely, that the records of the Kassites show that they were almost submerged into the indigenous population of that region. Only some basic features of the Aryan speech and culture seem to have been retained in their speech and culture. This fact would indicate, not that they were not essentially Aryan in character, but that they must have lived among the peoples of that region for a considerably long period prior to their emergence in history through their records. As a matter of fact, this assumption should hold good with reference to all the other peoples in South-western Asia, which show linguistic and cultural affinity with the ancient Indians and Iranians. The essentially Aryan character of the Kassites would be further confirmed by the fact that they are credited with having introduced the use of horse for drawing chariots into the ancient Near East. The recorded history of the Kassites extends only from 1700 B.C. to 1170 B.C.

Hugo WINCKLER discovered, in 1907, at Boghaz Koi, a tablet, which records a peace-treaty concluded, about 1400 B.C., between the Hittite monarch, Subbiluliumas and the king of the Mitannis, Mattiuaza. As witnesses to this treaty have been invoked, in that record, four gods, whose names are almost identical with the Vedic gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Nāsatya. Another tablet was discovered,

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at the same place, by FORRER, some time later. It deals with horsebreeding, and contains certain numerals, which are morphologically similar to later Aryan numerals. Moreover, the names of the Mitanni kings are obviously Aryan names. We read, for instance, names like Subandu, Dusratta, Mattiuza, Artasumara, etc., which unmistakably remind us of Subandhu, Dūratha, Mativāja, Ṛtasmara etc. On the very face of it, all this would clearly point to the essentially Aryan character of the Mitanni speech and religion. Further, the affinity of the Mitannis with the Kassites can be affirmed with a fair amount of plausibility. Who were these Mitannis? Assuming that the gods, mentioned on the Boghaz koi tablet, are specifically Vedic in character, and also assuming that the Vedic religion originally developed on the Indian soil, before 2000 B. C. JACOBI, followed by WINTERNITZ and HILLEBRANDT, suggests that the Mitannis represent Indian tribes who had migrated from India to the West[25]. An attempt is made to support this hypothesis with two more facts: Firstly, PARGITER finds evidence, in ancient Indian traditions, of the Vedic tribe of the Druhyus having migrated to the West[26]. And secondly, evidence is produced to prove that, even later, in the sixth century B. C., Eastern tribes have migrated to Asia Minor[27]. But, apart from anything else, the very starting point of this hypothesis, namely, that the gods of the Boghaz koi tablet are specifically Vedic in character, cannot be maintained. OLDENBERG sees in them proto-Iranian gods, and, therefore, connects the Mitannis with early Iran[28]. To say that the Mitannis were Aryans on their way to Iran and India is hard to believe, in view of the date of the Ṛgvedic *mantras*, which must have definitely belonged to a period prior to 1400 B.C. A proper study of all the available material relating to the Mitannis would help us to understand the entire situation in its proper perspective. The Mitanni language is a *satem* language, and is seen to be specifically identical neither with Vedic, because, in Mitanni, *ṛta* is changed to *ārta*, nor with ancient Iranian, because Mitanni retains '*s*' between vowels. That language must, therefore, be akin to the ancestor of both Vedic and ancient Iranian.

25. H. JACOBI: On the Antiquity of Vedic Culture. *JRAS*, 1909. pp.721-26 WINTERNITZ: *A History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 306.
26. PARGITER: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 302.
27. J. KENNEDY: *JRAS*, 1904.
28. H. OLDENBERG: *JRAS*, 1909.

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The religion of the Mitannis, as indicated by the four gods mentioned on the Boghaz koi tablet, presents only the basic conceptions of the Vedic and Iranian religions, and not their special developments. The Mitanni tribes call themselves *Harris*, that is *Aryas*, and their warrior-class is called *Marianna*, which seems to be equivalent to the Vedic *marya*. Their pig-tail, their religious symbols of *svastika* and inverted triangles, and their funeral customs clearly betray their IE—or, to be more precise, Aryan—origin. They borrowed words and ideas from the peoples of South-western Asia, to whom they gave, in return, horse and war-chariot, which are objects possessing distinctly Aryan character. They could have come to their new home on upper Euphrates, not by sea, nor through Asia Minor, nor via Caucasus, but from the north-eastern direction. They settled in Northern Mesopotamia, and, in course of time, became a strong power in that locality. But, like the Kassites, they were soon submerged into the local population. All these facts would show that, like the Kassites, who were the vanguards of proto-Aryan migrations, the Mitannis also were immigrants from the proto-Aryan Urheimat in the Balkh region, who must have separated from the main stock of the proto-Aryans, in the initial stages of the formation of Aryan speech and religion. There must have indeed been several such minor migrations of the proto-Aryans, as is indicated by the Aryan elements in the records of the Hyksos kings and those discovered at El Amarna. These more or less successive but stray immigrant tribes of the proto-Aryans, who seem to have migrated, only in a small number, each time, came to Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, North Mesopotamia and the surrounding region, between 2300 and 2000 B. C. and settled there. There they established their powerful principalities, but were gradually absorbed by the indigenous populations. And according to the extent to which they were absorbed, they have retained the Aryan character of their language, religion and culture, in greater or smaller degree.

Not much need be said about the relations between the ancient Indians and the ancient Iranians. Their mutual affinities in the matter of language, religion and social organisation are too patent to need any specific mention. When the proto-Aryans left the IE Urheimat in the North Kirghis steppes, and set out on their journey towards the region around Balkh, the proto-Aryan speech and religion also began to take shape. The stray and minor migrations

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of the proto-Aryans, from this secondary Urheimat near Balkh, carried with them, in South-western Asiatic regions the basic form of that speech and religion. But the remaining stock of the proto-Aryans, which must have been of considerable proportions, evolved, out of that basic Aryanism, a new and noble form, which may be appropriately regarded as the common ancestor of the Veda and the Avesta, both from the linguistic and religious points of view. The main body of the Vedic *mantras* and the Avestan *gāthās*, at least in their primary form, was produced by these proto-Aryans, who were left behind in the Balkh region, after the migrations of the Kassites, the Mitannis, and others. I say *primary* forms, because I believe that it is necessary to recognise two distinct layers in the evolution of the *Rgveda*. The Vedic *mantras* must have been originally composed in a living dialect, which we may call proto-Rgvedic. These *mantras* were, later on, worked upon by the hymn-makers, who purposely used an archaic-looking, priestly, artificial dialect, not their own vernacular. As EDGERTON has pointed out, these hymn-makers were members of a priestly guild, the intellectual leaders of their community and very proud of their status. They were carefully trained and, on the whole, handled their archaizing language quite well.[29] But naturally they slipped now and then. As in the matter of language, so too in the matter of literary form, we have to recognise two stages: one of stray, scattered *mantras*, and the other of organised, systematic hymn-making and *saṁhitīkaraṇa*. The Veda, then, was originally born in the Balkh region, between 2400 and 2000 B. C., though its priestly revision, obscuration, and division and arrangement into family-collections were accomplished later in the land of the seven rivers. The origin and development of the Avesta must have proceeded more or less on the same lines, but in a different locality and under different influences. The ancestors of the Indian Aryans and the Iranian Aryans formed the main stock of the proto-Aryans, after the stray migrations of their cousins, the Kassites, the Harris, and the Mitannis. The former lived together and developed their language and religion, which may be called proto-Vedic-Avestan. In the course of this development, particularly of religion, there were evolved two distinct types of religion, which may be broadly called the Varuṇa-religion and the Indra-religion,

29. F. EDGERTON: *The Indo-European Semivowels. Lg.* 19(2), 1943.

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that is, the religion of ethical organizers, and the religion of warlike conquerors.[30] This rift in religious outlook naturally resulted in the corresponding rift among the followers of those religions. The tribes, who exclusively followed the Varuṇa-religion, eventually found it necessary to separate from the proto-Aryan, or, more precisely, proto-Indo-Iranian stock, and move southwards. They gradually migrated to north of Iran and later settled in that country. As may be expected, they had brought with them that form of language and religion, which they had developed when they lived together with their Indian brethren, that is to say, the proto-Indo-Iranian or proto-Vedic language and religion. But owing to their new set of environments, which was different from the one under which the Vedic Indians lived, the further development of the ancient Iranian language and religion was a little different from that of the Vedic language and religion. The ancient Iranians specially promoted the Varuṇa-religion, which under the influence of the great religious reformer, Zanathushtra, assumed, about the beginning of of the first millennium B. C., the form of the religion of Ahura Mazdah. The Aryans of the proto-Vedic religion, who mainly sponsored the Indra-religion, were on the other hand, moving eastwards. In their case, it was not a *migration* but merely an *expansion*. The new land, into which they were expanding, was not radically different from the region around Balkh, where they had been living for centuries. The process of their expansion also was gradual. Moreover, in their onward march, they were encountering the tribes of Dāsas or Dasyus, similar to those whom they had already encountered. They did not, therefore, have the feeling or consciousness that they were entering a new land. This would explain the absence of any reference, in the Veda, to their entry in India.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, therefore, I feel justified in visualising the main trends in the early history of the IE, somewhat as follows: In the earliest period, into which we can push back their history, on the strength of linguistic, archaeological, anthropological, and culture-historical evidence, we find the IE, who were racially a mixed, but linguistically and culturally a homogeneous community, living in the region between the Urals and Altai, to the north-east of the Caspian Sea, and to the north of Turkistan—that is to say, broadly

30. R. N. DANDEKAR: Asura Varuna. *Abori* 21, pp. 157-191.

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speaking, in the Northern Kirghis steppes. It is this region, which must be regarded as the most suitable locality for the development of the IE speech in its *terminus ad quem* form, which we are now able to reconstruct. It is again this region, which can satisfactorily explain the obvious Altaic, Ugro-Finnic, and Semitic influences on the primitive IE speech and culture. This region may, therefore, be called with the fullest justification, the primary Urheimat of the IE. The conditions of vegetation in this locality, where the IE tribes originally herded cattle on grassy steppes, must have, in course of time, necessitated their migrations, out of it, and movements of herds on a large scale. A study of the subsequent course of events would enable us to presume that this IE unity dated from about 3,500 B. C., which is, as a matter of fact, a fairly late date in the history of man on this earth. This is, therefore, the first landmark in the history of the IE.

The second landmark in their history is the isolated migration of some tribes from among the proto-IE, in the initial stage of the development of their language and civilisation. These tribes separated from the main stock of the IE, in the North Kirghis steppes, came a little southwards, and, along the northern coast of the Caspian Sea and across the Caucasus, entered Asia Minor. They were the Luvians and the Hittites. The records of these isolated IE immigrants, which date from about 1900 B. C., show no consciousness, on their part, of having been immigrants. This fact would indicate that they had settled down to the South and in the interior of Asia Minor long before that date. This is further confirmed by the fact that these outsiders emerge into the history of South-western Asia as powerful empire-builders. This would be properly understandable only on the assumption of their very early settlement in that region. The isolated migration of the Hittites may, therefore, be presumed to have started between 2800 and 2500 B. C. Their separation from the proto-IE, at a very early date, and their long sojourn in isolation from the main stock must be considered to have been responsible for the fact that their language—though essentially IE in character—has developed some special peculiarities, which are not to be seen in other IE languages. Even after this solitary migration, the main body of the IE continued to live together, for some time, which fact can be definitely proved on the strength of linguistic evidence.

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The third landmark in the early history of the IE is characterised by two major migrations. The earlier major migration was in the south-eastern direction. These tribes, whom we are entitled to call the proto-Aryans, separated from the main body of the IE (*minus*, of course, the Hittites) and moved to a different locality, not very different from their Urheimat, namely, the region around Balkh. This plain of Balkh is the end of a long area of light rain-fall, that stretches from the slopes of the Hindu Kush mountains eastward towards the Caspian Sea. Here, between 2500 and 2300 B. C., the proto-Aryan language and religion must have attained 'characterisation'. For our present purpose, namely the reconstruction of the antecedents and the early beginnings of the Vedic period of Indian history, it may be added that it must have been in this region that the Vedic language and religion began to take shape. A major portion of the Vedic *mantras*, in their *primary* form, was produced in the region around Balkh; only their revision, priestly obscuration, artificial archaization and *saṁhitīkaraṇa* were accomplished in the land of the seven rivers. A critical study of the *Ṛgveda*, from the linguistic and literary points of view, makes it necessary to recognise these two stages in the production and evolution of that Veda. The proto-Aryans must have made their home in the Balkh region for a considerable length of time, so much so that they almost forgot their connections with their primary Urheimat in the North Kirghis steppes. The region around Balkh may, therefore, be appropriately called a secondary Urheimat—that is, the Urheimat of the proto-Aryans. The second major migration from the primary Urheimat, was effected along the northern coast of the Caspian Sea, through the dry steppes or salt desert to the Volga, whence another steppe stretches westwards as far as the Dnieper. These migrating tribes, however, seem to have used the Volga-Dnieper valley, in South Russia, not as a permanent habitat, but only as a passage. They seem to have migrated still farther westwards into the Baltic plain, especially into the Pripet region. Linguistic evidence points to the Pripet region having been another secondary Urheimat. Just as the Balkh region may be called, in a sense, the Urheimat of the proto-Aryans, the Pripet region may be called the Urheimat of the proto-Europeans, or, to be more precise, of the common ancestors of the speakers of the European members of the IE language-family.

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From these secondary Urheimats, in the Balkh region and the Pripet region, there were started further migrations, which, in contrast with the major migrations from the primary Urheimat, may be termed secondary migrations. These secondary migrations represent the fourth landmark in the history of the IE. For our purpose, we are concerned more with the migrations of the proto-Aryans. The earlier of these migrations of the proto-Aryans seem to have been on a small scale and of a more or less desultory character. One of these migrating proto-Aryan tribes, attested by history, is that of the Kassites, who came over to the South-western Asiatic region. They must have separated from the main proto-Aryan stock early enough to develop, through their contact with the non-IE-speaking peoples of that region, distinctive peculiarities in their original proto-Aryan speech. The proto-Aryan origin of the Kassites is, however, clearly betrayed by the few linguistic and cultural facts, that we know about them. They must have separated from their proto-Aryan brethren, and settled away from the proto-Aryan Urheimat, for a considerably long time. Without such an assumption, we cannot explain adequately, how, in course of time, they could have become powerful enough to be able to overthrow the original Babylonian dynasty, in 1760 B. C., and control that kingdom for some time thereafter. The general confusion and upheaval caused by the overthrow of the Babylonian power, by the Kassites, facilitated the progress, in that region, of other stray tribes from among the proto-Aryans. These tribes, the most prominent among whom were the Harris and the Mitannis, must have separated from the main stock not very long after the Kassites. They took advantage of the political upheaval, caused by the Kassites, to push forward, and subsequently consolidate their power in North Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. There is evidence to show that the Mitannis overthrew the Hyksos dynasty. In the earlier stage of their migration, the Mitannis came in contact with their not-distant cousins, the Kassites, while, at a later stage, they had an occasion to encounter and eventually conclude a peace-treaty with the Hittites, who, too, were distantly related to them, from the linguistic point of view. There must have been some more similar stray and minor migrations of the proto-Aryans into South-western Asiatic region. We must assume that these migrations started in the very initial stages of the development of proto-Aryan speech and

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religion. That is to say, they started after the Aryan speech and religion had assumed their basic forms, but certainly much before they developed the special features, such as are to be seen in the Veda or the Avesta. These secondary migrations of the proto-Aryans may, therefore, be roughly said to have occurred between 2400 and 2200 B. C. Another point to be noted about these immigrants is that, being small in number, when they are actually attested in later history, they appear to have been absorbed by the indigenous peoples of North Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor. At the same time, they seem to have completely predominated over the local population perhaps on account of their superiority in the matter of language and religion, and also as the result of their warlike spirit and adventurous enterprise. But this supremacy of the proto-Aryans in South-western Asia did not last long. As a matter of fact, their whole history seems to extend over a period only of 1200 years—from 2400 B. C. to 1200 B. C. Unlike their cousins in Iran and India, they soon disappeared from the scene, together with their language, religion, and culture, never to be revived again.

This brings us to the fifth and the last landmark in the history of the IE, so far as it concerns the Vedic period of Indian history. We know that Aryan speech and religion had already been assuming noble forms, ever since the proto-Aryans migrated to and settled in the region around Balkh. After the stray secondary migrations of the proto-Aryan tribes like the Kassites, the Harris, and the Mitannis, the remaining stock of the proto-Aryans continued to live in that region, for some centuries, and developed their unique culture and civilization. This was the proto-Indo-Iranian period. The Vedic *mantras*, in their primary form, came to be produced, and the distinctive Soma-ritual was evolved. This latter was originated and its development facilitated perhaps owing to the abundant growth of the Soma plant on the Mūjavanta mountain in the neighbourhood of their Urheimat in the Balkh region. The special national characteristic of the ancient Indians and the ancient Iranians, such as the caste-system, also emerged at this stage. But, as indicated elsewhere, there was a divergence in the essential religious outlook of the two main groups among the proto-Indo-Iranians, and, correspondingly, also in the future course of events in their cultural history. The Iranians, who broadly speaking, sponsored the Varuṇa-religion, migrated to Iran, while the

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Indians, who sponsored the Indra-religion, gradually moved eastward into the land of the seven rivers, conquering, under the aegis of their national war-god, Indra, the tribes of the Dāsas, whom they encountered on their way. Ultimately, by about 1900 B. C., these Vedic Aryans advanced as far as Punjab, where they came across what was perhaps the last phase of the Harappa civilization. It may be presumed that Indra, the warlike leader of the Vedic Aryans, administered the final crushing blow to the Harappa civilisation, which was a civilization of fortified towns, and thus qualified himself for the proud epithet of *purandara*, the breaker of forts[31].

This, then, is a brief statement relating to the antecedents and the early beginnings of the Vedic period of Indian history. I realise that it is, by no means, a complete picture. Many details still need to be added to it. Nor has it been possible for me to undertake an elaborate and conclusive discussion of the several problems involved in this connection. As a matter of fact, that was not my intention. My intention has been only to indicate certain lines, on which the reconstruction of the history of the Vedic period can be fruitfully proceeded with. What I have attempted to do is to present, before you, a consistent and constructive hypothesis evolved as the result of all the available material being worked upon with 'scientific imagination' only where necessary. In the same strain as W. D. WHITNEY'S, who was speaking about India's literary history, it might be said that such hypotheses put forth in the field of ancient Indian history are but 'pins set up to be bowled down again'. It is, however, my belief that, in the interest of historical progress, it is necessary and desirable that such 'pins' are set up if only to be bowled down and replaced by stronger and firmer pins.

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31. R. N. DANDEKAR: *Op. cit.* R. E. M. WHEELER. Harappa 1946 : The Defences and Cemetery R. 37. *Ancient India*, 3, pp. 58-130.

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A BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW OF THE HINDU POLITY; WHAT IT TEACHES

BY

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India is at present engaged in framing a new constitution. It will therefore be not uninteresting to survey ancient Indian polity and its achievements. If we take an impartial survey of it, we may learn some important lessons for the present and the future.

Several types of states like republics, oligarchies, diarchies and monarchies were prevailing in India in ancient times, but eventually monarchy became the order of the day. This phenomenon was not peculiar to ancient India; it repeated itself in Greece and Italy, where republics were being gradually supplanted by monarchies and empires. Representative government was not known both to the ancient East and West, and so republics could prosper only when the state was small and a meeting of its Assembly, consisting practically of all the senior members of its privileged order, was possible. As in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, political power was vested not in the whole population, but in the members of a small privileged order, mostly consisting of Kshatriyas and perhaps of the Brahmanas also, in a few cases. The Hindu polity worked in a society that had accepted the principles of the caste system, which laid down that government was primarily the function and duty of the Kshatriyas, assisted to some extent by the Brahmanas. Franchise in the ancient Indian republics could, therefore, not be extended to the whole population. In the modern age, which does not believe in the predetermination of one's functions by birth, it will naturally have to be extended to all.

Democracy is the order of the day at present and we all hope to have a full-fledged republic in India in the near future. It will be, therefore, necessary to understand the causes that led to the disappearance of the republics in ancient India. Generally speaking republics could function successfully in ancient India in smaller states. They also presupposed a kind of tribal unity in the governing class; republics failed to develop into a purely territorial state of large dimensions. Distances are annihilated now; the principle of representative government has been discovered and is in universal practice. Tribal stage has been passed away long ago and we have now developed a national

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consciousness. There is therefore no reason why India should not function and flourish as a large republic.

Growing veneration for a hereditary ruler fostered by the principle of the divinity of king was also partly responsible for the disappearance of the ancient republics. When presidents, generals and members of the council became hereditary in republics, their polity could not be much differentiated from monarchy. Divinity of king is now a dead doctrine and we need not apprehend that it will prejudice the development of the republican spirit or institutions in the modern times, except perhaps in the Indian states, where the monarchical traditions are still nourished. Ancient Indian polity, however, conceded divinity only to virtuous, conscientious and able rulers, who acted as real trustees for their subjects, and who were prepared to sacrifice their own interests, comforts and funds to promote the well-being of their subjects. Monarchy can continue in Indian states only if their subjects are convinced that their monarchs belong to the above category. Our political thinkers, it should not be forgotten, condemn incapable, vicious and tyrannical kings as demons incarnate and permit their subjects to dethrone them, and even to kill them.

A study of ancient Indian history and polity shows that our republics flourished as long as there was harmony and concord among the members of their Assemblies. There was, however, a tendency among them to quarrel. In some republics every member of the Assembly was given the title of *raja* ; often he was not inclined to accept the leadership of fellowmember, because it presupposed his own inferiority. Neighbouring kings used to send spies to foment quarrels and dissensions among the members of the republican bodies. Groups and parties were often formed in the republican assemblies and they spent their time and energy in bringing each other's downfall and incidentally paving the way of an outside conqueror. Many of the ancient Indian republics were destroyed by the neighbouring kings and emperors by encouraging feuds and dissensions among the members of their Assemblies. The party defeated in the Assembly would often seek outside help and thus seal the ruin of the state. Modern India, which seeks to develop republican traditions and institutions, may well carve on the gate of its future Parliamentary House the prophecy of the Buddha about the Lichchhavi republic. The republic of the Lichchavis, said the Buddha, will prosper as long as the members of their Assembly meet frequently, show reverence to age, experience and ability, transact the state business in concord and harmony and do not develop selfish parties engaged in eternal wrangling for their narrow and selfish ends.

In the course of time, monarchy became the order of the day owing to the causes already explained. It cannot be denied

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that our political writers have placed the highest possible ideals before the kingly order ; they can be hardly improved in modern times. The king was to be *dhritavrata*, pledged to maintain and defend law, order, justice and morality ; he was not above the law, but subject to its jurisdiction. He was to be something even more than a trustee for his subjects ; a trustee has merely to abstain from taking any undue advantage of his position, while promoting the interest of the trust ; the king, according to the ancient Indian ideals, has to sacrifice his own personal comforts and interests in order to secure the prosperity of the kingdom. Divinity was conceded not to the *person* but to the *office* of the king. The theory that a king can do no wrong and is accountable to none but God was almost unknown to ancient India. Attention of the king was pointedly drawn to the great necessity of a proper training, the absence of which was sure to land him into numerous pitfalls, that do not come across the path of an ordinary individual. The doctrine of the divinity of the king's office was intended merely to inspire respect for authority ; and not to encourage autocracy or irresponsibility in the kingly order.

It must be however admitted that in actual practice many kings failed to live up to the ideal. The percentage of vicious or tyrannical kings in ancient India was however by no means higher than in medieval Europe. It would be however useful to understand the causes that were responsible for the non-realisation of the ideal of kingship in a large number of cases.

Failure to develop proper secular and constitutional checks on the power of the king was the main reason for the kingly ideal not being frequently realised in practice. Like some medieval political thinkers of Europe, most of our ancient Indian thinkers did no doubt not say that a bad king was accountable to God alone. Nevertheless, in actual practice the fear of hell was the only effective deterrent in the case of a tyrant. Our writers no doubt permit subjects to migrate *en masse* from the country, if the king became oppressive ; ancient inscriptions supply some instances of kings being brought to their senses by this method. This remedy, however, is a very impracticable one and could not be easily resorted to. They also sanction regicide in extreme cases. Regicide, however, presupposes an open and successful rebellion, as a remedy against day to day petty cases of tyranny ; it is altogether impracticable and inapplicable. Ancient Indian polity failed to develop secular and practicable remedies which could control the actions of a king who was inclined to disregard the ideal and become tyrannical.

This failure was largely due to the disappearance of the *samitis* or Popular Assembly in the post-Vedic period. As long as these Assemblies functioned, they could effectively control the actions of the king in the day to day administration. The

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Vedic literature makes it quite clear that a king could succeed in maintaining himself on the throne only so long as his *samiti* or Popular Assembly was in agreement with him. If there was a disagreement, the views of the Assembly generally prevailed, and kings had to submit or abdicate and go into exile.

Central Assemblies, however, gradually disappeared in the post-Vedic period, not because democracy became more and more unsuitable to the Indian temperament, but because the state became bigger and bigger in size, rendering the meetings of a Central Assembly more and more impracticable. Had Asoka, Chandragupta or Harsha revived the Central Assembly, its members would have had to spend several weeks in reaching the capital in order to attend the Assembly meetings, and an equally long time in returning to their homes. The principle of representation was also unknown in those days both in the East and the West.

It is possible to try the experiment of a limited and constitutional monarchy in the modern Indian states, if the Popular and Representative Assemblies are allowed to function as in the Vedic period. Members of the princely order will have to remember that they will have to submit or abdicate and go into exile if they cannot carry their Assembly with them.

Effective popular central Assemblies being found impracticable in the case of larger kingdoms, ancient Indian political thinkers tried to protect the interests of the people by recommending and bringing about a great decentralisation of the functions of the government. Large powers were vested in the district, town and village administrations, which could be effectively supervised and controlled by local non-official councils. In the Gupta period, the sale of even the waste lands owned by the state required the sanction of the popular district council. The powers of town and village councils in ancient India were probably more extensive than those of similar bodies in any other polity, eastern or western, ancient or modern. They collected the revenues on behalf of the Central Government, refused to collect oppressive taxes, settled village disputes, organised works of public utility, and often maintained and financed hospitals, poor houses and educational institutions. It would be worthwhile in the new Indian constitution to entrust larger and larger power to the district boards and local and village councils. A word of warning, however, must be given. The village councils worked successfully in the past because the people had a high regard for truth and character and were instinctively inclined to respect age, experience and ability. Members of the village councils were not elected ; they were raised to that position by the consensus of public opinion. Democracy of the modern type involving voting and party alignments did not exist, and is new to India. It presupposes widespread of education, which must be immediately brought

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about. Fear of God and hell which has now disappeared must be replaced by the sense of civic duty, which alone can now induce our elected representatives to place the good of the people they represent above everything else.

Village Panchayats of ancient India exercised wide judicial powers. They decided practically all cases excepting those of serious crimes. Life in ancient times was simple and the law to be administered was known to and understood by all. Modern law is complex and complicated, and presupposes technical knowledge and assistance ; parties to a dispute may often belong to distant places. Village Panchayats in modern times cannot, therefore, successfully exercise that wide civil jurisdiction which they did in the past. Nevertheless a beginning must be made by investing them with a limited civil jurisdiction. It will be difficult for witnesses to tell brand lies in the presence of their fellow residents in the Panchayat courts, with reference to events and transactions well known to the locality. The revival of the village Panchayat courts will no doubt secure speedier justice. There will be, however, some uphill task. The faith in God and the dread of hell that helped the cause of justice in ancient times are rapidly dying out. Party factions are cropping up in villages due to illiteracy and selfishness. So until a proper sense of civic duty and responsibility is developed to replace the faith in God and fear of hell, there will be some difficulty in the successful working of the village Panchayats.

Ancient India sought to solve the problem of the finance of the local bodies by localising a part of the land revenue. Most of the villages could get back about 15 to 20% of the proceeds of the land-tax, which they collected for the Central Government, as its contribution to the funds of the village councils. This experiment is well worth trying in modern times.

There can be no doubt that ancient Indian political thinkers had evolved excellent principles for taxation. The grounds on which remissions were sanctioned and exemptions granted were also as a rule sound. All will agree that the state should gather the taxes like the bee which sucks the honey without damaging the flower, that trade and industry should be taxed not on gross earnings, but on net profits, that an article should not be taxed twice ; that the rise in taxation when inevitable, should be gradual and so on. The principles of exemption were also sound. The original idea was to grant exemption only to learned but poor Brahmanas, who used to impart free education. In some cases this privilege was abused, but the States usually did not fail to levy taxes on Brahmanas, traders and government servants. The cases where the whole Brahmana class was exempted were far and few between ; we cannot and should not revive in modern times such a concession to any wholesale class determined solely by birth.

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The taxation was usually determined by the local customs and traditions. In the later times, however, when the *Samiti* disappeared from the scene, governments would often impose high and arbitrary taxes. We often find tugs of war between the central governments, which wanted to levy new and oppressive taxes and the village committees, which would refuse to collect them. Very often, however, power prevailed and justice went to the wall ; we find villagers migrating *en masse* to escape unbearable taxation. There can be no doubt that in later times, the interests of the average man in the sphere of taxation were not adequately protected when a greedy tyrant was on the throne. This, however, happened primarily because there was *samiti* or popular assembly in later times. The importance of a strong and vigilant popular Assembly as a champion of popular rights and interests cannot be overemphasised.

The ancient Indian state was not merely a tax-gathering corporation, interested only in preserving law and order. It is pleasing and surprising to find that the state in ancient India should have interested itself in a number of ministrant activities of the nation-building type, which are being undertaken by the modern governments only in relatively recent times. Individual enterprise and initiative were, however, not usually affected by the activities of the state, because it would usually utilise the services of commercial and industrial guilds to carry out its policy. Freedom was also given to experts to chalk out their own plans within certain reasonable limits, and the state would give them substantial subsidies to carry them out, if they contributed to further its nation-building activities. This undoubtedly is a pleasing characteristic of the ancient Indian polity. State for instance helped education merely by giving liberal grants to non-official colleges and universities ; it did not care to dictate their policy or courses through a Director of Public Instruction. The growing sphere of state socialism threatens to create a conflict between the individual and the state in modern times. If the state seeks to materialise its plan and policy through the local bodies and trade guilds and organisations, as it did in ancient India, the interests of both are likely to be harmonised.

The ideals of the ancient Indian state were undoubtedly very high and all-comprehensive. It sought to promote the moral, material, aesthetic and spiritual progress of the whole community. Human ideas about the progress in those different spheres go on changing from age to age, and it is no wonder that we may not be able to agree with all that the state in ancient India did or countenanced in order to achieve progress in this fourfold field. For instance, it gave a general support to the *varnasramadharma*, which was undoubtedly iniquitous, especially to the Sudras and untouchables. We must not, however, forget that a state is but the spokesman of the society it represents ; if certain iniquitous

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practices were tolerated by the state in ancient India, the society is as much to blame as the state. We should not judge ancient customs and institutions by modern standards and ideals.

People in those days had a burning and living faith in the doctrine of Karma. Even the Sudras and Untouchables believed that they were born in their particular caste as a natural result of certain sins committed by them in past lives. As a further consequence of the same, classes have certain religious and social disabilities imposed upon them in this life as well, under the sanction of the divine *sastras*. It was impossible for the ancient Indian state even to think of disallowing these disabilities, much less of removing them. Equality of all citizens before the law did, therefore, not exist in ancient India to a great extent. It is no doubt a sad spectacle. We would all have felt prouder of our civilisation if the Smriti writers had imposed a higher punishment on the Brahmana culprit than on the Sudra one, since they recognised the sin of the former to be greater than that of the latter. We should, however, not forget that such iniquities and inequalities existed in all civilisations, eastern and western, and have not completely disappeared even in modern times. If the fine for murdering a Sudra is lighter than that for murdering a Brahmana, we should not forget that the wergild for the head of a slave or serf was much smaller in Europe than that for the head of a knight or landlord. Limited exemption from taxation sometimes sanctioned by the ancient Indian state to the Brahmanas had its counter-part in the European polity, where the church and nobility enjoined many more unjust exemptions down to the 18th century. Ancient Indian state did no doubt not believe in affording opportunities to the son of a cobbler to become a premier; but such a phenomenon rarely occurred in ancient times, both in the West and the East. It will have to be admitted, however, by the impartial critic that the ancient Indian state was not solicitous only for the interests of the Brahmanas; it tried to promote the material and moral interests of all the castes; only it did not encourage one profession to trespass on the field of another; for society honestly believed that these fields were predetermined by birth.

The ideal of an all-India state under an emperor ruling over the territories from the Himalayas to the sea was recognised as early as *c.* 1000 B. C. if not earlier. There were, however, only few occasions in ancient Indian history when it was actually realised. The recognition of this ideal was probably a natural consequence of the realisation of the fundamental unity of India—geographical, religious and cultural. The ancient Indian polity, however, laid down that the empire should not be at the cost of local autonomy, culture and institutions; it, therefore, laid down that the *chakravartin* or the emperor should remain content if his imperial status is recognised by the offer of a suitable tribute. He was not to annex the local, provincial or district kingdoms; even

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if the heads of the latter had been defeated or had died fighting, some relations of theirs were to be put on the throne on condition that they were willing to recognise the conqueror's suzerainty. Local laws, customs and traditions were never to be interfered with by the conqueror.

An all-India state powerful enough to bring about the unity of the country and to defend it from foreign aggression through a co-operative effort under the aegis of the central Government but generous and considerate enough to permit the existence of local governments following their own customs, traditions and fostering their own culture and ideals was thus the ideal of the ancient Indian polity. Curiously enough it is very much allied to our present ideal of a strong and united India with full autonomy to provinces. Let us therefore analyse a little more closely this idea and find out its strong and weak points as disclosed by our ancient history.

The insistence of the political thinkers that a conqueror should allow the conquered king or state to retain his or its individuality in the feudal capacity undoubtedly produced many good results. It permitted local culture, traditions and political institutions to develop more or less unhampered. It toned down provincial dynastic jealousies and animosities ; for a province or a kingdom could at most aim at imposing its more or less nominal suzerainty over its neighbour ; it could never aim at crushing its culture or wiping out its independent existence. Warfare also tended to remain humane ; neither side had the danger of being completely wiped out, if it was defeated ; it, therefore, did not stoop to unchivalrous and unapproved methods to avert a defeat or win a victory.

While recognising that this ideal of an empire with a number of composite units governed by feudatory kings or republics had many good points about it, we cannot remain oblivious to certain injurious results that sprang from it. The recommendation to recognise local autonomy by permitting the conquered king or state to continue in the feudatory capacity eventually stood in the way of effective unification of India. Most of the ancient Indian empires were merely loose federations of a number of feudal kingdoms held together by masterful personalities for a few decades. Most of his feudatories were usually entertaining imperial ambitions ; for the political thinkers recognised that it was but a natural thing that each feudatory should aspire to the imperial status for himself. As a consequence big kingdoms and empires in ancient India were never in a state of equilibrium for a long time. There was a constant tussle going on for the coveted position of a *chakravartin*. It was the duty of each king to secure the expansion of his kingdom by attacking his neighbours when they were weak. Feudatories were therefore usually on the lookout for an opportunity to rebel against the imperial power,

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Ninety per cent of the wars in ancient Indian history would have not been recommended to every feudatory, and if its successful realiser had not been prevented from annexing the conquered state and compelled to permit it to continue to rule in the feudatory capacity.

Ancient Indian political thinkers probably thought that there was nothing wrong in this ideal. Probably they felt that each king, state or province should have a sporting chance to be the leading state in the country at some one time or another. Frequent wars no doubt thus became inevitable ; they were, perhaps, felt to be necessary to keep up the martial spirit and traditions of the Kshatriyas. It did not matter whether it was to be Pataliputra, Kanauj or Avanti which was to be the imperial capital of India. Whatever province may be at the head of the empire, the culture, religion and language of the subordinate provinces did not suffer ; for the conqueror was expressly required to respect and encourage local traditions, cultures and institutions.

Ancient Indians began to become growingly indifferent in the course of time to the necessity and desirability of a strong and stable central state. As monarchies became the order of the day from *c.* 400 A. D. the interstate struggles became dynastic wars for hegemony ; people were not much interested in them because they knew that their local culture, laws and institutions would not be much affected, whatever may be the outcome of the struggle. Contending armies also fought not so much for their provinces as for their kings. There was hardly any patriotism in the real sense of the word. This ideal of a federal-feudal empire, with full liberty to each constituent state to strike for the imperial status but without permission to forge a unitary empire after the conquest thus produced a state of continuous instability in ancient India. There were frequent wars, but they did not lead to the emergence of a strong and unitary state. The energy of the nation was unnecessarily wasted in interminable feuds, which only weakened the combatants. The country as a whole became weak and fell an easy prey to the Muslim invaders.

A glance at our history shows that India has prospered only when it had succeeded in evolving a strong central government. In the age of Aśoka, Chandragupta II, and Akbar India was able to make good progress because it had a strong Central Government. The same fact is at the root of the progress made during the last 100 years. We cannot afford to forget the lessons of history when we frame our new constitution. The principle which required a conqueror to continue the conquered state in the feudal status with its old laws and customs unaffected is the modern principle of provincial autonomy in the ancient language and garb. It vouchsafes to every local unit full freedom to develop along its own lines and culture. But we cannot afford to give a standing permission to each province or state to have

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its own independent army and to make a bid for the hegemony over the rest, when it feels strong enough to do so. Our ancient political thinkers probably felt that such a permission should be regarded as fair in order that each state should have a sporting chance to be the leading power of Bhāratavarsha at some time or other. This was a natural consequence of there being no representative government at the centre, where each constituent state or province could feel that it had a fair and just share of power, influence and representation. With a popular government at the centre of a representative character, modern polity can ill afford to permit the provinces or states to make a bid for all-India domination. Each province or state will have full autonomy and liberty to develop along its own lines, but all must subordinate their separatist tendency in order to gorge a strong union government at the Centre, strong enough to defend the country, and capable enough to make India once more a powerful and flourishing country.

A BHARHUT RAILING SCULPTURE

BY

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On entering the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, one of the many interesting objects that arrest one's eyes is a nearly lifesize figure carved in *alto-relievo* on an upright (*thabho, stambha*) of what was once the *vedika* (railing) surrounding the *Stūpa* at Bharhut. Cunningham was the first to discover it and send it along with other things he could retrieve from the much spoliated *Stūpa* to Calcutta. The following is a summary of his elaborate description of this peculiar sculpture. 'The bare-headed nearly lifesize figure has short curly hair bound with a broad band or ribbon fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the end ; it is clad in a long tunic with ample sleeves reaching nearly to the mid thigh, tied in two places by cords at the throat and across the belly ; the loins and thighs are covered with a *dhoti* reaching below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds; the legs are inside long boots with encircling tassels at the top; it holds in the right hand placed on the breast a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it and its left hand clasps in the middle a huge broad sword sheathed in a scabbard suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt ; the face of the scabbard is ornamented with the Buddhist symbol of *Triratna* (*'Stupa of Bharhut'*, pp. 32-3). It is unfortunate that the only inscription on the pillar is of a donative

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character, and the figure lacks that identificatory label engraved beside so many of the railing reliefs at Bharhut, which have helped us immensely in understanding their significance. The absence of any such label in its case has naturally led scholars to speculate about its identity. Cunningham took it to be the representation of a foreign soldier in the service of the Mauryan kings. He dated the monument in the Maurya period, and this is perhaps the reason why he described it as a soldier in the Mauryan employ. But there is no doubt now that the *Stupa* was erected in the Suṇga period, sometime near about the middle of the second century B. C. R. P. Chanda on account of the boots and the sword of the figure was inclined to identify it as the Asura Viprachitti who is described in the *Saṁyutta Nikaya* as wearing boots (*upahana*, *gananguna-upahana*) and moving about armed with a dagger (*khagga*). B. M. Barua suggests that these by themselves are not sufficient to justify Chanda's identification. He himself would identify it as the figure of Mihira, the Iranian Sun god. Referring to the inscription engraved on the top of the pillar, *bhadaṁta mahilasa thabho danaṁ* ('the gift of the monk Mahila'), he takes *Mahila* to be a variant of Mihila or Mihira, one of the names of Sūrya, and suggests that 'the figure itself has the most intimate connection with the name or epithet of the donor of the pillar gift' ; he thinks that the bunch of grapes and the northern dress *udichyavesa*) of the figure definitely supports his identification (*Barhut*, Bk. II, pp. 68-70 ; Bk. III, p. 86). Barua says that the figure has a girdle about its waist, which is nothing but the *Avyaṅga* (Iranian *Aiwiyaonghana*) which according to later iconographic texts is an invariable adjunct of the north-Indian Sūrya images ; but the tassel round the waist tied in double loop can hardly be described as the Iranian waist-girdle. It is again extremely uncertain whether the Mithra-Mihira type and its north-Indian adaptation had attained such forms at so early a date. It was shown by me long ago that the prototype of the north-Indian Sūrya of the early centuries of the Christian era and the Gupta period was not really the Iranian Mithra who used to be represented by means of solar discs or wheels in the earliest art of Iran, as the sun was symbolised in the old punch-marked and tribal coins of India. The Sun god came to be depicted anthropomorphically in western Asia when Iranian Mithraism was Hellenised in the courts of the Greek dynasts of Asia Minor. The Indian Sūrya with the *udichyavesa* was evolved from the figures of MIIPO (Mihira) on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, which again were the Kushan adaptations of such types of the Greek solar deities as Helios and Apollo on the coins of some of the Indo-Greek kings like Telephus and Apollodotus II ('The Representation of Sūrya in Brahmanical Art', *Indian Antiquary*. 1925).

The Bharhut relief in question undoubtedly stands for a foreign personality, as its peculiar features and dress testify ;

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the vine leaf and fruit in its hand further appear to connect it with the extreme north-western border of India. In the above different attempts at its identification, no importance was given by any scholar to 'the broad band or ribbon fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the end'; it seems to be nothing but the Indian way of representing the 'diadem' which is the unmistakable sign of Greek royalty. Seyffert writes about the 'diadem' in his *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (p. 183), 'The white fillet round the brow which was the emblem of sovereignty from the time of Alexander the Great. Caesar refused it when offered him by Antonius, and it was not, in consequence, worn by the Roman emperors, except in a few cases. But when the seat of government was removed to Byzantium, Constantine adopted the Greek emblem of royalty'. It was the Seleucid emperors of Syria and the adjoining countries, and their neighbours the Bactrian Greek kings who were at first their satraps, who were the constant users of this royal emblem. The fine portrait heads of these rulers on their coins seldom fail to show this diadem. It is a matter of common knowledge how the Greek kings of Bactria sometime after throwing off the Syrian yoke carried their arms into India and conquered part of her north-western and northern region. Some of these kings like Demetrius and Menander appear to have marched into the very heart of the *Madhyadesa*, and besieged for a time such well-known cities of the Indian interior as Mathurā, Sāketa, Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra) and Madhyamikā. It is true that their hold over this region was extremely impermanent, but the incursions of these Yavanas which took place during the first half of the second century B. C. must have left a deep impression on the Indian mind. The literary outcome of this impression is well known to all of us (*cf.* the *Yuga Purāṇa*, *Malavikagnimitra*, etc.); in this relief we may recognise a nearly contemporary expression in art of the Indian idea about such a foreign ruler. The alien king appears here in the role of an admirer of Buddha in the company of the other mythical admirers of the Master, such as the Yakshas, the Nāgas, the Devatās etc., and human admirers like Prasenajit and others. The Bharhut artist seems to have intended to reproduce in his own way some Indo-Greek king of the extreme north and north-west, one of whom at least (Menander) was a Buddhist convert. The form was undoubtedly an idealised one reminding us of one of the two figures riding on horned lions carved on the third architrave of the east gateway of the Great Stūpa of Sanchi. The Sanchi figure, shown only up to the waist, is similarly dressed, holds the reins in the right hand and a bunch of grapes with a vine leaf in the left, and its head is encircled by a similar diadem. Grunwedel remarks about it, 'although the framework of the figure is in the Perso-Indian style, at any rate this and the corresponding equestrian figures represent foreign nations, regarded as living far away

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in the North-west' (*Buddhist Art*, p. 34, fig. 10). We may go one step further and suggest that it is another idealised representation of an Indo-Greek monarch this time riding a winged lion, possibly indicative of the Indian idea of *simhasana*. Reference may be made in this connection to two other foreign type figures in one of the Udayagiri caves near Bhuvanesvar, Orissa. On the left wing of the upper floor of the Rājarāṇī or Rāṇī-Nur cave are two figures, the left one of which is stout and pot-bellied with a sword hanging down from the belt; its right hand is placed on the breast and the left hangs down by the side; its head also seems to be diademed, the ends of which swing behind. The figure on the right is heavily draped and booted, its right hand rests on hip (*kaṭihasta*) and its left with some indistinct object in it is placed on his breast; a sword hangs down from the waist and a heavy cloak covers its body up to the knees; the locks of hair are well-arranged and its ears seem to be adorned with ornaments. Of all these alien type figures, the Bharhut one under review is undoubtedly the earliest in point of date, and it appears to have been based on some concrete original, the others being its probable derivatives.

USE OF WAX-MOULDS FOR CASTING METAL IMAGES MENTIONED IN THE CARAKASAṂHITĀ AND THE TEXTS ON ARCHITECTURE

BY

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For the reconstruction of the history of ancient Indian economic and industrial life we must study in detail every aspect of such life on the strength of documentary evidence, which is bound to clarify our knowledge of such history as it prevails at present. Without a series of monographic studies devoted to this subject no scholar can hope to write any history of the ancient Indian arts and crafts. At present our knowledge of the history of these arts and crafts is quite nebulous, if not misleading. I have been, therefore, devoting some attention to this subject during the last few years. Recently I had occasion to write a paper* on the history of candles in India between A. D. 1500 and 1900. In this paper I have referred to many references to the use of bees-wax for medical purposes as found uniformly in early and late medical texts, though I could not record any evidence about

*This paper is awaiting publication.

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the use of bees-wax for feeding lamps or for the preparation of candles prior to A. D. 1500.

In my search for the uses of bees-wax I came across the following evidence in the *Caraka Samhita* about the use of this material for the casting of metal images as prevalent 2000 years ago :—

The *Caraka Samhita* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1941) contains a chapter (chap. 3 of *Sarirasthana*, pp. 308-316) on खुड्डिकागर्भावक्रान्ति dealing with the embryology of human beings. In this connection *Caraka* observes :—

Page 314—"यस्मात्तु समुदायप्रभवः सन् स गर्भः मनुष्य-विग्रहेण जायते, मनुष्यो मनुष्यप्रभवं इत्युच्यते, तद्वक्ष्यामः—भूतानां चतुर्विधा योनिर्भवति—जरायु-अण्ड-स्वेद-उद्भिदः। तासां खलु चतसृणामपि योनीनाम् एकैका योनिः अपरिसंख्येयभेदा भवति, भूतानां आकृति विशेषापरिसंख्येयत्वात्। तत्र जरायुजानां अण्डजानां च प्राणिनां एते गर्भकरा भावा यां यां योनिं आपद्यन्ते, तस्यां तस्यां योनौ तथातथारूपा भवन्ति; यथा—

कनक-रजत-ताम्र-भपु- सीसकानि आसिच्यमानानि तेषु तेषु मधूच्छिष्ट विग्रहेषु[1] तानि यदा मनुष्यविम्बं आपद्यते तदा मनुष्यविग्रहेण जायन्ते, तस्मात् समुदायप्रभवः सन् गर्भो मनुष्य विग्रहेण जायते; मनुष्यश्च मनुष्यप्रभव उच्यते, तद्योनित्वात् ॥१६॥"

In the above passage *Caraka* compares the birth of different classes of living beings from different kinds of *yonis* (species) to the production of images of gold (*kanaka*), silver (*rajata*), copper (*tamra*), tin (*trapu*) and lead (*sisaka*) from different kinds of *wax-woulds* (मधू छिष्ट-विग्रह) A human *yoni* (species) produces a human being and so on. *Cakrapanidatta* (*c.* A. D. 1060) in his commentary *Ayurvedadipika* explains the above passage as follows :—

"योनिः जातिः, यदाऽपि योनिशब्दः कारण वचनः तदाऽपि जरायुजादिरूप योनिजाता अपि जरायुजादय एव उच्यन्ते, कार्ये कारणोपचारात्। आकृतिः संस्थानं, तस्याः विशेषाः परस्पर विसदृशाकृतय एव नर-करि-तुरगादिरूपाः। संभवे योनि-भेदं दर्शयित्वा यथा योन्यनुकारा भवति तदाह—तत्रेत्यादि। गर्भकरा भावाः शुक्रादयः। मधूच्छिष्ट विग्रहेषु इति सिक्थकेन मृत्तिकायां निर्मित सञ्चकरूप विग्रहेषु। मनुष्यविम्बमिति मनुष्याकारं सिक्थककृत सञ्चकम्[2]। कनकादि

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1. In Jack's *New Encyclopaedia* (p. 317) we get the following note on *Casts* :—

"CASTS, replicas of an object; obtained by forming a mould of plaster or WAX and filling it with the material desired (plaster or metal, ; when this hardens the mould is chipped off ; *founding* is casting of large metal objects." (p. 622) *Founding* or Moulding is a method of casting metals by preparing a mould in green or dry sand or in loam. A pattern usually of wood, but sometimes of metal is used ; the sand is firmly beaten about it and damped ; the pattern is withdrawn, and molten metal poured in. In order to withdraw the pattern, it is necessary that the mould should be made in two parts, which fit upon one another"

2. The word सञ्चकम् mentioned by Cakrapanidatta (*c.* A. D. 1060) means "mould" of earth prepared with the use of wax (सिक्थकेन मृत्तिकायां

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बहुद्रव्योदाहरणं यथा कनकादीनां बहूनामपि मनुष्यसञ्जकसिक्थकस्थानां मनुष्याकृतिजनकत्वं तथा शुक्रादीनामपि बहूनां मनुष्ययोनि-पतितानाम् मनुष्यविग्रह कर्तृत्वम् इति साधर्म्योदाहरणम्"

The above commentary on Caraka's passage informs us that the सञ्जक[3] (Marathi सांचा) was prepared with the use of मृत्तिका (earth) and सिक्थक bees-wax). *Caraka* does not mention मृत्तिका (earth). He

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निर्मित सञ्जक). Apte's *Dictionary* does not record the word सञ्जक The Marathi word सांचा appears to be related to सञ्जक. The Marathi *Sabdakosa* (by Date and Karve, Poona, Vol. VII, 1938, p. 3077) records the word सांचा as follows :—

"सांचा—पु० १ ठसा; मूस; Usage recorded is from ज्ञानेश्वरी (A. D. 1290) :—

"नातरी चतुराननाचिये वाचे ।
काय आहातो लटिकिया अक्षरांचे सांचे ।"

(ज्ञा-११-२०८)

Dr. M. G. Dikshit, Curator, Deccan College Research Institute, has kindly sent to me the following reference to the use of wax-moulds for casting metal images from the ज्ञानेश्वरी (Chap. VI, Ovi 249)

"तातलिये मुसे मेण निघोनि जाय जैसे ।
मग कोदलीं राहे रसें । बोतलेनि ॥.

I am thankful to Dr. Dikshit for this reference.

3. The word "सञ्जक" is not mentioned in the *Amarakosa*, which, however, mentions the following terms connected with the art of metal and wood workers etc. (Kanda II, Chap. 10—शूद्रवर्ग verses 32-36)

नाराची, एषणिका = सुवर्णतुला (according to Bhanuji Dikṣita = B)
शाण, निकष, कष = सुवर्णपरीक्षण पाषाण (B)
वृश्चन, पत्रपरशु = सुवर्णादिच्छेदनद्रव्य (B)
एषिका, तूलिका = वीरणादि शलाका (B)
तैजसावर्तनी, मूषा = मूषा (Crucible) (B)
भस्त्रा, चर्मप्रसेविका = "अग्निज्वलनार्थस्य" (B)
आस्फोटनी, वेधनिका = मुक्तादि वेधिनी (B)
कृपाणी, कर्तरी = "कर्तर्याः" (B)
वृक्षादन, वृक्षभेदी = काष्ठ तनूकरण साधन (B
टङ्क, पाषाणदारण = "पाषाण दारणार्थस्य धनभेदस्य" (B)
क्रकच, करपत्र = काष्ठादि विदारणार्थस्य "करोत" इति ख्यातस्य (B)
आरा, चर्मप्रभेदिका = "चर्मखण्डनार्थस्य शस्त्रभेदस्य" (B)
सूची, स्थूणा, अयःप्रतिमा = "लोहप्रतिमायाः" (B)
शिल्प = कलाकौशल्यादि कर्म (B)
प्रतिमान, प्रतिबिम्ब, प्रतिभा, प्रतियातना, प्रतिच्छाया, प्रतिकृति, अर्चा, प्रतिनिधि = 8 words for प्रतिमा (B)

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only mentions मधूच्छिष्ट (or सिक्थक) in the preparation of the mould (विग्रह). There can be no mould of wax as such for casting meta images of the type indicated by *Caraka*. Hence मृत्तिका (earth) is necessary for the process of moulding referred to by *Caraka*. Evidently a wax model was first prepared and a mould of it was taken on earth and molten metal was poured into this mould of earth.

The *Amarakosa* (between A. D. 500 and 800) records eight words for प्रतिमा (image) and also mentions "लोह प्रतिमा" in the sense of "anvil" (स्थूणा), but I have not found in Amara's terminology about arts and crafts any direct reference to the process by which the *pratimas* or images were made. It mentions such terms रथकार[4], कुलाल[5], लेपक, कर्मोविक[6], असिधावक[7], लोहकारक[8], चित्रकार,[9] स्वर्णकार[10], शाङ्खिक[11], ताम्र कुट्टक[12], ग्रामतक्ष[13], कौट तक्ष[14], नापित[15], रजक[16], शौण्डिक[17], अजाजीव[18], देवल (देवपूजोपजीविन्), मायाकार, नट[19], कुशीलव, मार्दङ्गिक, पाणिवाद, वैणिक, वागुरिक, भृतक (वेतनोपजीविन्) भारवाह, नीच, परिचारिक, परजात, अलस, दक्ष, etc. All these terms give us at a glance a fair idea of the masses of ancient India, ranging from the indolent to the

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4. Vide my paper on "*Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period and in Ancient China in 1121 B. C.*" (*Annals*—B. O R. Institute, Poona, Vol. XXVII, pp. 288-302 1947). The *Manasara* [ed. by P. K. Acharya in 5 Vols. Oxford University Press, London, Vol. IV (Eng. Trans—1933] contains a Chapter (No. XLIII) on the building of *Cars and Chariots*—This work on architecture is of uncertain date. Various dates are assigned to it as follows :—

(1) *7th century A. D.* (2) *A. D. 450-500* ; (3) A few centuries earlier or later than *Vetrunius* (*C. 25 B. C.*) with whose treatise *Manasara* possesses striking similarities.

5. According to *Manasara* (ch. IX) the houses of *Potters* should be on the eastern street of the village.

6. *Manasara* (=*M*) refers to houses of tailors (pp. 71, 76).

7. *M* (p 76)—Houses of *weapon-makers*.

8. Houses of *black-smiths* (*M*, pp. 71-76).

9. Mansions for *artists* (M, 374) ; *Painting* (M, 160, 249).

10. Goldsmith's office, goldsmiths etc. (*Arthasastra*, Trans. 1929—pp. 89, 94, 229).

11. Conch-blower (शंखवादक—Bhanuji) ;

12. ताम्रकार or coppersmith.

13. Village carpenter (M, 194, 206) सुतार (Bhanuji) ;

14. Carpenter living in a कुटी or hut.

15. House for *barber* in royal palace (M. 429) ;

16. Houses of *washermen* (M, 76) Washing-rooms (M, 298)

17. Wine-seller (see chap. XXV or Book II or *Arthasastra*—Superintendent of liquor)

18. Shepherds ;

19. M refers to *Theatre* (नाटक, 2,11,350) and *Theatre-hall* रङ्गमण्डप, p. 431

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leisurely, from the workers in fine arts to the hardworked workers in wood and metal and it would be worthwhile recording detailed information about the arts and crafts pursued by them through centuries of Indian history. The *Arthasastra*[20] of Kauṭilya will be of great help in studying the history of these arts and crafts in view of its great antiquity and attention to details.

As regards the word सञ्चक used by *Cakrapanidatta* (*c. A. D. 1060*) in the sense of "*mould*" I have already pointed out that in the Marathi work of Jñāneśvara viz., the *Jnanesvari* (*A. D. 1290*) the term "सांचे" (plural of सांचा) in the sense of "*moulds*" has been used. It appears that the word "सांचा" is connected with the word "सञ्चक" used by Cakrapāṇidatta more than 900 years ago[21]. We must now try to trace the word 'सञ्चक" and its phonetic variations, if any, in sources earlier than say A. D. 1000.

The reference to the process of casting metal images with the use of *wax-moulds* as mentioned casually in the *Carakasamhita* about 2000 years ago gets added confirmation from the special chapter on this process found in a work on architecture called the *Manasara* edited with English Translation by Dr. P. K. Acharya. This Chapter (No. LXVIII, pp. 633-636 of Vol. IV (Eng. Trans.) 1933) deals with मधूच्छिष्ट क्रिया or casting of idols in *wax*. The following extract refers to the use of *wax* and *earth* in preparing the *mould* for the casting of metal images :—

"42-43. (After correct measurement) it (the idol) should be besmeared with *wax* upto some two or three *angulas*; upon that (coating) it should be again besmeared with *earth* and then it should be *dried up* by experts.

44. That idol (lit. ball) should be *dried up* and besmeared with a new coating of *wax* again.

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20. See Dr. Otto Stein's papers on "*Asthasastra and Silpasastra* in the *Archiv Orientalini*. Praque, *Vol. VII* (pp. 473-487) 1935 ; *Vol. VIII* (pp. 69-90), and (pp. 334-356) 1936 ; and Vol. X (pp. 163-209) 1938.

21. Prof. K. P. Kulkarni in his *Vyutpattikosa* (1947) p. 727 makes the following entry about the word सांचा :—

"सांचा (पुं)—यंत्र, चौकट, ठसा, मूस, आकृति,
A model, a *mould*, a pattern
कान, सञ्चु = साधन, युक्तीचें यंत्र. सांचणें या मराठी शब्दाशी संबध असावा.
तसें असेल तर कानडींत हा तद्भव मान ला पाहिजे."

Hypothetical explanations about etymology are in no way helpful to the problems of etymology. Without a series of usages of words recorded in a chronological order it is difficult to understand the linguistic development of a word. Prof. Kulkarni does not record the usage of the word 'साँचे' in the *Jnanesvari* which was already at his disposal in the *Sabdakosa* volume VII published in 1938.

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45. If the master so wishes, it may be covered with metals (iron) ; that is preferred.

46. The half, besmeared with *earth*, should be left out, and the rest should be washed with water by sprinkling" [22]

Dr. Acharya records additional evidence of texts to make the above extract clear :—

According to the *Suprabhedagama* (XXXIV, 2) "If the image be required to be made of *earth*, rods (of metal or wood) must be (inserted in them), if of metal, they must first be prepared well in *wax*".

According to *Karnagama* (II, V, 41) "If images have to be cast in metal, the wax must first be melted and poured (out of the mould) and all defects removed with cloth".

According to *Visnusamhita* (XIV) "If an image is to be made of *metal*, it must first be made of *wax* and then coated with earth ; *gold* and other metals are purified and cast into (the mould), and a complete image is thus obtained by capable workmen".

(For further details, see the writer's *Indian Architecture*, p. 87). It will be noticed that the rules enunciated in the present text have been generally followed throughout the later works".

As regards the chapter of the *Manasara* (No. 68) dealing with the casting of images in wax (मधूच्छिष्ट विधान) Dr. Acharya makes the following remarks in his *Preface* (p. xiv) :—

"The chapter opens with an enumeration of phalli and ascetics, as well as of architects. So far as the casting is concerned all kinds of images, temporary or permanent, stationary or movable, are moulded in wax. The process slightly varies according to the materials of which an idol is made. Generally a half of the image is covered with a thin copper leaf or melted iron and the wax is laid two or three *angulas* deep and the other half is covered with earth. The metallic portion is washed in water. Thus in casting images in metals wax is melted and poured out of the mould and defects are removed with cloth. Metal images

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22. Vide p. 409 of the Text of the *Manasara* (Vol. IV, 1933) chap. 68 Verses 21-23 lines 42-46). These verses read as follows :—

"भानोन्मान प्रमाणेन शोभयेच्छिल्प (ल्प) वित्तमः ।
द्वित्र्यङ्गुला (लम) धिकं वाथ मधूच्छिष्टेन लेपयेत् ॥२१॥
तदूर्ध्वं मृत्तिकां लेप्य शोषयेत्तद् विचक्षणैः ।
तत् पिण्ड मुत्तापयेद्वा मधूच्छिष्टोनोद्गमैः पुनः ॥२२॥
कर्तुरिच्छा यथा लोहै धृतः (तम्) एत त्प्रविश्यति (शस्यते) ।
पूर्णयेज्जलं सं प्रोक्ष्य त्यक्त्वा तदर्थमृत्तिकः (कम्) ॥२३॥"

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are first made of wax and coated with earth ; gold and other metals are purified and cast into the mould. For images made of earth rods of wood or metal are inserted in them".

In the *Preface* (p. lviii-lix) Dr. Acharya records the following views regarding the date of the Mānasāra :—

"(1) Some assign *Manasara* to the *7th century A. D.*

(2) There is evidence to connect the *Manasara* with the *Matsyapurana* (c. *A. D. 450*) and the *Brhatsamhita* (c, *A. D. 550*).

(3) There are similarities between the *Manasara* and the treatise of *Vitruvius*[23] (c. 25 B. C). If these similarities are based on a direct relation the *Manasara* may be taken to belong to a date which may be a few centuries earlier or later than *Vitruvius* (c. 25 B. C.)

As the date of the *Manasara* has been variously fixed between c. 100 B. C. and A. D. 700, it is difficult to say positively whether *Caraka's* reference to the wax-moulds used for casting metal images is earlier than the chapter on this topic in the *Manasara*. I am, however, inclined to believe that the text of the *Manasara* is later than that of the *Carakasamhita* by a few centuries. If this view is accepted, Caraka's reference to *wax-moulds* may be regarded as perhaps the earliest one so far known to Sanskrit literature. At any rate the process of casting metal images by the use of wax-moulds[24] may be safely regarded to possess an antiquity of at least 2000 years, if not more.

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23. Vide Smith's *Smaller Classical Dictionary* (London, 1913, p. 573) :—"*Vitruvius Pollio, M.*, the author of the celebrated treatise on Architecture, appears to have served as a military engineer under Julius Caesar, in the African war, *B. C. 46* and he was broken down with age, when he composed his work, which is dedicated to Emperor Augustus. Comparatively unsuccessful as an architect, for we have no building of his mentioned except the basilica at Fanum, he attempted to establish his reputation as a *writer upon the theory of his art.* His style is so obscure as to be often unintelligible."

24. I am not sure if the Indus-valley people used *wax*-moulds for casting metallic objects found in plenty in the Mohenjo-Daro excavations. Many *casts and castings* of figures have been found at Mohenjo-Daro (Vide Index to *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* by E. J. H. Mackay, New Delhi, 1938—References under "*Casts and Castings*"). Mackay says (p. 284) :—"The method employed in *casting* of these animal figures was probably the *cire perdue* process." He also refers to this process on pp. 298 and 300.

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THE DRAVIDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN INDIA

BY

THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

Reading the above caption for the first time, one naturally feels puzzled, for we generally associate the Dravidians with South India, as though Northern India had always been Āryavarta. Yet when we survey the Ṛgvedic evidence concerning the state of Northern India at the time of the Āryan invasion, the *Ṛgveda* itself being the only contemporary source of information for the history of this momentous event, we find that the whole of Northern India was peopled by a nation whom the *ṛsis* invariably call by the generic name of *Dasas* or *Dasyus*, which names only indicate the low degree of appreciation—we should rather say the contempt—with which they treated their opponents. But who were these *Dasas* or *Dasyus* considered from the racial point of view?

The facts—that they had such well-constructed *purah*, surrounded by walls[1] some of them with iron gates[2]; that one of their chiefs had "a hundred castles" crowning the spurs of the Vindhyas[3]; and that the two wives of another chief were accustomed to bathe in milk[4]—point to a very high degree of civilization, which we can in no way associate with the Kolerian or Austric tribes. Those descriptions seem to refer to the descendants of the Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and Chañhu-Daro people, who had walled cities and a very wonderfully organized civilization. This seems to suggest that the *Dasas* or *Dasyus* were Dravidians, as it is now recognized that the inhabitants of the Indus Valley cities also belonged to the same Dravidian nation. The Dravidians then occupied the whole of Northern India from Afghanistan to Burma, as the linguistic relics clearly suggest. The Baluchis speak Brāhuī, which is now recognized as a Dravidian language. So also are Urāon, spoken in Chota Nagpur and Malto, near the western frontier of Bengal. Kūi, spoken west of Cuttack and Goṇḍi, which is the language of the Gonds of Central India, has also been supposed to be a Dravidian language. These languages still spoken today testify to the extension of the Dravidian population in Northern India in ancient times.

1. *Rg.*, IV, 26, 3; 30, 13; VI, 18. 8, 8, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, IV, 27, 1. They are called "iron fortresses." evidently because their gates were made of iron
3. *Ibid.*, I, 26. 3; IV, 30, 20; VI, 26, 5, 31, 4.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 104, 3.

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But if we carefully study the Rgvedic hymns, besides their general denomination as *Dasas* or *Dasyus* we shall find a few names of tribes which must also be acknowledged as of purely Dravidian stock. The ancient Dravidians used to have the figure of an animal or a plant as a symbol of their respective tribes. Consequently the members of each tribe were named after that symbol, which was called in Proto-Dravidian *lake*, "a sign", a word which is still to be found in Tulu, and which is the origin of the later word *lancana*, even introduced into Sanskrit . Thus the members of the tribe which had a monkey as their *lake* were called "Monkeys"; those who had a bull were called "Bulls," those who had a palm tree were "Palm-trees," etc [6]. Let us now study some of those ancient tribes of Northern India.

Paravas.—The word *Parava* means "bird." They constituted the tribe of "birds." According to the inscriptions of the Indus Valley, they were a section of the *Minas* (Fishes), but their country was at times also called Paravanād on account of their riches. Their main city seems to have been *Paravirpaili*, "the city of the Paravas" [7]. Their king always received the title of *Minavan*, "the Fisherman," and his banner had two fishes painted upon it, There were two sub-divisions of the Paravas: Pagal Paravas and Nila Paravas, "the Paravas of the Sun" and "the Paravas of the Moon." The latter seem to have been the more important of the two [8]. The Paravas of the Coast of Coromandel and of Ceylon—sometimes wrongly called Bharatar—

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5. Since the Dravidian root *lak* means "to rise," an island was originally called *laka*, a name which is still found in the hybrid denomination of the stream of islands on the western coast of India called *Laka-dwipas*, "island-islands." At a later period a nasal sound was, as in many other cases, introduced, and *laka* became *lanka*. Hence the transformation of *lake* into *lancana*.

6 The use of these signs as a symbol of the tribe has led some to consider that the Proto-Dravidians were "totemic." It is well known how there is a strong disposition among some anthropologists to see totemism everywhere. Even the present writer was partially inclined to that view and called the Proto-Dravidians "totemic" in some of his early writings. Cf. Heras, "The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro", *The Journal of Oriental Research*, X (1936), p. 281 ; Heras, "Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land," *Indian Culture*, III (1937), p. 707. He has now been obliged to change his views. The religion of the Proto-Indians is not as primitive as that of totemic tribes. The existence of those tribal symbols is a mere coincidence. It should not be called *totemism* but *lancanism*.

7. Heras, "Mohenjo-Daro, the People and the Land," *op-cit.*, pp. 715-716.

8. Heras, "The 'Minavan' in Mohenjo Daro," *op. cit.*, pp. 282-287.

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styled themselves Paravas of the Moon, and claim mythical descent from that celestial body. Where are the Paravas of the Sun ?

Perhaps we may trace them in the *Rgveda*. They are not called Paravas, but Pārāvatas, a change which may easily be explained considering that this word passed from the Dravidian to the Sanskrit language. The Ṛgvedic *rsis* in the beginning did not know what was the meaning of that word. The Pārāvatas lived in the territory of the modern Punjab, along the Paruṣni river, and are described as clothed in woollen robes [9]. They seem to have been very prosperous, for the *rsis* mention their rich gifts [10]. Yet they were defeated by the incoming Āryas, as they are said to have been slain by Sarasvatī, because they scorned her [11]. In one of the Vedic sacrifices, the rites of which are described in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the tribe of the Birds is mentioned by the *adhvaryu*, as being the subjects of King Tārkṣya Vaipaśyata [12].

According to the *Markandeya Purana*, the Birds took part in the battle of Kurukṣetra [13]. In fact this *Purana* seems to have been the heirloom of the tribe, for its whole narrative practically is put in the mouth of four *rsi* Birds, named Pingākṣa, Vibodha, Supatra and Sumukha, "the sons of Droṇa, the noblest of Birds, versed in the principles of philosophy and meditators on the *Sastras*". Their mind is said to be "unclouded in the meaning of the *Veda* and *Sastras*". They are described as dwelling "in a cave of the Vindhya mountains"[14].

Panis.—This tribe is not mentioned in the inscriptions of the Indus Valley. *Pana* or *panei* in Dravidian means a "palm-tree". Such was their *lancana*. Much information about them is to be gathered from the Ṛgvedic hymns. They are explicitly called aboriginal, *i.e.*, pre-Āryan, by Ludwig [15]. In point of fact, the Paṇis are always spoken of with the contempt and hatred with which only the Dasyus are referred to [16]. The gods do not help them [17], and are asked to attack them [18]. Agni takes away the booty of the Paṇis [19], and Indra plunders their camp[20]. Divo-

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9. *Rg.*, V, 52, 9 and 11.
10. *Ibid.*, VIII, 34, 18.
11. *Ibid*, VI, 61, 2 and 3.
12. *Satapatha Brahmana*, XIII, 4, 3, 13.
13. *Markandeya Purana*, II, 32-46.
14. *Ibid.*, I, 21-23.
15. Ludwig, *Translation of the Rgveda*, III, 213-216,
16. *Rg.*, I, 124, 10 ; 180, 7; IV, 51, 3 ; VI. 51, 14.
17. *Ibid*, I, 151, 9.
18. *Ibid.*, I, 83, 4 ; 184, 2 ; III, 58, 2 ; V, 34, 7 ; 61, 8 ; VI, 13, 3 ; 20, 4 ; 32, 2 ; VIII, 64, 12.
19. *Ibid.*, VI, 13, 3.
20. *Ibid.*, V, 34, 7.

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dasa, the great Āryan chief, fought against them and defeated them with great slaughter [21]. On this occasion the Paṇis were united with the tribe of the Pārāvatas. In other texts the Paṇis are also associated with the Dasas [22], and even unequivocally called Dasas [23] and Dasyus [24], and styled *mrdhravacah*, people of "hostile speech", an appellation which was always affixed by the Āryas to their Dravidian opponents.

The Rgveda often speaks of the Paṇis as people who never give anything [25], not even to the priests for the sacrifices [26]. Yet they were a very prosperous people [27], owners of hoarded wealth [28], who are accordingly called usurers [29]. For all these reasons Ludwig thinks that they were traders [30]. The *vaniyas* of the *Baberu Jataka*, who did not want to give up the crow for nothing, and finally sold it for a hundred pieces of silver [31], seem to have been members of this tribe.

Alinas —This tribe is mentioned in one of the inscriptions of the Indus Valley [32]. It is the tribe of the "Squirrels". It is one of the five tribes who unsuccessfully opposed king Sudās in the famous *dasarajna* [33]. They very likely, dwelt along the river Alinghar, which means "river of the Alinas", which joins the river Kābul in the neighbourhood of Jalālābad.

Sivas.—They were allied to the Alinas in their campaign against Sūdās [34], and were called *Sibai* [35] or *Siboi* [36] by Greek authors, who gathered their information from the soldiers of Alexander the Great. In ancient Dravidian Sivai meant "Partridge" [37]. They were the tribe of the Partridges. They dwelt between the Indus and the Hydaspes, west of the modern Dera Ismail Khan, at the time of Alexander the Great [38], next to

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21. *Ibid.*, VI, 61, 1ff.
22. *Ath.*, V, 22, 6 ; XII, 3, 13 ; 4, 9.
23. *Rg.*, V, 34, 3-7 ; *Ath.*, V, 11, 6.
24. *Rg.*, VII, 6, 3.
25. *Ibid.*, VI, 53, 3.
26. *Ibid.*, V, 34, 5-7.
27. *Ibid.*, 5.
28. *Ibid.*, I, 83, 4.
29. *Ibid.*, VII, 66, 10.
30. *Op. et loc. cit.*
31. *Jataka*, IV, 339.
32. Heras, "Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land", *op. cit.*, p. 719.
33. *Rg.*, VII, 18, 7.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Arrian, Indica*, V, 12.
36. Diorodus Sioulus, XVII, 96.
37. Cf. Beschi, *Dictionarium Tamulico-Latinum*, word "*sivai*".
38. Quintus Curtius, IX, 4.

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the Taxilans [39]. Their capital was called Sivapura [40]. They were attacked by Alexander the Great, but they soon submitted to him and fraternized with the Greek soldiery ; the fact that they were clad in animal skins and bore maces or clubs, as Arrian describes them [41], convinced the Greeks that they were descendants of Heracles' companions who had come down to conquer India [42].

There may be other tribes also named by the Rgvedic *rsis*, (some perhaps the allies of the Aliṇas and Sivas in their war against Sudās), but their identification is not so easy. That becomes still more difficult at a later period, when the old Dravdian names were translated into Sanskrit : as was also done with the names of cities : Mūnūr [43] became Tripura, Mūnmala [44] was called Triparvata, etc. The translation of the names of tribes was still more frequent. The most important of them was the tribe of the Mīnas, or "the Fishes".

Minas.—They are the most important tribe in the Proto-Indian period, very often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Indus Valley [45]. The Mātsyas of the Brāhmaṇic period are evidently their direct descendants [46]. The fact that their relics are still called Mīnas in the Rajput states south of Delhi (the territory occupied by the Mātsyas) is a guarantee of the identity of the original name of the tribe [47]. In one of the ceremonies of a sacrifice, as "the Birds", so also the "Fishes" and their king Mātsya Sāmmada are mentioned [48]. In another passage of the same work Dhvasan Dvaitavana, king of the Mātsyas, is mentioned as one of the offerers of the horse sacrifice. The Mīnas were the original owners of many sites in Rajputana. Those of the Aravalli were especially famous. They were in frank opposition to the Brāhmaṇas who applied against them to Siahji, the founder of the Rathor dynasty, in 1156 [49]. The famous Prithirāj first served under a Mīna chief, whom he finally

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39. Dionysios, *Orbis Descriptio*, 1080-1165.
40. Scholiast on Panini, IV, 2, 100.
41. Arrian, *Indika*, V.
42. Strabo, XV, 8.
43. Cf. Heras, "Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chanhu Daro", *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII, p. 315.
44. Cf. Heras, "Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land", *op. cit.*, p. 720.
45. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 708-715.
46. Cf. *Kausitaki Upanisad*, IV, 1 ; *Gopatha Brahmana*, I, 2, 9.
47. In epic times they occupied the territories of the modern states of Alwar, Jaipur. and Bharatpur. Cf. Weber, *Indische Studien* I, p. 211 ; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Ksatriya Tribes*, I, pp. 67-74.
48. *Satapatha Brahmana*, XIII, 4, 3, 13.
49. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, II, p. 812 (Ox. U. P. ed.)

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defeated and slew [50]. The ancient city of Nāin, now Nainwah in the Bundi State, was in the possession of a Mīna chief whose fort was captured and dismantled by Rāja Baharmall Kachhwaha, the contemporary of Emperor Bābar. Even down to the time of Tod, they sang a popular song in Rajputana concerning this Mīna chief :

Bāwan kot, chhappan darvāja,
Mīna mard, Nāin kā rāja,
Vado rāj Nāin ko bhago,
Jab bhus-hī men vāmto māgo.

("There were fifty-two bastions and fifty-six gates of the manly Mīna, the Rāja of Nāin, whose sovereignty of Nāin was extinct, when he took a share even of chaff) [51].

But the most important Mīnas seem to have been those of Amber (the old capital of Jaipur). The original home of these Mīnas was a range of mountains extending from the neighbourhood of Ajmer up to the Jumna. These mountains are called Kālikoh (in Dravidian "Mountain of Kālī"). There they built the city of Amber, dedicated to Amba, the Universal mother, who is called by the Mīnas *Ghata Rani* "the Queen of the Pass" [52]. Even in later times, when they had long lost their sovereignty, the Rājas of Amber were not deemed to have been rightly installed on the ghadi unless a Mīna chieftain of Kālikoh marked the *tika* of sovereignty on the forehead of the ruler with his own blood extracted by an incision from the great toe of his right foot, a ceremony which suggests a sort of adoption of the Rajput rulers of Amber by the old Mīna chiefs [53]. It is natural therefore that the Mīnas should have held very influential posts in the Jaipur State. "The Mīnas still enjoy", writes Col. Tod, "the most confidential posts about the persons of the princes of Amber, having charge of the archives and treasure in Jaigarh ; they guard his person at night, and have that most delicate of all trusts, the charge of the *rawala*, or seraglio [*zenana*]. In the earlier stages of Kachhwaha power, these their primitive subjects had the whole insignia of state, as well as the person of the prince, committed to their trust" [54].

The faithfulness of the Mīnas in the discharge of these posts of confidence is traditional in Rajputana. It is related that once, in the time of Abhai Singh of Mārwār, the Mīnas of Aravalli carried away all the cattle of the Rāja's train to their mountain fastnesses. This crime was reported to the Rāja, who is said to have replied calmly : " Let them go, they knew we were short

50. *Ibid.*, I, p. 343.
51. *Ibid.*, III, p. 1333.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 1332.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 1429.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 1429-1430.

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of forage, and have only taken them to their own pastures in the mountains". Some time afterwards they did return them and in excellent condition. When Abhai Singh heard of this, he is said to have remarked : "Did I not tell you these Mīnas were faithful subjects ?"[55]. Years ago when I visited Jaipur I heard that the Mīnas were also entrusted with the watch over the private fruit garden of the Rāja. Once one of the watchmen caught his son actually eating a fruit from the garden. His fidelity to the ruler surpassed his paternal love and with one stroke of his sword he beheaded his own son[56].

Kudagas.—This is another very important ancient Dravidian tribe, whose name also underwent a great transformation. They are the "Monkeys", famous in the *Ramayana* as *Vanaras*. Sugrīva and Hanumān are only chiefs of the ancient Dravidian tribe of the "Monkeys". The mythological associations that grew round the latter in the epic and purānic period have displaced him from the historical plane, surrounding him with an atmosphere as unreal as it is colourful and poetic. From the *Ramayana* we may deduce that the Vānaras inhabited the wooded country of South India ; and the inscriptions of the Indus Valley seem to suggest the same. First of all, their name, Kuḍagas, seems to be a good clue to identify them with the Kuḍagas or inhabitants of Coorg, in modern times called Coorgies, who speak a Dravidian language called *Kudagu*. Moreover they seem to have been associated with the Kananirs, also mentioned in the Tamil poems *Tolkapiyam* probably the Kannadigas or Kanarese people, in a war waged against the King of Velūr. The Kuḍagas are said to have been very strong, and they advanced to the neighbourhood of Velūr itself, but the war does not seem to have been successful for their interests ; for another inscription introduces the king of Velūr, helped by the Kālars, his subjects, capturing a stronghold of the Kuḍagas themselves.[57]

Bhils.—This is a famous tribe much spread in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas. In the inscriptions of the Indus Valley they are spoken of under this sign which must be read *Bilai*, i. e. "the man with the bow". Their name, in fact, seems to have been derived from the name *bil*, which means bow, and they were so called because they used to go about carrying their bow, as they are shown in the above sign. A section of the modern Bhils of Central India have embraced Christianity, and the Missionary of Jhabua, C. I., Rev. Fr. Henry Wichelmann, S. V. D., informed me that when on Christmas day, they come down from the

55. *Ibid.*, II, p. 1042.
56. Today a section of the Minas are classed as a criminal tribe.
57. Heras, "Mohenjo-Daro, the People and the Land", *Indian Culture* III, p. 715 ; "Karnataka and Mohenjo-Daro", *The Karnataka Historical Review*, IV, p. 3.

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neighbouring forests to celebrate the feast in the Church, hundreds of them infallibly come armed with bow and arrow.

Kolis.—We must mention yet another ancient tribe, the relics of which are still found in Northern India and also in the neighbourhood of Bombay. Such are the *Kolis*, i. e. "the Fowls". Though frequently mentioned in the Indus Valley inscriptions, the Koḷis are very often described as of Kolerian origin, and we may well suppose that such is the case, though they became united in their social life with the Dravidians at a very early age. The Koḷis of the Koṅkaṇ are now fishermen, but in ancient times they seem to have been warriors ; for a South Indian tradition relates that in the place where now is Uraiyūr—a suburb of Trichinopoly—a Koḷi defeated a Gājam, *i. e.* the tribe of the Koḷis routed the tribe of "the Elephants". And this seems to be the beginning of the power of the Coḷas on the South-eastern Coast. Uraiyūr was their first capital, and down to the full historical period the Coḷa Kings received the title of *Kolikon*, i. e. "the Fowl King." The title is also found in the Indus Valley inscriptions which describes them as a fowl posed on a throne, thus:[58]

Eruvus.—The word means "ants." They formed the tribe of the Ants, mentioned in the Indus Valley inscriptions. Herodotus[59], Strabo[60] and Pliny[61] also speak of them, as though they were actual gigantic ants who dug gold from the bosom of the earth. They seem to have been a tribe of miners, busy in the gold mines. At a later period they were called *Erumbus* ; there is a city named Erumbur.[62] The Āryas christened them *Pipilikas.*

Garudhas.—This word means "hawks" in Dravidian. They inhabited a province of Pāṭāla, in Sind.[63] The epic mentions a list of forty-eight Garuḍha chiefs. Garuḍha is said to have destroyed the elephant and the tortoise[64], which implies a defeat of these two latter tribes by the former. The same seems to be the significance of that permission obtained by Garuḍha to have the Nāgas for their food.[65] Yet for a time the Garuḍhas and the Nāgas were friendly with each other, as a section of both tribes went together to Ramanīyaka (probably Egypt) to colonize a foreign country.[66]

Nagas.—We have purposely left the Nāgas to the end, both because of their importance and influence, and of the mystery

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58. Cf. Heras, "The Kolikon in Mohenjo Daro", *The New Indian Antiquary*, I, pp. 275-279.
59. Herodotus, III, 102.
60. Strabo, XV, 37.
61. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XI, 31.
62. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48.
63. *Mahabharata*, Udyoga Parva, 3547.
64. *Ibid.*, Adi Parva, 1420.
65. Cf. Oldham, *The Serpent and the Sun*, pp. 81-82.
66. *Mahabharata*, Adi Parva, 1235-1303.

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that surrounds them. Though intimately connected with the Dravidians and probably united with them by marriage from very early days, they seem to have originally belonged to a totally different race. They probably were the dominant race of India prior to the arrival of the Dravidians. This explains the tremendous power the Nāgas held in Northern India and the pride which Indian princes entertained in their hearts when they contracted a family alliance with a Nāga family.[67]

The extension of the Nāga power over the whole of India was most extraordinary. We find the Nāgas over the whole of India down to the historical period; in Karnāṭaka[68], in Bellary[69], in Central India[70], in and round Allahabad[71], in Bihar[72] and in Sind.[73] The name Nāga may have been their own original name in their proper language.[74] In Proto-Dravidian times their name must have been *Pav*. In Pāli literature there is a city called Pāvā, the capital of the Mallas (in Dravidian "people of the mountains"), situated near the borders of the modern districts of Champaran, and Gorakhpur. It was perhaps one of the original centres of the Nāgas. Gen. Cunningham identified Pāvā with Padraona, an ancient city on the Gandak.[75] At Pāvā the Buddha ate a meal which aggravated his malady, as a result of which he died at Kusinārā, a few days after.[76] After his death the Mallas of Pāvā obtained part of his relics upon which they erected a *stupa*.[77] It became a great centre of Buddhism, the Pāveyyaka monks having, at a later period, acquired great power in the Saṅgha[78] (Pāveyyakā was the name given to the inhabitants of Pāvā.[79]) Pāvā was also a great centre of the Niganṭhas, Jaina monks.[80] Is this perhaps the place, whence the original nucleus of the Nāga population developed in India? But there are other places in India equally well connected with this name. In Gujerat, not far from Baroda, there is a mountain crowned with

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67. Cf. Heras, "The Origin of the Pallavas", *Journal of the Bombay University*, IV (1936), pp. 12-13.
68. Banavasi Inscription of Haritiputa-Satakamni, *I.E.*, XIV, p. 334.
69. An inscription of Sri-Pulumavi : *E.I.*, XIV, p. 155.
70. The city of Nagpur.
71. Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, vv.
72. In Nalanda, cf. below.
73. *Mahabharata*, Udyoga Parva, *loc. cit.*
74. The real Sanskrit word for serpent seems to be *sarpa. Naga*, perhaps related to the early Hebrew *nakh* cf. *Gen.*, III, 1.
75. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 497-498 (Calcutta, 1924).
76. *Sutta Nipata* Commentary, I, 159 ; Digha Nikaya, II, 126ff.
77. *Digha Nikaya*, II, 167.
78. *Vinaya Pitaka*, II, 301ff ; *Mahavamsa*, IV, 17ff.
79. *Digha Nikaya*, II, 165.
80. *Ibid.*, III, 210.

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a very ancient fort, dating from a period prior to the Mussalman domination in Western India, which is called Pavagadh. The local popular derivation of this name is evidently of recent invention, devised by some Brahmanic devotees.[81] Moreover we know of a few historical personages in whose name the ancient Dravidian name Pāvā remained. The *Jataka* mentions an ancient Indian king named Pāvāriya.[82] A citizen of Kosambī named Pāvārika built a monastery in a mango-grove (*ambavana*) and invited the Buddha to dwell therein.[83] There was at Nālandā another mango-grove called Pāvārikambavana where the Buddha often preached.[84] This seems to be the mango-grove of Nālandā spoken of by Hiuen-Tsang as having a tank in the centre, in which tank there was, he says, a *naga* called Nālandā which gave its name to the place.[85] That was the reason why that grove was named "Mango-grove of the Nāga." All this may be a memory of the existence of Nāgas in the neighbourhood, and even of a Nāga King named Nālanda who dwelt there, who, at much later period, was supposed to have been a pre-incarnation of the Buddha, as the same pilgrim relates.[86]

VĀKĀṬAKA CHRONOLOGY

BY

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI,
Amraoti

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently discussed the question of Vākāṭaka genealogy and chronology in *J.R.A.S.* B., Vol. XII, pp. 1 f. He gives the following genealogy with the duration of each reign.

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81. Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, III, p. 185 and note 1.
82. *Jataka*, V, 443f.
83. *Sumangala Vilasini*, I, 319 ; *Papanca Sudani*, I, 541.
84. *Digha Nikaya*, II, 81.
85. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 167.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

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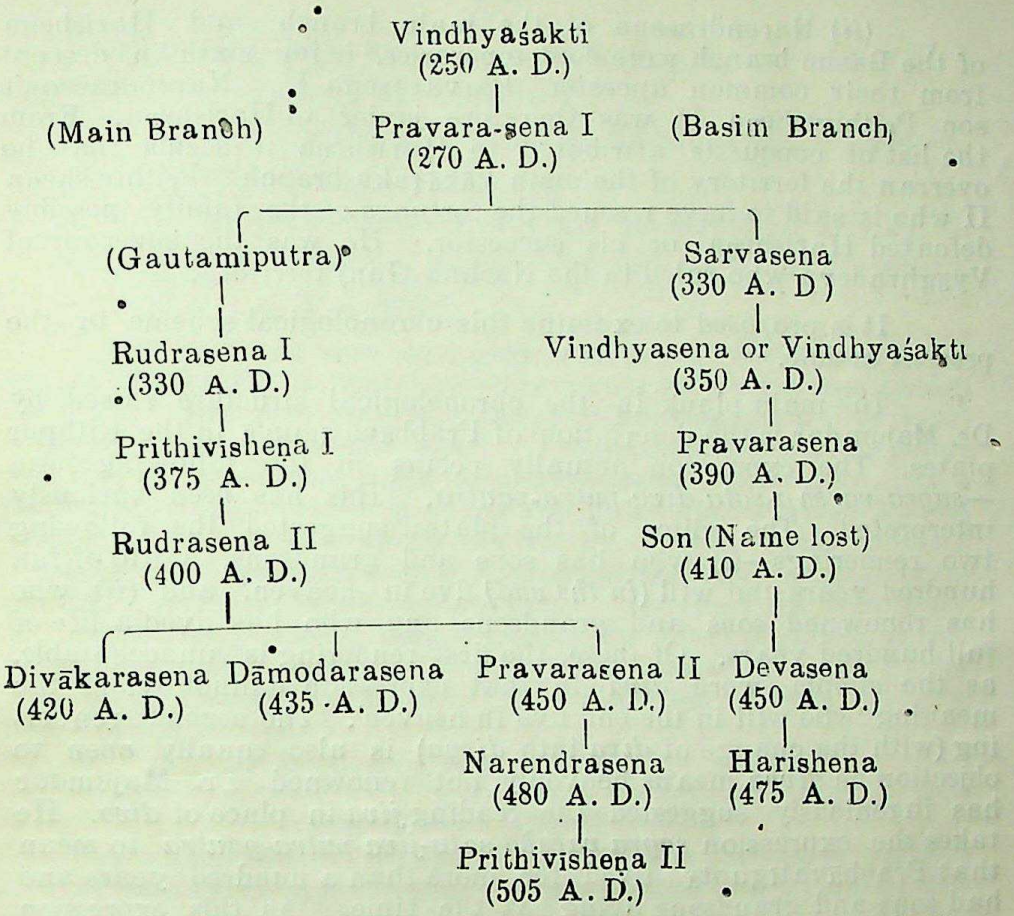

This chronology is based on the following evidence—(*i*) The Rithpur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II describe the dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā as *sagra-varsha-sata-diva-putra-pautra.* This passage means that Prabhāvatī-gupta lived for more than hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumāra-gupta whose reign came to an end in A. D. 455. She was probably born about 365 A D. She became a widow about A. D. 420 when she had three minor sons Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. She acted as a regent for Divākarasena for thirteen years.[1] As the 100th year of Prabhāvatīguptā fell in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, working backwards we get the following approximate years of accession of her three sons—Divākarasena, A. D. 420, Dāmodarasena 435 A. D. and Pravara-sena 450 A. D.

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1. On p. 2 Dr. Majumdar says, 'Now it is well known that when Prabhavatigupta became a widow she was a regent for her son Divakarasena for at least 13 years.' This is probably a slip of the pen. He evidently means that *after* she became a widow she acted as a regent for her son for at least 13 years.

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(*ii*) Narendrasena of the main branch and Harishena of the Basim branch were contemporaries, being sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravarasena I. Narendrasena's son Prithivīsheṇa II was therefore junior to Harisheṇa. From the list of conquests attributed to Harisheṇa it seems that he overran the territory of the main Vākāṭaka branch. Prithivīsheṇa II who is said to have rescued the fortunes of the family possibly defeated Harisheṇa or his successor. He was the suzerain of Vyāghradeva who ruled in the Nachna-Ganj territory.

It is proposed to examine this chronological scheme in the present article.

The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr. Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvatīguptā in the Rithpur plates. The expression actually occurs in the following form —*sagra-varsha-sata-diva-putra-pautra*. This has been variously interpreted. The editor of the plates suggested the following two renderings—(*i*) who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (*in the end)* live in heaven, and (*ii*) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years. Of these, the first rendering is unacceptable, as the simple word *diva* in that expression cannot yield the meaning 'who will in the end live in heaven'. The second rendering (with the change of *diva* into *divya*) is also equally open to objection as *divya* means heavenly, not renowned. Dr. Majumdar has iugeniously suggested the reading *jiva* in place of *diva*. He takes the expression *sagra-varsha-sata-jiva-putra-pautra* to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time. As this expression is pivotal for his theory, it requires to be examined carefully.

Dr. Majumdar has not stated how he dissolves the compound *sagra-varsha-sata-jiva-putra-pautra*. He probably takes the first member as *sagra-varsha-sata-jiva* meaning 'living for a full hundred years.' In that case the second member of the compound would be *putra-pautra* which cannot be taken as a *Bahuvrihi* compound, meaning 'who has sons and grandsons (living at the time). For this meaning one would expect a *taddhita* affix at the end as in the other expression *varsha-satam-abhivarddhamana-kosa-danda- sadhana-santana - putra - pautrinah* descriptive of Prithivīsheṇa I which also occurs in Vākāṭaka grants. In the absence of such an affix, the dissolution of the compound is unacceptable.

Another possible dissolution of the compound is *sagra-varsha-satam jivanti iti tadrisah putrah pautras-cha yasyah sa*. In this dissolution *jiva* would be connected with *putra* and *pautra*, the meaning being 'who has living sons and grandsons.' Similar expressions occur in literature and inscriptions. See, *e.g.*, the following—

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(i) वयं जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागसः । *Rigveda*, X, 36, 9.

(ii) जानासि मे जीवपुत्रि भावं नित्यमविग्रहे ।
क्रोशतो न च गृह्णीते वचनं मे सुयोधनः ॥ *Mahabharata*, V, 144, 2

(iii) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्रं रक्षस्व चाङ्गदम् ।
अन्तको रामरूपेण हत्वा नयति वाहिनम् ॥ Rāmāyaṇa, IV, 19, 11

(iv) जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन । Nasik Cave Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 73.

To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and is therefore often mentioned in the description of women. The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with *jiva* [2]. The expression therefore refers to the long life of her sons and grandsons, not her own. To a widow like Prabhāvatīguptā a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. It is not a source of joy. No Indian widow is likely to boast of it. We must note in this connection that the expression occurs in Prabhāvatīguptā's own grant. The long life mentioned in it must therefore be taken to refer to that of her sons and grandsons. The expression cannot be taken literally [3] any more than *purush-ayusha* in the following verse of the *Raghuvamsa*, (I, 63)

पुरुषायुषजीविन्यो निरातङ्का निरीतयः ।
यन्मदीया : प्रजास्तस्य हेतुस्त्वब्रह्मवर्चसम् ॥

The foundation on which Dr. Majumdar's theory is based is thus extremely shaky. I shall now proceed to examine the subsidiary evidence adduced by him.

(*i*) To account for Prabhāvatīguptā's age of more than a hundred years in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II, Dr. Majumdar supposes that the Vākāṭaka queen had three sons, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. According to him, she was born about A.D. 365 and became a widow in A.D. 420 *i.e.*, when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son Divākarasena was then about six years old. We shall thus have to suppose that Prabhāvatīguptā had no male children till she was nearly 50 years old or that all her sons born before had died and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. This appears very unlikely. As he has himself said, in all cases where nothing definite is known, we should proceed on the basis of a reasonable and probable state of things.

No grants made by Dāmodarasena have been discovered. Besides, the description in the Rithpur plates seems to point to his

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2. If the expression *sagra-varsha-sata* had been intended to refer to Prabhavatigupta, it would have been separated from *jiva-putra-pautra*.

3. *Varsa-sata* here indicates only a long period, as in the other expression *varsha-satam-abhivardhamana-kosa-dandi-sadhana* etc.

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identity with Pravarasena II. The expression is *Vakatakanam Maharaja-sri-Damodarasena-Pravarasena-janani.* This expression uses the phrase *Vakatakanam Maharajah*[4] in connection with the name of Dāmodarasena, but not with that of Pravarasena II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākāṭaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākāṭaka king who actually reigned, it looks strange that the title should not be prefixed to the name of Pravarasena II who was ruling at the time. Again there does not seem any reason why Divākarasena's name should have been omitted[5]. It seems probable therefore that Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II were identical and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession. From the recently discovered Kothūraka grant it seems quite clear that Pravarasena II had come of age when he began to reign[6]. Prabhāvatī-guptā's regency does not seem to have continued for more than five or six years after the issue of the so-called Poona plates[7] which are dated in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy-prince Divākarasena's reign. It does not therefore seem likely that Prabhāvatīguptā was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II.

(*ii*) Dr. Majumdar says that Narendrasena of the main branch and Harishena of the Basim branch were contemporaries because both of them were sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravarasena I. We cannot however be certain about the contemporaneity of princes by counting generations as the reign-periods of kings vary greatly. Besides, though Narendrasena was sixth in descent from Pravarasena I, one of his ancestors *viz.*, Gautamīputra did not reign. Narendrasena was therefore probably a contemporary of Devasena. Consequently Pṛithivīsheṇa II and Harisheṇa may have ruled in the same period. As the latter claims to have conquered Avanti or Malwa, he must have overrun the territory of the main branch. He had perhaps annexed it after the death of Pṛithivīsheṇa II.

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4. The phrase *Vakatakanam Maharajah* is repeated in connection with the name of every king of the dynasty, while it is omitted in the case of Gautamiputra who predeceased his father, Pravarasena I.

5. Damodarasena, according to Dr. Majumdar, was dead at the time of the issue of the Rithpur plates There was thus no need to mention his name. If the intention was to mention the names of *all* sons of Prabhavatigupta, living or dead, the name of Divakarasena also should have been mentioned in the Rithpur plates.

6. It is dated in the second regnal year. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 155 f.

7. These plates, though discovered in distant Poona, originally belonged to the Wardha District as shown by me. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 158-59.

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(*iii*) As for the restoration of the fortune of his family by Prithivīsheṇa II, that need not refer to any struggle with Harisheṇa. We know that there were wars between the main branch of the Vākāṭakas and the Nalas of Pushkarī. Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty had overrun the Vākāṭaka territory and occupied Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vākāṭakas[8]. The Nalas admit that their own capital was devastated by the enemy some time before the reign of Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadattavarman, who resettled it [9]. It is easy to surmise that this enemy, though not named in the inscription, was the contemporary Vākāṭaka king. The restoration of the fortune of the Vākāṭaka family mentioned in the Balaghat plates probably refers to the reoccupation of Northern Vidarbha by Prithivīsheṇa II[10].

The Vākāṭaka chronology is still more or less conjectural, but there are some fixed points. One of them is the contemporaneity of Chandragupta II and Rudrasena II who became his son-in-law. This is now admitted by all. Another fixed point is afforded by the identification of Vyāghradeva, the feudatory of the Vākāṭaka *Maharaja* Prithivīsheṇa, with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra. Dr. Majumdar admits that this Prithivīsheṇa was the second prince of that name. The Uchchakalpa kings were ruling over the territory round the Nagod State, for most of the copper-plates of these kings were found in the valley near the village of Kho, 3 miles from the capital of the Nagod State. Vyāghradeva, the feudatory of Prithivīsheṇa II was ruling in this very territory. One of his stone inscriptions was found at Nachne-ki-talai about 7 miles south-west of Jaso, the chief town of the neighbouring State, and the other at Ganj in the Ajaigarh State, not far from Nachna. It seems therefore quite plausible that Vyāghradeva of the Nachna-Ganj territory was identical with Vyāghra of the Uchchakalpa dynasty. The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in G. 174 and 177. His reign may have extended from G. 170 to G. 190. Vyāghra, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *circa* G. 150 to G. 170 *i. e.* from *circa* A. D. 470 to A. D. 490[11]. This is also approximately the period when Prithivīsheṇa II was ruling. His grandfather Pravarasena II could not therefore have come to the throne as late as A. D. 450 as suggested by Dr. Majumdar on the supposed evidence of the Rithpur plates.

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8. The Riddhapur plates of his son Arthapati were issued from Nandivardhana. *Ibid.* Vol.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, 156.

10. I have shown that in the interim period the Vakatakas had shifted their capital to Padmapura, modern Padampur in the Bhandara District. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p 270.

11. For a detailed discussion of this question see my article on the dates of Uchchakalpa kings in *Ep. Ind* Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.

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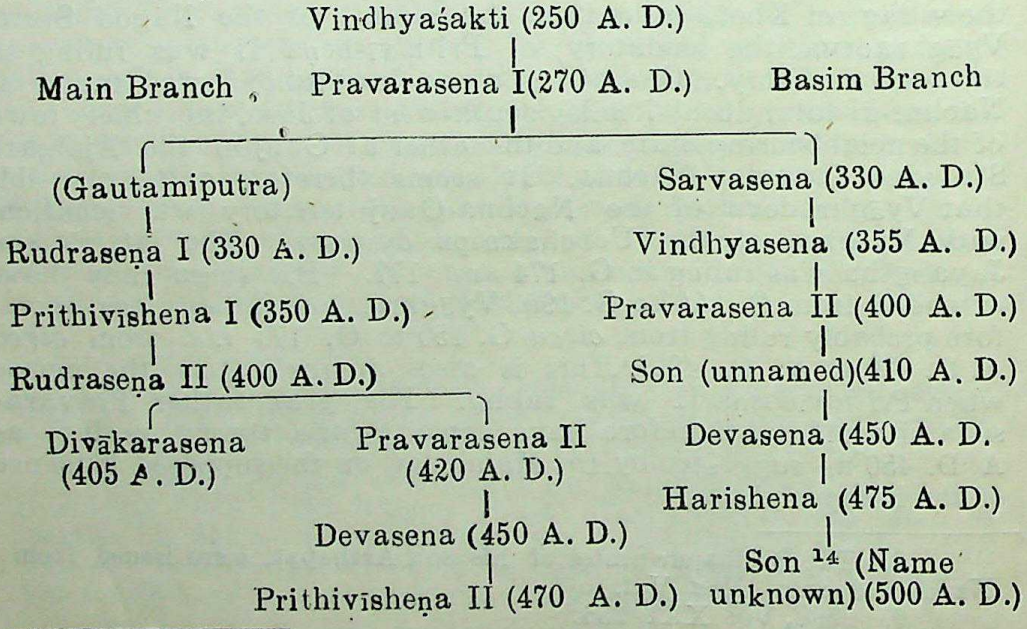
The prevailing view that Rudrasena II died after a short reign, leaving behind two minor sons Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena II is thus the correct one. The marriage of Rudrasena II and Prabhāvatīguptā took place, according to V. Smith in *circa* A. D. 395. Rudrasena II may have come to the throne in *circa* A. D. 400 and died in *circa* A. D. 405. Prabhāvatī-guptā acted as Regent for her elder son Divākarasena for at least thirteen years (A. D. 405-418). This period of regency fell during the reign of her father Chandragupta II. It is not therefore unlikely that the great Gupta Emperor sent some trusted generals and statesmen to Vidarbha to assist her in governing her kingdom. One of them was the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa who stayed at the capital Nandivardhana for some time and composed his lyric *Meghaduta* on the neighbouring hill Ramtek. The tradition about Kālidāsa staying in the court of Kuntaleśa has, of course, no bearing on Vākāṭaka history, for the Kuntala country was then under the rule of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura[12], but this does not in any way invalidate the other tradition about Kālidāsa having composed (or at least helped Pravarasena in composing) the *Setubandha* by the order of Vikramāditya[13]. It is easy to surmise that the latter was the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, the grandfather of Pravarasena II, the reputed author of the *Setubandha*.

The Vākāṭaka chronology may therefore be stated as follows—



12. See my article on the Rashtrakutas of Manapura in *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXV. pp 356 f.

13. This tradition, though late, does not appear improbable.

14. For Vakataka history subsequent to the reign of Harishena, see my article on the historical data in the *Dasakumaracharita*, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

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THE CITY OF GAṄGĀ

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Classical writers represent the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha primarily as rulers of the peoples known to them as the Gangaridae and the Prasii. The second of the two names is rightly taken to be the Greek plural form of the Indian word *Praichya* meaning the inhabitants of the eastern division of India. It is well known that the Bhāratavarsha (India) was traditionally divided into five countries, *viz.* Prāchya or Eastern India, Pāśchātya or Western India, Uttarāpatha or North-western India and the adjoining region of Central Asia, Madhyadeśa or the central part of Northern India, and Dākshiṇātya or the peninsula of the Deccan. The Prāchya country or the land of the Prāchya people comprised Bihar and Bengal together with the eastern part of the U. P. The western limit of this land was the Kālakavana (probably near Allahabad) according to the authors of the *Grihyasutras*, Prayāga or Allahabad according to the *Manusmṛiti* and Vārāṇasī or Benares according to the *Kavyamimamsa* composed by Rājaśekhara about the beginning of the tenth century A. D. Prāgjyotisha or Assam, often regarded by ancient writers as a Himalayan country, formed no part of the dominions of the Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha. In the seventh century A. D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang noticed *Stupas* attributed to the Maurya king Aśoka (who is said to have built 84000 *Stupas* throughout his empire) in all parts of Bengal but not a single one of them anywhere in the dominions of Bhāskaravarman king of Assam. Orissa was usually regarded in early times as a land belonging to the Dākshiṇātya or the southern division of India.

The people called Gangaridae is usually located in Bengal. They therefore represented one of the various tribal elements constituting the so-called Prāchya people. The separate mention of the Gangaridae and the Prasii (who apparently included the Gangaridae) seems to indicate the political and constitutional importance of the former among different elements of the Prāchya people under the Nandas and the Mauryas in the fourth and third centuries B. C. The name *Gangaridae* is sometimes believed to be a Greek corruption of Sanskrit *Gangarashtra*, *Gangaradha* or *Gangahridaya*. The unsoundness of these

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suggestions is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the word *Gangaridae* in the plural is derived from the base *Gangar* or *Gangares* as Akhaemenidae (the Akhaemenians) from *Akhaemenes* and *Sassanidae* (the Sassanians) from *Sassan*. The name of the people is therefore actually Gangares and not Gangaridae which simply means the Gangares or Gangarian people. The more correct form of the name of this people seems to have been *Ganges* which, as will be shown below, is found in the *Periplus* as the name of its habitat. The particular area of Bengal that was inhabited by the Gangaridae (Gangarians or Gangians) is indicated not only by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*circa* 80 A. D.) but very definitely also by the *Geography* of Ptolemy (*circa* 140 A. D.).

Ptolemy (*Geog.*, VII, 1, 18) refers to the five estuaries of the river Ganges as (1) the westernmost mouth called Kambyson 144° 30′ 18° 15′, (2) the second mouth called Mega 150° 45′ 18° 30′, (3) the third mouth called Kamberikon 146° 20′ 18° 40′, (4) the fourth mouth called Pseudostomon 147° 40′ 18° 15′, and (5) the fifth mouth called Antebole 148° 30′ 18° 15′. Although owing to the changes in their courses, the identification of these mouths of the Ganges with her present estuaries may not be beyond doubt, Ptolemy's estimate of the distance between the easternmost and westernmost of them to be four degrees of latitude seems to suggest that the area washed by the estuaries of the Ganges in the second century A. D. was practically the same as it is today, that is to say, the land between the Bhāgīrathī or Hooghly river in the west and the Padmā-Meghnā estuary in the east. Elsewhere in his work (VII, *i*, 81) the Greek geographer says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange the royal city (*i. e.*, capital of the country) 146° 19° 15′ ". It is clear from the above account that the people called Gangares or Ganges received their name from Gange, the chief city of their country, just as the people of Attika were known as Athenian from the capital city of Athens. In India also names of cities like Puṇḍravardhana, Karṇasuvarṇa or Tāmralipta usually indicated the districts round them and, moreover, the names of the country and its people were almost always the same. Thus, according to Ptolemy, the Gangarians or Gangians inhabited the delta of Southern Bengal watered by the lower spurs of the river Ganges. In the second century A. D., they appear to have been an autonomous people with their capital at the city of Gange which, as its name indicates, was situated on the river Ganges. The latitude and longitude of the city as given by the geographer, although they can hardly be relied on, would suggest its location not far from the confluence of the Ganges and the sea. It is not improbable that the Maroundae of Ptolemy (VII, *ii*, 14), whose country abutted on that of the Gangaridae and lay to the east of the Ganges, were the Puṇḍras who had their headquarters

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at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District.

It is very interesting to note that the *Periplus* (para. 63) applies the name *Ganges* not only to a river but also to a country and its capital both located about the principal mouth of the river. The author, who was a Greek navigator and merchant, says that while sailing towards the east in the Bay of Bengal "with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left" the country called Ganges comes into view: "there is a river near it called the Ganges...On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Ganges. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and mu slins of the finest sort which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold mines near these places and there is a gold coin which is called *kaltis*." The reference to the Gangetic muslin no doubt reminds us of the worldwide celebrity of the muslin manufactured at Dacca in the medieval period and also of the *dukula*, *kausika*, *patrorna* and *pravara*, mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahabharata* as presents made to Yudhishṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmraliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India. It is also interesting that the city of Ganges, situated on the river of that name (apparently indicating the principal mouth of the Ganges) has been called a market-town; but the fact that the town bore the same name as the country round it shows that, although it was a market-town in the eyes of a foreign merchant, the city of Ganges was the capital of the country called Ganges. It is probable that soon after the dissolution of the Maurya empire the Gangian people of lower Bengal formed a powerful state with their headquarters at the city of Gange or Ganges. As however the name of the people was apparently derived from their chief city, the Gangian city seemst o have existed as early as the days of the Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha.

But a people called Gaṅgā, Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting lower Bengal and having the capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek *Gange* or *Ganges*) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to the foreign writers from the fourth century B. C. down at least to the second century A. D., was apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates, in connection with the mythological *Digvijaya* of Raghu, the celebrated Vaṅga people, known from ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangians are placed by the Classical writers. In Canto IV of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamsa*, Raghu is said to have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal (verse 34) and to have accepted the submission of the Suhmas (verse 35) and subdued the Vaṅgas (verses 36-37). The Suhma country, later called Rāḍha, lay on both banks of the Ajay river in the modern Burdwan region in South-

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west Bengal. The *Raghuvamsa*, further, says that after having conquered the Vaṅgas, the Ikshvāku hero crossed the Kapiśā (the modern Kānsāi river in the Midnapur District, identified by Raychaudhuri with Ptolemy's Kambyson, the westmost mouth of the Ganges and, through the country of the Utkalas (inhabiting parts of the Midnapur, Balasore and Cuttack Districts), reached Kaliṅga in the Purī-Ganjam region (verse 38). It seems that the Kānsāi river in the Midnapur District was once regarded as the demarcating line between the Vaṅga and Utkala countries and that the Vaṅgas occupied the delta of lower Bengal as far as the Kānsāi in the west. This is possibly supported by Ptolemy's *Geography* (if Raychaudhuri's identification of Kambyson is accepted) and certainly by the Jain *Prajnapana* which speaks of Tāmralipti or Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District) as a locality belonging to the land of the Vaṅgas. See Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 186. But far more important in determining the habitat of the Vaṅga people is verse 36 of the above text describing Raghu's victory over the Vaṅgas : *vangan-utkhaya tarasa neta nau-sadhan-odyatan, nichakhana jayastambhan ganga-sroto-ntareshu sah.* The spurs of the Ganges referred to as *ganga-srotas*, were near about the Bay of Bengal mentioned earlier in verse 34. The passage *ganga-sroto-ntareshu* reminds us of *stan-antare* (*i.e.* in the space between the breasts) in the passage *na mrinala-sutram rachitam stan-antare.* Millinātha rightly explains *ganga-sroto-ntareshu* as *gangayah srotasam pravahanam antareshu dvipeshu.* The verse therefore means to say that, after having totally routed the Vaṅga people who were fighting from their battleships, Raghu established columns of victory in the land intersected by the mouths of the Ganges, which was apparently the country inhabited by that people. This shows beyond doubt that the Vaṅgas inhabited the deltaic region of Southern Bengal and that they were no other than the Gangaridae or Gangians who, according to Classical writers, lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city about the confluence of the Ganges and the sea.

The location of the city of Gaṅgā, capital of the Gangians or Vaṅgas, in the vicinity of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara (sea) suggests that it was no other than the celebrated holy city of Gaṅgāsāgara or Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama mentioned in Indian literature. As a personal name like Satyabhāmā is known to have been abbreviated into both Satyā and Bhāmā, a locality like Purushottamapurī could be and has actually been celebrated both as Purushottama and as Purī. The city of Gaṅgāsāgara seems likewise to have been known both as *Ganga* (at least to foreigners of the early period) and as *Sagara* (still preserved in the name of the Sāgar or Gaṅgāsāgar Island).

The ancient city of Gaṅgāsāgara, at the eastern extremity of the Chakravartikshetra and of the Bhāratavarsha, Kumārīdvīpa

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and Āryāvarta became one of the famous all-India Tīrthas at least before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. if not in much earlier times. The popularity of pilgrimage to holy places is noticed in the records of Aśoka (*circa* 272-232 B. C.) who visited several Buddhist Tīrthas including Sambodhi (Mahābodhi or Bodhigayā, modern Bodhgayā) and of the Hinduised Saka king Rishabhadatta (119-23 A.D.) who visited Pushkara in Rajputana and made arrangements in various Tīrthas in Western India for the benefit of the pilgrims. The *Baudhayana Dharma-sutra* (*circa* 5th century B. C.) discouraged travels in the lands of the Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Prāṇūṇas, as it prescribed purification of the travellers by the performance of the Punastoma or the Sarvapṛishṭhā (II, 2, 16). But later authorities allowed travels in the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Surāshṭra and Magadha countries if they were undertaken for the purpose of pilgrimage (Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 74). The *Tirthayatra* section of the Vanaparvan of the *Mahabharata*, composed earlier than the Gupta age refers to Gaṅgāsāgara as a very great Tīrtha : *gangayas-tatra rajendra sagarasya cha sangame, asvamedham dasagunam pravadanti manishinah ; gangayas-tv-aparam param prapya yah snati manavah, tri-ratram-ushito rajan sarva-papaih pramuchyate* (III, 85, 4-5). The *Sabdakalpadruma* (s. v. *ganga* quotes the following verses from the *Kurma Purana*, one of the older Purāṇas known to Albīrūnī) : *gangayam jnanato mritva muktim-apnoti manavah, ajnanad brahmalokan-cha yati n-asty-atra s msayah, gangayan cha jale moksho varanasyam jale sthale, antarikshe cha gangayam gangasagarasangame.* It is said that a person dying in the waters of any part of the Ganges gets salvation ; at Benares salvation reaches him even if he dies on the banks of the river ; but at Gaṅgā-sāgara salvation is guaranteed whether one dies in the waters or on the land or in the air. The *Vishnusamhita*, a post-Gupta work in its present form, recognises the importance of this Tīrtha in regard to the performance of funerary rites : *ganga-dvare prayage cha gangasagarasangame, satatam namisharanye varanasyam viseshatah* (Ch. 85, 28). That Gaṅgāsāgara was well known in North-western India in the eleventh century A.D. is suggested by the reference in Albīrūnī's work (*circa* 1030 A.D.) on India to this city where the Ganges flows into the sea" (tr. Sachau I, pp. 201, 261).

Due to several factors, the chief amongst them being the change of main course of the Gaṅgā through the Padmā as well as the impotence of the worthless descendants of the valiant Vaṅgas of old as guardians of the sacred place, the all-India importance of the Gaṅgāsāgara Tīrtha gradually waned and its enviable position as the greatest Tīrtha in Eastern India was ultimately usurped by the medieval Purī Tīrtha in Orissa. As a local Tīrtha however it preserved its popularity in this part of India throughout the medieval period in spite of the depredations of Magh and Portuguese pirates in lower Bengal. The practice

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of dedicating children to the goddess Gañgā in the waters of the confluence at Gañgāsāgara prevalent in that age in South-west Bengal and the neighbourhood is well known to all students of Indian history. Medieval Bengali literature refers to the belief that a person offering to die in the waters of the Gañgāsāgara with a solemn desire is sure to get it fulfilled in his next life. Chaṇḍidāsa's *Srikrishnakirtana* (14th of 15th century) has the passages : *sagara-sangame giya, gayer masa katiya, apana magar bhoja diya* ; *sagarasangama-jale, tyajiba mo kalevare* etc. In the sixteenth century Jayānanda, a poet of the Burdwan region, wrote in his *Chaitanyamangala* ; *ar ramani bale gangasagare mariba.* In the same century, Kavikaṅkana Mukundarāma put the following words in the mouth of Srīmanta, one of the heroes of his *Chandimangala : khandiya vidhir yamya, sagare kariba kamya, pujakari sanketa* (*sankara?*) *madhava ; bhunjiya samsara-sukha, dekhiba bāper mukha, punarapi haiya manava.* Srīmanta is also represented as saying : *yadi va pitar sange nahe darasan. kamana kariya mor sagare maran.* Elsewhere in the same work, one of the jealous ladies who were comparing their own husbands unfavourably with Gaurī's bridegroom (Siva), is found saying : *ar yuvatibale ami mandar* (*mandire?*) *jaba, kamna kariya yiya sagare mariba.* Vide C. C. Banerji, *Candimangal abodhini*, pp. 822, 857.

A number of medieval Sanskrit works such as the *Gangavakyavali*, attributed to the Maithila writer Vidyāpati (*circa* 1375-1450), and the *Tirthachintamani* of the Maithila Vāchāspati Miśra (*circa* 1425-80), which is divided into five *Prakasas, viz.* Prayāga, Purushottama (Purī,) Gañgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī and deals with topics like the purpose of pilgrimage, its preliminaries, rites to be performed at the Tīrthas, subsidiary holy places at the principal Tīrthas, etc., makes prominent mention of the Gaṅgāsāgara Tīrtha. The most valuable information about the religious and monastic establishment at Gaṅgāsāgara, one of the greatest and oldest Indian Tīrthas, is however found in the *Tirthasara* composed by the Bengali writer Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra in Saka 1651 (1729 A. D.). This work as quoted in the *I. H. Q.*, XXII, p. 128, shows that, as late as the first half of the eighteenth century, considerable parts of the old city existed and that people flocked to the Tīrtha with a desire to touch the feet of Pitāmaha (Brahman), to have a bath in the water of the Mandākinī (Gañgā reaching the Pātāla) and to worship the images of Mādhava (Vishṇu) named after an ancient local king of that name, Amaraśaṅkara (Siva), Kapila (founder of the Sāṅkhya system of Indian philosophy, mythologically represented as a sage indirectly responsible for the digging up of the beds of the oceans by the sons of Sāgara as well as for the descent of the Gañgā on the earth and regarded as an *Avatara* of Vishṇu), Skanda-Kārttikeya and Hari (Vishṇu): *madhava-nama nripa asit tasya desasya ; tena sthapito madhava-nama vishnus-tatpratima-tadadhishthan chihnena tirthasya parichayah kritah;...tatra kapilan muni-partimasti;...tatra mandakini patalaga ganga tishthati...karttikeya-*

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pratima tatr-asti...hari-pratima tishthati...sankarah kapilas-ch-aiva svetadvipa-patis-tatha, dvipe sadharanah skandah panchamas-cha mahodadhih ; iti skande ; (sankarah amarasankarah, sveta-dvipa-patir-madhavah) ; kapilasya mukham drishtva sprishtva paitamaham padam, tara-gang-odakam pitva punarjanma na vidyate (*I. H. Q.*, XXX, p. 128).

The city of Gaṅgāsāgara seems to have been often encroached upon by the sea and affected by the occasional changes in the surface of the land caused by the silting up of one or other of the mouths of the Ganges and by the creation of new mouths. The same reason seems to have been at the root of the rise in different ages in the neighbourhood of such market-towns as the ancient Tāmralipta, the medieval Saptagrāma and Hooghly and the modern Calcutta. But some of the old temples and images at Gaṅgāsāgara survived as late as 1842 A.D. when the remaining part of the ancient city was finally and completely washed away by the waves of the sea (*J. A. S. B.*, 1850, p. 538 ; *I. H. Q.*, loc. cit.). Just a year before the remnants of the last temple were swallowed up, a very interesting account of the "Mela at Ganga Saugor" appeared in the *Friend of India*, Vol. VII, 1841, p. 70 : "...a mere sandbank, about a mile in length and about a quarter mile broad —of a crescent form with the wide sea opening in front and the back covered by a dense jungle. At one corner stands the solitary temple of the celebrated Sanyasi Cupil Mani (Kapila-muni)...This temple is the last remnant of what has evidently been a large monastic institution for devotees, the ruins of which may be walked over at low water. These ruins show that the buildings must have been very extensive as well as massy..." The Kapila temple is said to have been "built of *Concha* stone brought from Orissa" and was in a precarious condition "soon to moulder away". It was inhabited by a number of mendicants some of whom owed allegiance to a pontiff of distant Jaipur in Rajputana. There were two stone images in the temple, one of Kapilamuni and the other of 'Mahdeb' (either Mādhava, *i. e.* Vishṇu, or more probably Mahādeva, i. e. Siva). The correspondent of the *Friend of India* noticed an old inscription in the temple about the letters of which he remarks, "...yet are they like neither to things in heaven above or in the earth beneath, nor could the Sanyasis themselves decipher the hieroglyphics". The epigraph was supposed to contain a date which was believed to correspond to 430 or 437 A. D. (*J. A. S. B.*, loc., cit. ; *I. H. Q.*, op., cit. p. 129). The above shows clearly that the sea washed away the most important sacred place in Eastern India, associated with the names of an ancient Vaṅga king called Mādhava and the sage Kapila, just as Dvārakā, a West Indian Tīrtha of all-India reputation, had been swallowed up by the waves of the Arabian Sea. But whereas an entirely new city, founded in the neighbourhood, was endowed by the people of the Pāśchātya division of India with the name and sanctity of ancient Dvārakā,

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the inhabitants of the Bengal delta did practically nothing to preserve the sacred memory of Gaṅgāsāgara. The real purpose of pilgrimages to holy places in all the four extremities of India was to travel over the length and breadth of the whole land in order to know her properly and to feel the fundamental unity of the various elements in the Indian population. With the absence of Gaṅgāsāgara, owing principally to the want of vision and prowess on the part of the Bengalis, there is no ancient Tīrtha of all-India recognition in this part of the country to attract pilgrims from other parts of India. This seems to be detrimental to the cause of the unity of the Indian people. The Bengalis ought to think of rebuilding the great Tīrtha at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara in all its ancient glory.

SOME NEW FINDS OF EARLY GUPTA PERIOD FROM MATHURA

BY

K. D. BAJPAI, M. A.,

Curator, Curzon Museum, Mathura.

Recently a good number of Early Gupta finds consisting of sculptures and carved bricks were acquired by clearing the Yamuna bed near Gokarṇeshwar Mound which is situated at the north corner of Mathura City. This site had already been disturbed by Kankar-diggers a few years ago yielding, as I was informed, some images and bricks, most of which were left out at the spot. The river bed on this side is never completely dry. But in the month of June last when there was very little water on the surface I started excavation, as a result of which the following objects were obtained, which all have been deposited in the local Archaeological Museum.

1. *Square Basement of a Votive Stupa.*—This well-preserved square basement (2'-4" × 2'-4") is carved with two lions seated back to back on each of the four sides. In between the two lions there is a head of the Buddha on all the sides. It is interesting to note that the facial expressions of all the four Buddhas differ from each other probably depicting gloom, meditation, mirth and happiness respectively. This is a unique basement and is decidedly the best of its kind so far discovered at Mathura.

2. *Parasols of Stupas.*—A number of broken carved umbrellas (*Chhattras*) have been discovered. The largest is 5'-6½" in diameter and is docorated with full-blown lotuses and other flower designs. The middle hole for receiving the *yashti* is 7½" in diameter.

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3. *Two broken pieces* probably of Toraṇa tympanums carved with flying gandharvas among *pipal* leaves carrying garlands.

4. *About a dozen halos* (*Prabhamandalas*) decorated with sun-rays, suspicious symbols, lotus designs and scroll-work of multifarious varieties. The most remarkable of these is the remaining half portion of a halo (dia. 3'-6"). Besides its fine workmanship, resembling that of the Buddha image No. A-5 (dia-3'-1") in the Mathura Museum, it is the largest halo so far obtained in the Buddhâ images at Mathura.

5. *Mutilated parts of Buddha images.*—A number of broken pieces of Buddha images have been found. One mutilated hand, probably of a life-size image of Buddha, is carved with a beautiful *chakra* on the palm.

6. *Architectural bricks decorated with Swastika palm leaves, lotuses etc.*—These bricks are round, square or triangular in shape and some of them are unique pieces.

7. *Inscribed pedestal of a broken image.* On this pedestal ($5\frac{1}{4}$" $\times 2\frac{3}{4}$") there are the remains of two miniature standing figures whose feet only are visible. The pedestal is inscribed in two lines in the Brāhmi script of early 4th cent. A. D. it reads as follows :—

(l. 1) शाक्यमुनिस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठा [पिता]

(l. 2) मुनि मातृपित्रोः अग्रप्र.....

i.e., Image of Sākyamuni (Buddha) was installed (for the welfare of) Muni (?) and Parents.

It is to be noted that 'ma' of both varieties—Kushāṇa and Gupta—is found on the inscription. The word शाक्यमुनिस्य is to be corrected into शाक्यमुनेः

Besides the above-mentioned objects a pacca well (dia. 5'-10") built of Gupta bricks was also unearthed. Clearance of this well for salvage of antiquities could not be satisfactorily undertaken due to flow of water in the well, which made it practically impossible to reach the bottom.

It appears very probable from the above finds that there was a Buddhist establishment over the present site in the Gupta period which might have been demolished by the Hūṇas in the 5th cent. or by Muslim invaders in the 12th cent. A. D. Fahien, who visited Mathura in about 400 A. D., mentions that there were 20 *Sangharamas* of Buddhists on the right bank of the Yamunā. Yuan Chwang who came here in the 7th cent. corroborates Fahien's statement and says that in his (Yuan Chwang's) time there were about 2000 Buddhist monks living in them. He also mentions the existence of three stūpas built by Aśoka and numerous other votive stūpas standing on the bank of the river.

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Probably the big stūpas referred to by the Chinese travellers existed on the present Gokarṇeshwar Tīlā and Ganesh Tīlā sites, while smaller stūpas and monasteries were situated on the left of these mounds, towards the river. The existence of a Buddhist establishment on the present river bed, as proved by the above finds, shows that the river Yamunā at least in the Gupta period did not flow just below the Gokarṇeshwar mound, as it does at present, because otherwise the construction of votive stūpas and well etc. in the river bed would have been altogether inconsistent. At that time the flow of the river must have been to the further left side, where the main current still flows.

Another interesting inscribed image recently acquired, though from a different site, is that of a Yaksha. It is made of the well-known red sand stone of Mathurā and measures $2'-3'' \times 1'-3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. The Yaksha, as he is so-called in the inscription, is seated on a *paryanka*, with his feet on the pedestal of the image. He wears a loose *dhoti* and several ornaments consisting of a crown (*mukuta*) decorated with lotuses and pearls earrings (*kundalas*) embossed with lions emitting pearls (*kirttimukhas*), an elaborate torque (*graiveyaka*) and armlets. In his right hand he holds a round fruit, probably a lemon (*bijapura, bijaura*) or a pomegranate, while in the left he holds a jug of wine. His nicely twisted thin moustaches are remarkable, There is an undecorated round halo behind him. The Yaksha, as usual, is potbellied. The projecting part of stone below the pedestal indicates that the image was fixed on some structure and was worshipped. The image is almost complete and is well-preserved. It comes from village Maholi (ancient Madhupuri) about 3 miles southwest of Mathura, from where an interesting Bacchanalian group was discovered a few years ago.

On the pedestal there is a Brāhmī inscription of about the end of 3rd cen. or beginning of 4th cent. A.D. in corrupt Sanskrit. It is in two lines and reads as follows* :—

(l1) महारा [ज] ग्रहः यक्षः धर्मनि [त्] त्य [ो] वि

(l2) ज्ञा [प] यति करे देव ग्रसात (दः)

It is rather difficult to make out the real sense of the inscription. It can however be rendered as 'The Mahārāja, Graha Yaksha called Dharmanitya, makes it known that in his hand there is the *prasada* of the god.'

In none of the so many yaksha images discovered so far at Mathura do we find the mention of the name 'Yaksha' Moreover a Yaksha named 'Dharmanitya' is not yet known from any other source. The word *Graha* occurring before *Yaksha* in the present inscription also offers a problem. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy

*I am indebted to Dr. A. S. Altekar, my esteemed *Guru* who helped me in reading this inscription.

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on the basis of Hopkin's Epic Mythology (pp. 145, 229) says that some *Yakshagrahas* (demon possessors, causing disease) are attendants of Skanda, who is sometimes called *Guha*, a name which may be related to the *Guhyas*, attendants of Kubera.[1] If we read the term *Graha* of our inscription as *Guhya* it will literally mean 'a supporter of Kubera's flying palace.' Kubera is known as Guhyapati[2] (the lord of the Guhyas) and also Yakshapati (the lord of the Yakshas).

Thus whether we take the word as *Graha* or *Guhya* it may denote 'the attendant of Kubera'. It is significant to note that this Yaksha is called *Maharaja* in the inscription. Moreover his drapery, ornamentation and the objects in hands are the same which are associated with Kubera, the lord of the Yakshas. This may lead to the presumption that the figure in question is of Kubera himself. But the way in which the inscription is worded does not definitely warrant us to identify the image as that of Kubera. If the literal translation given above is accepted, the only plausible conclusion that we can draw is that the figure is that of a Yakshagraha or a Guhya-Yaksha called Dharmanitya.

The inscription means to say that this Dharmanitya declares that in his hand he holds *prasada* of the Lord. Now who is this Lord and what kind of *prasada* is referred to? Most probably god Kubera is meant who is undoubtedly the Lord of all the Yakshas. The present figure holds a jug of wine and a fruit in his left and right hands respectively. According to the *Rupamandana*, quoted by Mr. T. A Gopinath Rao[3], one of Kubera's hands should possess a pomegranate fruit. The present figure probably holds the same fruit or that of a Bijapūra lemon in his right hand. Wine is generally associated with Kubera and in most of his images found at Mathura and other places we find him carrying a jug of wine. Does the *prasada* alluded to in the present inscription refer to these two things—wine and pomegranate or lemon fruit held by the Yaksha—which are indeed very delicious to Kubera ?

The present figure very much resembles in make up, pose and drapery with another Yaksha figure (ht. 12½") probably of Kubera, in the Mathura Museum (No. C. 31, illustrated by Coomaraswamy in his *Yakshas*, Part I. Pl. 21, No. 3) except that the latter figure holds a long bag or mongoose in his right hand instead of a fruit. The prevalence of the Yaksha cult in and near about Mathura is proved by dozens of Yaksha and Kubera images that are exhibited in the local Museum. Maholi, from where the present image comes, was one of the centres of Yaksha worship.

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1. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, Part I, p. 8.
2. Mhh. II, 10, 3.
3. T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, II, part ii, pp. 535-37.

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"MAHĀMĀMSA-VIKRAYA" (THE SALE OF HUMAN FLESH)

BY

S. K. DIKSHIT, M.A.

In my "Studies of the Early History of Malwa," I came across an interesting religious or sociological problem, which, if studied properly, is likely to shed a flood of light on a number of aspects of ancient Hindu culture. I shall do no more than briefly state the problem and indicate the way to its solution. This problem concerns the sale of human flesh, technically called "Mahāmāṁsa-vikraya" in ancient Sanskrit literature. This term occurs in one of the most difficult passages that one meets in the Harsha-charita. According to this passage, a member of the Tālajaṅgha tribe, dubbed herein as a Vetāla (? a whampire, a goblin, or an ethereal being), killed one Kumārasena, who is described as a *Jaghanyaja* (son or brother ?) of Pradyota, and as a descendant of Puṇika or Puṇaka (*i. e.*, Pauṇika, v. l. Pauṇaki). We are told that the reason of this murder was that this Kumārasena had become too loquacious during the haggling that took place at the sale of Mahāmāṁsa, which was being carried out at the time of the festival of Mahākāla[1]. We are not concerned here with numerous

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(1) Harsha-charitam, (A. A. Fuhrer's ed., Bombay, 1909, p. 270 ; K. P. Parab's ed., Bombay, 1925, p. 199) :—"महाकालमहे च महामांसविक्रयवाद-वातुलं वेतालस्तालजङ्घो जघान जघन्यजं प्रद्योतस्य पौणिकं (v.l. पौणकिं) कुमारं कुमारसेनम्। Pargiter's *Dynaties of the Kali Age*, p. 182, would show "पौणिकं" to be correct reading.

The commentator Sankara in his Sanketa says :—

"महः उत्सवः। वातुलं व्यसनोन्मत्तप्रायं। जघन्यजं कनीयांसं। पुणको गोत्रविशेष। तदुद्भवः पौणकिः।"

It is interesting to note that in the following passage in the Mahabharata, (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute's ed.) I. 1. 146, the word "jaghanyaja" is used probably in the sense of "younger" brother, In the above-given passage, therefore, this word is probably to be understood to mean "younger brother" and not a "Sudra".

"जघन्यजस्तत्त्वकस्य श्रुतसेनेति यः श्रुतः।"

According to Amarakosa, however, this word means both 'younger brother' and "Antyaja", or "Sudra". Vide Amara., II. Manushya-varga :—"जघन्यजे स्युः कनिष्ठयवीयोऽवर जानुजाः।" Also Amara., II. Sudravarga, st. 1 :—

"शूद्राश्चावरवर्णाश्च वृषलश्च जघन्यजाः।" A commonly accepted interpretation makes Kumarasena a 'son' and not a 'brother' of Pradyota. Paunika would well mean a 'son of Punikars.'

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problems that arise out of a critical view of this passage, *e. g.*, those concerning the words "Tālajaṅgha", "Vetāla", "jaghanyaja" etc. I shall refrain, therefore, from justifying at length the interpretation that I have tentatively put here on the Sanskrit passage in the Harsha-charita. Albeit, no interpretation can eschew throwing a flood of light on the early religious practices prevalent in Malwa, if not those of India. This passage becomes remarkable, not only because it goes back to the earliest historical period in the history of that province, but also because it shows that the worship of the god Mahākāla in Ujjain belongs to a very high antiquity.

Numismatic evidence about the worship of this divinity in the pre-Saka era has been already brought to our notice by eminent numismatists, Gen. A. Cunningham, Dr. Allan, and above all by Prof. Jitendra Nath Banerjea. The latter points out that "Siva appears for the first time in an anthropomorphic form on the many coins hailing from Ujjain and its environs. The single standing figure can be definitely identified with him.....Any doubt whatsoever is set at rest by the testimony of another variety of the same series of coins, which shows a bull slightly prancing up and looking up at the deity (cf. the *Matsyapurana* passage which enjoins that Viśākha, the mount of Siva, should be in the attitude of looking up at the god, *deva-vikshana-tatparah*),"[2] He goes on to point out the existence of a third variety, which depicts a "three-headed" figure. The learned Professor agrees with Gen. Cunningham's identification of it with Mahākāla, and points out that the heads of this divinity probably threw Dr. Allan into confusion, so that he was unable to make up his mind if the god was Siva Mahākāla or Skanda Kārtikeya.[3] He also calls our attention to the existence of a "three-headed" Siva on certain Kushāṇa coins.[4] While agreeing with this identification, we may point out that these figures of Siva resemble in certain respects the famous seal from Mohenjo-daro representing the "Pasupati Yogīśvara" (Siva).[5] All these depict actually three out of the four heads that this divinity is occasionally credited with. It is only three faces that one can see at one time, of any four-faced figure. Siva, often described as a "Pañchānana"[6] *i.e.* "one endowed

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2. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI. p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.* p. 9.
5. "Mohenjo-Daro" (Sir J. Marshall). We had an occasion to stress this point in our Marathi pamphlet "Sindhunadivaril Sanskriti." "(Svadhyaya-mala, No. 98 ; 1946), p. 15.
6. Subhashita-ratna-bhandagaram, p. 5, st. 51 :—

"सहस्रास्यो नागः प्रभुरपि मतः पंचवदनः ।"

Ibid. p. 6, st. 61:—"एको ऽन्ते द्विसभस्त्रिलोचन इति ख्यातश्चतुर्भिः स्तुतो वेदैः पंचमुखः षडाननपिता सप्तर्षिभिर्वन्दितः ।"

Ibid. p. 7, st. 86 :—"पायाद्वस्त्रिपुरप्रमाथनपटुर्देवो महे पंचाननः ।"

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with five faces", is known to appropriate, occasionally though, that almost distinctive epithet of Brahman, *viz.*, "Chaturmukha." The poet Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa describes the image of such a "Chaturmukha Bhagavān Tryambaka" in his usual beautiful way in his Kādambarī. [7]

The foregoing discussion lends support to the view that the tradition, recorded in the Harsha-charita about the festival of Mahākāla being in vogue in Ujjain as early as the days of Kumārasena, is not unreliable. This tradition occurs in a string of historical allusions; and it has been found that wherever we are able to check these allusions, we can aver without demur that the poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa does not invent any fictions and pass them off for historical traditions, but that he probably copies such traditions as he had before him. [8] A regular continuity of such traditions is also betrayed by a close study of many of them, from whatever evidence is left for us today. Under these circumstances, to suggest that this particular allusion to the "Mahāmāṁsa-vikraya" (or 'the sale of human flesh') may be an outcome of the poet's imagination, is, to say the least, to be hypercritical and unconvincing.

That this ancient practice continued to exist throughout the latter half of the first millenium A. D., is vouchsafed by numerous allusions to it in the literature of this period. Besides the reference given above from the Harsha-charita, there is another in that text, which, however, pertains to the days of Bāṇabhaṭṭa himself [9]. The latter reference occurs in connection with the description of the *skandhavara* (the royal camp), where king Pratāpa-vardhana, father of king Harsha-vardhana, was lying on his death-bed. We are told that the sale of human flesh was being openly

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Ibid. p. 9, st. 1.6 :—"पंचास्यो वै त्रिनेत्रो वृषभगतिरतिर्वामभागार्धवामः।"

Also-*ibid.* p. 8, st. 105 ; etc. Read also the interesting verses on p. 12 (st. 15 and 16) of the same text.

7. Kadambari (Parab's ed., Saka 1854), pp. 242-243 :— "तच्च (सिद्धायतनं) ···प्रविश्यादद्राक्षीच्चतुःस्तम्भस्फटिकमण्डपिकातलप्रतिष्ठितम् ···अमलमुक्ता शिला घटितालिङ्गम्, ···चतुर्मुखं भगवन्तं त्र्यम्बकम्।" For a "Chaturmukham Sivalingam," *vide* G. H. Khare's "मूर्तिविज्ञान" (1939, Poona), pp. 90-91.

8. *Vide* Indian Culture, Vol. VI, p. 39f.

9. Harsha-charitam (Parab's ed.) V. p. 153 :— 'क्वचिन्मुण्डोपहारहरणाद्यतद्रविडप्रार्थ्यमानामर्दकम्, अन्यत्र शिरोविधूतविलोयमानगुग्गुलुविकलनसेवकानुनीयमानमहाकालम्, अपरत्र निशित-शास्त्री-निकृत्तात्ममांस-होम-प्रसक्तासवगम्, अपरत्र प्रकाश-नरपति-कुमारक क्रियमाण-महामांस-विक्रय-प्रक्रमम्···।"

Read in this connection S. D. Gajendragadkar's commentary, in S. D. & A. B. Gajendragadkas' ed., p. 66 :—"प्रकाशं व्यक्तं नरपति कुमारकैः सामन्तनृपतिपुत्रैः क्रियमाणा महामांसस्य नरमांसस्यार्थात्स्वशरीरमांसस्य विक्रयस्य प्रक्रम उपक्रमो यस्मिन्।"

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being openly (prakāśa) carried out by princes or sons of the feudatory chieftains. This passage also refers to the worship of the Mahākāla, as well as to Vetāla, here called Āmardaka. There is nothing to support the opinion of certain modern commentators that the flesh sold out there was that of the princes themselves. No doubt, the same passage alludes in a previous sentence probably to certain near and dear relatives etc., of the king Pratāpa-vardhana sacrificing their own flesh at the sacrificial altar. But such sacrifices, which are really relics of a still more bygone age, (when a king's attendants, or kith and kin, used to sacrifice their lives to save his, or to accompany him to the other world), are a different matter. Besides, the very use of the word "prakāśa" in this context suggests that it was not their own flesh that they were selling, but rather somebody else's. If it had been their own flesh, Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa would not have left it for the commentators to imagine, but would have almost certainly added the word "sva" before the phrases "Mahāmāṁsa-vikraya." It would appear that these modern commentators, horrified at the idea of such practices being current at such a late time, tried to gloss over them.

That the sale of the "Mahāmāṁsa" was one of the ways of propitiating Mahākāla and obtaining from him the fulfilment of one's desire, is made clear also by a famous tale in the Pañchatantra. This tale concerns itself with the four sons of a Brāhmmaṇa, who wished to do away with their poverty, and one of whom, being too avaricious, got an eternally whirling wheel on his head.[10] It is narrated that these four brothers first came to the city of Avantī (or Ujjayinī, modern Ujjain, Holkar State), and that after bathing in the river Siprā and saluting the god Mahākāla, they came across an ascetic (or Yogī), by name Bhairavānanda. On being asked the purpose of their journey, they explained that it was undertaken in order to obtain some wealth. They added that for that purpose they were prepared to undertake any task, including the following :[11] "Entering a hole, propitiating a Sākinī (a Rākshasī-form of Ambikā), residing in a cemetery, sale of the Mahā-māṁsa, (acquisition of?) a Sādhaka-varti (or the torch or lamp of a magician?) and (similar) other practices."

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10. Pancha-tantra (Parab's ed.), Aparikshita-karika, p. 214f. (st. 22.)

"अति लोभाभिभूतस्य चक्रं भ्रमति मस्तके ।"

11. *Ibid.*, p. 215f. :—"एवं क्रमेण गच्छन्योऽवन्तीं प्राप्ता : । तत्र शिप्राजले कृतस्नाना महाकालं प्रणम्य···· तस्य (-भैरवानन्दस्य)मठं जग्मुः ।·· तैरभिहितं—'वयं सिद्धियात्रिकाः ।...तत्कथ्यतां धनोपायो विवरप्रवेश—शाकिनीसाधन—श्मशानसेवन—महामांसविक्रय | साधकवर्ति—प्रभृतीनामेकतम इति ।..."

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Of these, the first, *viz.*, "entering a hole" or "Vivarapraveśa" inevitably reminds us of the phrase "Asura-vivaravyasanin", which occurs no less than twice in the Harsha-charita. One of these references occurs immediately before the aforequoted allusion to the murder of Kumārasena, on account of his higgling for the Mahā-māṁsas[12]. We are told that a king of the country of Magadha, who was inordinately fond of (entering) an Asura-vivara, was carried away by the ministers of the king of the Mekalas (*i.e.*, the country round about the Maikal range), through a tunnel of the Godhana giri (correctly, Goratha-giri). At another place, we find a reference to one Lohitāksha, who accompanied the poet in the journeys of his boyhood and adolescence, and who was also very fond of the "Asura-vivaras."[13] Besides these, there are a couple of references in the same text to these "holes of the Asuras", in one of which "Asura-vivara-praveśa" is mentioned as being on a par with "residence in the darkness of the netherworld."[14] It would appear that the phrase "Asura-vivara" refers to underground holes, that were supposed to contain a deal of wealth, guarded by semi-divine beings like the Asuras or Nāgas, from any pilfering hands. In order to obtain such underground wealth, propitiation of these divinities was probably necessary. Other means of obtaining wealth, mentioned in the Pañcha-tantra, may likewise signify propitiation of some divinities, or performance of some mystic or mysterious rites connected with them.

An illuminating description of the mystic rites, relating to one of these means *viz.*, Mahāmāṁsa-vikraya, is contained in the Mālatī-Mādhava. Mādhava, the hero of this drama, despairing of all other means of securing Mālatī, when she is promised to somebody else, expresses his willingness to take recourse to the Mahā-māṁsa-vikraya: This alone, in his opinion, could secure her for him.[15] In another passage of that drama, Mādhava is described as a seller-to-be of the Mahā-māṁsa.[16] Further on, we

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12. Harsha-charitam, (Parab), p. 199 "असुर विवरव्यवसनिनं चापजहुः... मागधं गोधन (गोरथ) गिरिसुरङ्गया स्वविषयं मेकलाधिपमन्त्रिणः।"

13. *Ibid.* p. 42 :—"असुरविवरव्यसनी लोहिताक्षः।"

14. *Ibid.* p. 97 :—"यः (स्थाण्वीश्वराख्यो जनपदविशेषः)....असुरविवरमिति वार्त्तिकै रगृह्यत।"

Ibid. p. 103 :—"कृष्णकम्बलप्रावरण निभेनासुर विवरप्रवेशाशङ्कया पातालान्धकारा वासभिवाश्वस्यन्तम्....भैरवाचार्यददर्श।"

15. Malati-Madhava (ed. by Devdhar and Suru, 1935), IV. after st. 7, p. 54 :—"न खलु महामांसविक्रयादन्यमुपायं पश्यामि।"

16. *Ibid.* V. after st. 26, p. 63 :—"स एवास्याः स्नेहभूमिः (v. l. स एष) कामन्दकीसुहृत्पुत्रो महामांसस्य पणायिता माधवः।"

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find this hero actually selling it inside a cemetery, that is also visited by Vetālas and the like. [17] Then we are given what looks like a definition of the "Mahā-māṁsa." It is that sort of flesh, formed of the body of a man, which is not cut out by means of a weapon (अशस्त्रपूता) Commentator Jagaddhara explains that a man, who falls fighting, goes to heaven, so that the flesh of his body cannot be used as "Mahā-māṁsa." [18] Jagaddhara is not himself sure about the meaning of the phrase अशस्त्रपूत—"not cut by a weapon," so that he offers other alternatives also. He quotes a stanza probably from the Tāntric lore, which contains some words found in this passage of the Mālatī-Mādhava. From the drama we learn that the Mahā-māṁsa was sold out in the cemetery (—which is a favourite abode of the god Mahākāla), after loud proclamations. The stanza, quoted by Jagaddhara, supplies the additional information that it was obtained by means of *sahasa*. What exactly is signified by the latter term is not quite clear,—in spite of its constant use in the stories of Sāhasamka, and others, that are also connected with Vetālas and the Mahākāla-śmaśāna. [19]

Another interesting allusion to "Mahā-māṁsa" is to be met with in the Prabodha-chan rodaya of Kṛishṇa-miśra-yati. This drama is written in the same spirit as the Mysteries or Miracle Plays of Mediæval Europe, or the Moralist Plays of Euripides and other Greek writers. A Kāpālika, who professes to be a devotee of "Mahā-bhairava" is represented as communicating his *dnarma* (or religious tenets) to a Kshapaṇaka in the following frightful words :—"Our breaking off of a fast is achieved by (means of) drinking the wine off (a goblet, in the form of) a skull of a Brāhmaṇa, after (finishing the sacrifice, in which) we have poured oblations of the Mahā-māṁsa (human flesh) that is made

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17. *Ibid.* V. after st. 11, p. 58 :—"भवत्वाघोषयामि तावत्। उच्चै :। (v. l. (तावदुच्चै)। भो भोः श्मशाननिकेतनाः कटपूतनाः।

अशस्त्रपूतमव्याजं पुरुषाङ गोपकल्पितम्।
विक्रीयते महांमांसं गृह्यता गृह्यतामिदम्॥

कथमाघोषणानन्तरमेव सर्वत्र समुच्चलदुत्ताल वेतालमुक्तमुलाव्यक्त कलकलाकुलः... श्मशानवाटः।"

18. Jagaddhara's Com. :—"अशस्त्रपूतं संमुखपतितस्य स्वर्गिणोमांसं शस्त्रपूतम्। अतोऽन्येषामग्राह्यमिदमिति न तादृशमिदम्। यद्वाअशस्त्रपूतं शस्त्रेणाच्छिन्नम्। धातूनामनेकार्थत्वात। शस्त्रहतलाभस्यरणे सुलभतया तेषामस्पृहात इदमतादृशमिति भावः। अव्याजं निष्कपटम। यद्वा। इष्टसिद्धिं पर्णकृत्य साहसाद्यदुपार्जितम। अशस्त्रपूतं निर्व्याजमेतन्मांसं विदुर्बुधाः। इति परिभाषितमेव।"

19. Indian Culture, VI. p. 191f. ; 203 ; 382 ; Katha-sarit-sagara, chapters 119f.

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greasy by the (human) brain, entrails, and fat"[20]. Here the reference is not to the sale of the Mahāmāṁsa, but to the sacrifice thereof. The whole incident depicted in the Prabodha chandrodaya reminds us of a verse in the Pañcha-tantra, which stigmatises the foolishness of the people, that is so easily swayed by rumours or reports that poison the ears, as to make one turn recluse (Kshapaṇaka) or drink wine[21]. While this stigmatisation is worth remembering to-day, when the sacrifice of "Mahāmāṁsa" is being witnessed in a different sphere and in a larger scale, than the devotees of Mahākāla were ever able to perform, we must also take note of the fact that there are at least some religious and secular texts that prohibited "Mahā-māṁsa-vikraya," or even ordinary 'māṁsa-vikraya." The Mahābhāshya of Patañjali contains what appears to be a quotation from some early Dharma-śāstra text. This lays down that no flesh should be sold. Perhaps, such an injunction was to be followed only by the Brāhmaṇas, or it was meant for the members of the three upper castes[22]. Be that as it may, we find the author of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra objecting to the sale of putrified flesh,—or, perhaps, of the goat's flesh—for which he recommends a heavy amercement of 900 paṇas, [23] etc. Immediately after this the author of the Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra adds that the sale of human flesh be punished with nothing less than capital punishment. We are to-day not concerned with meting out of such punishments to such criminals, but rather with their religious or sociological significance. As we have made it clear at the very outset, we shall only point the way towards its solution.

We may draw the attention of the scholars in this field to the following passage from the "Golden Bough" of Sir J. G. Frazer, reminding them at the same time that in our work, entitled 'The Mother Goddess" we have had an occasion to point out the 'identification of (or at any rate numerous points of similarity between) Dionysius and Siva or Mahākāla : "Meantime it remains

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20. Prabodha-chandrodaya (K. Sambasiva Sastri's ed. Trivendrum, 193 III. st. 13 (p. 97) :—"मस्तिष्कान्त्रवसाभिधारितमहामांसाहुतीर्जुह्वतां। वह्नौ ब्रह्मकपाल कल्पितसुरापानेन नः पारणा ॥"

21. Pancha-tantra (Parab), Mitra-bheda, st. 327 :—"कर्णविषेण च भग्नः किं किं न करोति बालिशो लोकः। क्षपणकतामपि धत्ते पिबति सुरां नरकपालेन ॥"

22. Mahabhashya (Kielhorn's ed.) Vol. I. (1892) p. 25 :—"तैलं न विक्रेतव्यम्, मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम्।"

Vide Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharma-sastra.* Vol. I. (1930), p. 9.

23. Kautiliya Artha-sastra, IV. 10 :—"कूटव्यवहारिणो विमांस-(ऽविमांस) विक्रयिणश्च वामहस्तद्विपादवधो नवशतो वा दण्डः। मानुषमांसविक्रये वधः।" This shows that it was probably known to Kautilya himself.

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to mention that in some places, instead of an animal, a human being was torn in pieces at the rites of Dionysus. This was the practice in Chios and Tenedos; and at Potniæ in Bœotia the tradition ran that it had been formerly the custom to sacrifice in the goat-smiting Dionysus a child, for whom a goat was afterwards substituted. At Orchomenus, as we have seen, the human victim was taken from the women of an old royal family. As the slain bull or goat represented the slain god, so, we may suppose, the human victim also represented him."[24]

LEGACY OF SATAVAHANA RULE

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Though much has been written on the Sātavāhana empire enough justice has not been done to its achievements. It is the biggest South Indian empire and the longest-lived of Indian empires. It began a revival of the Vedic religion in the Dekhan half a century before the Suṅgas began it in the north and showed throughout a more liberal attitude to the rival religions or sects. To the Sātavāhanas must be given the sole credit of having checked the southern advance of the Western Kṣatrapas, the Wardens of the Marches of the Kuṣāṇas. Thanks to the peace of the Sātavāhanas art and architecture as rose to great heights in the western caves and the eastern *stupa* complexes. Trade and industry received a great stimulus first in the western Dekhan and later in the eastern Dekhan. The climax was reached in the colonial and commercial activities of the people which read like romance. We are not in a position to know the part played by the prince in the external and expansionist activities of the people. In short the spirit of the Sātavāhana period is not static but dynamic. We should not "conceive it as a motionless picture in a Morris tapestry but as a series of shifting scenes—some brilliant, some terrible, some common, but all full of life and passion." No wonder faint memories of these great achievements were in later times enshrined in tradition and legend (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina) and led to the rechristening of the Saka era as the Sālivāhana era.

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24. The Golden Bough, Pt. I, Vol. I. p. 24 (1912, London).

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As in the case of great empires, the achievements of the Sātavāhanas outlived them. Even with the slender sources for the numerous Hindu dynasties which succeeded the Sātavāhana, in the eastern and southern Dekhan, we can say that they inherited from their predecessor a rich crop of legacy. These dynasties are the Ikṣvākus, kings of the Bṛhatphlāyana *gotra*, the Cuṭus, the Pallavas, the Kandaras and even the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The most characteristic institution of the later Sātavāhanas is their metronymics. Whilst metronymics in Mālwa—probably the original home of this peculiar institution which would seem to have been devised for the regulation of marriages only—are derived from race locality and *gotra*, the Sātavāhana metronymics are derived from three Vedic *gotras*—Vāsiṣṭha, Māṭhara and Gautama. The Ikṣvākus of the Kṛṣṇa-Guṇṭūr region who were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas and rose to power close on the heels of the disintegration the Sātavāhana empire got the metronymics of Vasiṣṭhī and Māṭharī from the Sātavāhanas through the wake of marriage and like the former used them as an institution for the regulation of marriages. But the dynasties that succeeded them in the eastern Dekhan, kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana and Sālaṅkāyana *gotras*, the Kandaras and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins do not use them. The Cuṭus occupy a middle position. They used the un-Sātavāhana metronymic of Hārītiputra and transmitted it to the Kadambas. It is strange to find even the foreign Ābhīras of the western Dekhan using Sātavāhana metronymics.

Sātakaṇi is a surname borne by many Sātavāhanas with or without personal names and metronymics. The meaning of the term has given rise to many theories. It is enough to state here that the surname is connected with the dynastic name—Sātavāhana [2]. Some Mahārathis of the Chital-doorg region and the Cuṭus bore it. And if—'takani' in a Nāsik inscription [3] is to be restored as 'Sātakaṇi' even ordinary officials would seem to have borne this peculiar Sātavāhana surname. Sadakaṇa also occurs in a clay tablet from Candravaḷḷi. Professor Mirashi looks upon Sadakaṇa in '*Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathisa*' of some Chitaldoorg coins as the name of the suzerain and Kaḷalāya as the name of the feudatory. He identifies Kaḷalāya of the coin with Traṇakayiro of the Nāṇeghāt ins., whose name also ended in—laya. But the absence of the regal title *Rano* and the honorific prefix *siri* put alongside of the presence of the title of Mahāraṭhi is enough to dispose of Prin. Mirashi's ingenious theory.[4] Even 'Skanda' and 'aṇaka' entering into the composition of names in the eastern Dekhan would seem to have entered it from the western Dekhan in the wake of Sātavāhana conquest.

Siri with or without *siva* and *sami* is an invariable prefix to Sātavāhana names *e.g.*, Siva siri-Āpīlaka, Sāmi siri-Pulumāvi

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and Goṭamiputa siri-Sātakaṇi. The origin of the prefix is to be sought for in the title applied to the founder of the dynasty in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. The Ikṣvākus and kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra* use only 'siri' while the kings the Sālaṅkāyana *gotra* use 'siri' and 'vijaya'.

Whilst the Sātavāhanas seem to have inherited very few institutions from their predecessors the Mauryas, the successors of the Sātavāhanas, even the Pallavas, inherited much from their predecessor. The Kandaras like the Sātavāhanas and their predecessors the Mauryas bore the modest title of rājā. But the Ikṣvākus, the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Sālaṅkāyanas bore the pompous title of mahārājā which in the Gupta times became a feudatory title. But just as in one inscription Gotamiputa siri-Sātakaṇi Sātavāhana is referred to as mahārāja so also in one inscription Ikṣvāku siri-Cāṁtamūla is styled rājā. The Ikṣvākus and the Bṛhatphalāyanas inherited the office of Mahātalavara from the Sātavāhanas for the Allūru inscription which on palaeographical grounds is earlier than the Amarāvatī inscription of Vāsiṭhiputa sāmi siri-Puḷumāvi mentions a mahātalavara and a king. Ikṣvaku mahāsenāpati is also directly borrowed from the Sātavāhanas. In the Cinna Ganjam ins. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi we have 'Mahatarakasa maha-e———.' The latter is most certainly a mutilated form of 'mahāsenapatisa'. It would then seem that the Ikṣvāku and Brihatphalāyana practice of combining two or more titles in the same person is of Sātavāhana origin. So far there is no evidence to show that the Ikṣvāku and Brihatphalāyana office of mahādaṇḍanāyaka existed in the Sātavāhana period. Under the Brihatphalāyanas who ruled over the Guṇṭūr region the kingdom was divided as in Sātavāhana times into āhāras but the officer in charge of it is not called *amaca* but *vapatam* and 'viyapita' in the sense of engaged occurs in the edicts of Aśoka. Even the Ikṣvāku rāṣtra would seem to have been a Sātavāhana division as the Alluru ins. and an Amarāvatī ins. which is also pre-Ikṣvāku mention rāṣtras and in the Sātavāhana records we have *arathasamvinayikam*. Under the Sālaṅkāyanas, the Kandaras and the Visnukundins these divisions came to be styled viṣyas.

Even the language, phraseology, orthography and dating of the inscriptions of the successors of the Sātavāhanas are Sātavāhana. The Ikṣvāku and Brihatphalāyana records as also two Sālaṅkāyana, one Kandara and the early Pallava charters, are in the *lenaprakrit* of the Sātavāhana period. The phraseology of the grant of Jayavarman of the Brihatphalāyana *gotra* closely resembles that of the Sātavāhana records. The immunities attached to the bamhadeya in the former are the same as those conferred on the *bikhuhala* in the Sātavahana charter.[5] The Koṇḍamudi grant opens in the same manner as Nāsik No4 (E. I. vol. VIII). The *pariharas* are expressed by the terms '*apapesam, anomasam, alonakhadakam, arathasamvinhyikam* and

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savajataparihārikam. The instructions to officials are also couched in the same language. Compare the Koṇḍamudi grant 'etamsi tam gāma Pāṭūra baṁmhadeyam-kātūna oyāpāpehi, etasa casa gāmasa Pāmtūrasa baṁmhadeyam kātuna parihāre vitarāma' and 'etehi nam parihārehi pariharāhi etam casim gāmam Fātūram baṁmhadeyam katuna etha nibhamdhapehi 'with' etasa tu gama Karajake bhikhuhaladeya (oya) pāpehi' 'etasa casa gāmasa Karajakāna bhikhuhala-parihāra vitarāma' and 'etehi na parihārehi pariharah eta casa gāma Karajake bhikhuhala parihāra ca eta nibhadhāpehi' (Karla 19). The operations and formalities connected with the Sātavāhana and Brihatphalāyana grants are verbal order, preservation of the records in the archives of the state, engraving and delivery. It is clear that the Brihatphalāyanas who succeeded the Ikṣvākus in the Guṇtūr region got the Sātavāhana institutions, through the Ikṣvākus. Whilst records of Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku grants were engraved on palm leaves or cloth, their successors had them engraved on copper-plates. Whilst their political rivals the Western Kṣatrapas used Sanskrit and dated the inscriptions in the month and *tithi* of the year, the Sātavāhaṇa method was that of dating by the fortnight of the three seasons of the year—gimhānapakha, vāsānapakha and vasantānapakha. In the Ikṣvākus, Brihatphalāyana and Cuṭu records this method is followed. The deviation for the Western Kṣatrapa method is made by the Pallavas the Sālaṅkāyanas, the Kadambas, the Vākāṭakas. But even in the latter case the Devagiri plates of Kadamba Mrgasawarman, the Dūdia plate of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena, the Halsi plates of the reign of Ravivarma, the Omgoḍu plates of Skandavarman II, the Hīra-Haḍagalḷi and the Mayidavolu plates of Siva-Skandavarman I, and all the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions except the Rāmathīrtham plates.

Above all the colonial and maritime enterprise in which the entire coastal tract of the eastern Dekhan took part from the second century A. D., was in a great measure due to the extension of the Sātavāhana empire to the eastern Dekhan. The trade flowing through the Sātavāhana ports of the western Dekhan suffered a great deal during the long drawn out struggle between the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas in the second century A. D. It was perhaps a desire to find safer ports that made the Sātavāhanas conquer the eastern Dekhan. Naturally their first preoccupation in the eastern Dekhan was developing the ports, and foreign commerce (to the lands of the Far East). The known ports of the the eastern Dekhan are Kaṇṭakasela Koddura, Allosynge, Apheterion and Moṭṭupalle. This commercial activity which in good time led to colonial enterprise in the Far East was maintained under the Ikṣvākus as the Nāgārjuniko ṇḍa and other Buddhist monuments of the third century prove.

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MOHEN-JO-DARO ANTIQUITIES AND JAINISM

BY

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN, M.R.A.S.

Mohenjodaro antiquities mark an epochmaking discovery in regard to the civilisation of India. It pushes back the beginning of our historical data by thousands of years ; but it is not sound to consider the Indus civilisation as pre-Aryan or non-Indian, We have reasons to believe that Indus civilisation is a creation of Aryans, whose home was nowhere else than India. To wit in the words of Prof. Humayun Kabir, "there have been scholars who doubt whether Mohenjodaro represents a pre-Aryan culture at all. They believe that India was the original home of the Aryans and Mohenjodaro marks only an early stage in the development of Aryan culture."[1] Of course the Aryans, who created the high level of civilisation in Indus valley, were not of Vedic persuasion. Sir John Marshall was emphatic on the point when he remarked that "a comparison of the Indus and Vedic cultures shows incontestably that they were unrelated.....The Vedic religion is normally aniconic. At Mohenjodaro and Harappa iconism is everywhere apparent. In the houses of Mohenjodaro the fire-pit is conspicuously lacking."[2] However it has been pointed out somewhere that a reference to the image of India is traceable in Rigveda,[3] but it certainly does not establish the fact that iconism was in vogue among the Rigvedic people, as it was within the folds of Indus valley. At any rate the Vedic people never worshipped and made such images of Yogis as are found at Mohenjodaro. Viewing the numerous seals, terracotta figures and icons of the Mohenjodaro and Harappa antiquities, which form the concrete evidence to determine about the religious belief of the people,[4] one finds a parallel line of two streams of human thought working among the Indus people. One section of people was not highly civilised. It observed primitive ideas and conventions and had little regard for Ahimsa. They worshipped Shiva Linga, Mother Goddess and trees and offered goats to them in sacrifice. Shiva as a deity is obscure in Vedic literature. Reference to Rudra does not signify the pre-

1. *Kabir*, Our Heritage (Bombay), p. 12.

2. *Marshall*, Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilisation, (London), Vol. pp. I. 110—111.

3. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 97-106.

4. "Indeed all that we have to go on in endeavouring to form an idea of the religion of the people, is the engraved seals found in abundance among the ruins, an inconsiderable number of clay sealings etc."—*Marshall*, loc. cit., p. 48.

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valence of Shiva worship in the Rigvedic society. Rather the Rigvedic people were antigonastic towards those who worshipped Shishnadeva (phallus) as deity.[5] Thus Mohenjodaro people of the non-Ahinsā persuasion were not related with the Aryans of Rigvedic culture. But at the same time in contrast to these people, there existed a more civilised and cultured society of people at Mohenjodaro, who were true followers of Ahimsa and Yoga. They observed Yogadharma and their Yogis lived a life of abstinence and penance, which was more akin to the religious observances of a Jaina Yogi. There are reasons to believe that they were followers of Rishabha cult of yore, which afterwards came to be known as Jainism,

Regarding the racial affinity of the Mohenjodaro people, it is said that they were either connected with Sumerians or came from Dravidian stock.[6] Prof. Pran Nath deciphered a copperplate grant of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I (circa 1140 B.C.) found in Kathiāwār, which disclosed that that king belonged to Sumer tribe and was the lord of Rewanagar. Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned in it, as to have visited Mt. Revata and paid homage to Tirthankara Nemi.[7] According to certain Indian opinion the Sumerians originally belonged to Surāshtra tract of India and their religion was akin to Jainism.[8] It shows that Sumerians were not totally unacquainted of Jainism, rather they betray Jaina influence in their early beliefs.[9] Hence if Sumerians were concerned with Indus civilisation the it is not strange to find similarities between the Jaina and Indus people observances.

But the general tendency of the scholars is towards the hypothesis that the Indus people were of Dravidian stock. In this respect Western scholars uphold that Dravidians were not Aryans and came from Turana. But Indian tradition regards them as Kṣatriyas, who were degraded to Vraṣala-hood owing to

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5. 'शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः !" ऋग्वेद मं० ७, सूक्त २१ मंत्र ५ and also the following mantra is to be referred to in this respect:—

सं वाजं या ताप दुष्पदा यन्त्स्वर्ष्राता परिषदत् सनिष्पन्
अनवॉ यच्छतदुरस्य नेदोघ्नन्छिश्नदेवा अभिवर्यसा भूत

—ऋग्वेद, मं० १०, सूक्त ९९ मंत्र ३

6. *Marshall*, loc, cit. p. 109.

7. The Times of India, Tuesday, March 19, 1935, page 9 and "Jaina" (Gujarati weekly, Bhavanagar) 3rd January, 1937 page 2.

8. The "Vishala-Bharata" (Hindi monthly Calcutta), Vol. XVIII, pp. 626-632.

9. Sumerian deity "Sin" (moon) was originally known as "Juen", meaning "Knowing Lord", which is significant to tally with the Jaina conception of deity as all-knowing and all-seeing Lord, Sri, Klim and other deities of Sumers are also traceable in the Jaina pantheon,—Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. VII, Suppl. pp. 25,30.

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having remained out of touch of Vedas and Brahmanas [10]. It shows that although these Dravidians were Kṣatriya Aryans, but they were not the followers of the Vedic religion. Manu makes them along with Lichhavi, Jnātra and other Kṣatriyas as Vrātyas, who again can be the Jainas and none else [11]. The Jaina tradition too, claims that the progeny of Prince Dravida, who was the son of Rishabha, the first Tīrthankara, came to be known as Drāvidas and there had been prince ascetics, known as Dravida Narindas in the Jain tradition, who are worshipped even today by the Jainas[12]. It is evident also from 'Tholkappyam,' the ancient grammar of the Tamils that the Dravidians were equally civilised like Aryans and were acquainted with the tenets of Jainism[13]. Jainism played an important role among the Dravidians. So rightly remarks Major General J. G. R. Furlong that "All Upper, Western, North Central India was then—say 1500 to 800 B. C. and, indeed, from unknown times—ruled by Turanians, conviniently called Dravids and given to tree, serpent and Phalik worship...but there also then existed throughout Upper India an ancient and highly organised religion, philosophical, ethikal and severely ascetikal, *viz.*, Jainism, out of which clearly developed the early ascetikal features of Brahmanism and Buddhism [14]. Thus Dravidians, too, were under the influence of Jainism from a very early period and as such, if they are the real founders of Indus civilisation, they would naturally betray the influence of Jainism in their creations.

The antiquities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, if studied by keeping the above facts in view and giving credit to the Jains tradition that Jainism prevailed long before Pārśvanatha and Mahāvīra, [15] reveals traces of the Jaina influence in the following aspects :—

1. *Nudity.* Nudity had been an essential characteristic of the Jaina Sramanas [16]. Rishabha, the first Tirthankara, observed the vow of nudity [17] and his images are found as nude. People of

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10. Hindi "Vishwa-Kosa" (Calcutta), Vol. IX, pp. 431 432 (मनु० १०-४४).

11. Manu, X. 20 and 22, and the Jaina Gazette, Vol. XXI, part 6.

12. Satrunjaya-mahatmya. VII, 2, and Nivvana-Kanda.

13. *Chakravarti*, Jaina Literature in Tamil, (Arrah) pp. 10-14.

14. *Furlong*, Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religion, —pp. 243-244.

15. Jainism prevailed in this country long before Brahmanism came into existence or held the field".—Justice Ragnekar (A. L. R., 1939, Bombay 377).

16. *C. R. Jain*, Nudity of Jaina Saints (Delhi) pp. 1-37.

17. Mahapurana, Parvas XVIII—XX, 3-217 and Acharanga-sutra.

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Mohenjodaro also held nudity with esteem as as acred thing [18]. Nude figures of male as well as of a certain female are found at Mohenjodaro. These figures depict personages who are but no other than Yogis.

2. *Yogadharma.* A number of statuettes have been recovered at Mohenjodaro which are characterised by halfshut eyes, the gaze being fixed on the tip of the nose [19]. "These statuettes clearly indicate that...the people of the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period not only practised Yoga but worshipped the images of the yogis" [20]. We are informed that "Not only the seated deities engraved on some of the Indus Seals are in Yoga posture and bear witness to the prevalence of Yoga in the Indus Valley in that remote age, the standing deities on the seals also show Kāyotsarga posture of Yoga.....A standing image of Jina Rishabha in Kāyotsarga posture on a stele showing four such images assignable to the second century A. D. in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura (was reproduced in the "Modern Review" for August 1932). It will be seen that the pose of this image closely resembles the pose of the standing deities on the Indus seals.....The name Rishabha means bull and the bull is the emblem of Jina Rishabha. The standing deity figured on seals three to five (pl. 11) with a bull in the foreground may be the proto-type of RISHABHA" [21]. In the Digambara Jaina text Ādipurāna, (Book xxi) a full exposition of Dhyāna (Meditation) is given and in it there is an instructive account of the Yoga postures. Regarding the pose of the eyes it is stated in it (xxi, 62) "Natyunmiṣan na catyaṃtam nimiṣan"—"Neither keeping the eyes wide open nor totally shutting them up". As to Yoga postures, the author of Adipurāṇa (xxi. 71) writes : with the mind distracted, how can one practise Dhyāna ? Therefore the easy postures, Kayotsarga and Paryanka are desirable : other postures are painful". This Kāyotsarga (dedication of body in standing) posture is peculiarly Jaina. Hence it is most probable that the people of Indus Valley followed the Yoga cult of Tīrthankara Rishabha, who according to the Hindu-Purāṇa was responsible to introduce the Yoga system of Paramhaṃsa type and was counted as eighth Avatār of Vishnu [22].

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18. "Some of the terra-cotta figurines also represent males, who are completely nude——(cf. Pl. XCIV, 3, 4 and 11)——it is not unlikely that these particular terra-cottas may represent male-deities."—*Marshall*, loc. cit., p. 33.

19. *Marshall*, loc. cit., p. 44.

20. *Chanda*, Survival of the Pre-historic Civilisation of the Indus Valley (Memoir of the Arch. Survey of India) pp. 1-34.

21. *Chanda*, Modern Review. August 1932, pp. 156-159.

22. Bhagavatapurana, II, 7, 10—"Kalyana," Bhagavatanka, p. 243.

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3. Adorable Deities. Apart from the Mother Goddess and phallus worship the people of Indus adored some other deities, which can be traced in the figures on seals. Prof. Pran Nath deciphered the inscription of the Indus seal No. 449 and he read on it the word "Jinesvara" (जिनेश्वरः), which is a peculiar term by which a Jaina Tirthankara is known[23]. It points out that worship of Jaina Tirthankaras was not obscure at that period. Besides this, Prof. Pran Nath was of opinion that Indus people worship such Tantrik deities Srī, Hri, Klīm etc.[24]. In the Jain pantheon Srī, Hrī Dhrati, Kīrti, Buddhi and Lakshmī are important female deities[25]. Hence we think Prof. Pran Nath was right to remark that " the names and symbols on Plates annexed (I H.Q. viii, supl.) would appear to disclose a connection between the old religious cults of the Hindus and Jainas with those of the Indus people...It is interesting to note that the Puranas and the Jaina religious books both assign high places to these gods (of the Indus people)" [26].

4. Mode of worship. There is nothing to show the mode of worship, which the people of Indus Valley observed. But, however, a certain vessel similar to those used in Jaina temples for Arati ceremony were found at Mohenjodaro,[27] which indicates that Indus people observed the mode of Arati worship like Jainas.

5. Sacred Symbols. Mohenjodaro seals and tablets contain representations of the bull, buffalo, rhinoceros, tiger, elephant, crocodile, goat, svastika and tree[28]. Animals portrayed on these seals, whether mythical or real, had some sacred or magical import in the eyes of their owners[29]. These are the very representations which are found on the images of the Tirthankaras as their respective emblems.[30].

6. Trditional Data. Details of the impressions on the Indus seals reveal the traditional datain vogue among the people. Seal No. 1 on plate cxvi, and 7 on pl cxviii represent six aude human figures on the obverse in the upper register, standing in a row. A kneeling figure in the lower register holds a bladed object in one hand. A goat stands in front of the figures and a

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23. Indian Historical Quarterly, VIII, Supplement, p. 18.
24. *Ibid*, pp. 27-29.
25. Tattvartha dhigama-Sutra.
26. Ind. Hist, Quarterly, VIII, Suppl. pp. 28-29.
27. *Marshall*, loc. cit., p. 69.
28. Ind. Hist. Quarterly, VIII, p. 132.
29. "Still less open to question is it that most of the copper tablets and seals have a religious or magical value——Animals portrayed on the seals, whether mythical or real, had some sacred or magical, import in the eyes of their owners."—*Marshall*, loc. cit., p. 71.
30. Pratistha saroddhara, I, 78-79.

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partly defaced tree in front of the goat. There is a human figure in the centre of the tree. The same scene is found on the reverse. "The scene has been interpreted as showing a priest about to sacrifice a goat to a tree-spirit"[31]. But why the priest is hesitating ? And what the six Yogis have to do with the scene ? This has not been explained. I think the six nude human beings are Yogis of Rishabha cult, who proclaimed Ahinsa culture and are depicted in the impression to have influenced the priest, who is hesitating to sacrifice the goat. Such pictures are seen among the Jainas. The nudity and Kayotsarga posture of these yogis are essential characteristics of a Jaina Sramana. In the Jaina pantheon six Charan Yogis, who were Yādava princes are held in great reverence[32]. It is probable that those very Chāran Yogis are shown here propagating the Ahinsa culture.

7. *Images.* Nude images has been unearthed at Mohenjodara and Harappa-Pictures Nos. 15 and 16 of plate xiii represent a seated image with a hood over its head[33]. A Jaina at the very first glance will say that this image is either of Tirthankara Supārśva or Pārśva. Images similar to it are found in abundance in the Jaina temples. An interesting terra-cotta figure also represents a man standing full front in complete nudity, (HR 5368, Pl. xciv, 11) which probably represents a naked Jaina Yogi. Another statuette from Harappa (pl. x) likewise seems to represent a Jaina Yogi in Kāyotsarga posture. Unfortunately this statuette is broken and its portion of head and legs are missing, yet its nudity and position of both the arms indicate that it was a representation of a Digambar Jain Yogi in Kāyotsarga posture.

Thus viewing these similarities of Mohenjodaro antiquities, one is justified to regard Jaina tradition as concrete, which claims a hoary antiquity to its Tirthankaras. I hope, the scholars will make thorough research in this respect.

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31. Ind. Hist. Quarterly VIII, p. 133.
32. Antagatadasas (Ahmedabad), p. 10.
33. *Marshall*, loc. cit., p. 60.

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WHO WERE THE VRĀTYAS?

BY

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The term Vrātya is found in a mystic hymn of the Atharva Veda. In that hymn a resident of Magadha or South Bihar—a place outside the pale of Aryanism—is brought into a significant connection with the Vrātya. This hymn has not been clearly explained as yet. In the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda—called the Vrātya book, a Māgadha is said to be a friend and adviser, a crony, and a thunder of the Vrātya.[1] In the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā of the Yajurveda the Vrātya is further included in the list of the victims at the *Purusamedha*, 'human-sacrifice'.[2] A further connection between Māgadha and the Vrātya is evident from the fact that the Srauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana[3] and Lātyāyana[4] enjoin that after the *Vratya-stoma*, a rite that procured the admission of the Vrātya into the Aryan Brahmanical community,[5] the belongings of a Vrātya or the equipment characteristic of him, had to be bestowed either upon an inferior Brahman or Brahman in name only (*brahmabandhu*) of Magadha, or one who had not given up the Vrātya practices. But this inferiority of the Magadha Brahmans is not found in the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.[6] On the other hand, as the Kauṣitaki Āraṇyaka states, respectable Brahmaṇas sometimes lived there.[7] Oldenberg, however, seems clearly right in regarding this as unusual.[8]

The above data, especially the custom of giving away the habit of the enfranchised Vrātya to a Brahmin of Magadha, in case a Vrātya were not found at hand to receive it, have raised a suspicion in many scholars that the original home of the

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1. *Atharva Veda*, XV, 2, 1-4; Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 116; Sastri, *Magadhan Literature*, p. 5.
2. XXX, 8; Cf. *Taittiriya Brahmana*, iii, 4, 5, 1.
3. VIII, 6, 28.
4. XXII, 4, 22.
5. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, p. 46, Barua, "Alpines in Eastern India", *Indian Culture*, III, p. 116; Samadar, *Glories of Magadha*, p. 10.
6. XVII, 1, 16.
7. VII, 13. It is interesting to note that the earlier Aitareya Aranyaka does not mention this.
8. *The Buddha*, p. 400 (f. n.); Cf. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 112 (f.n.).

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Vrātyas was Magadha.[9] But as a matter of fact there is nothing to determine the exact native country of the Vrātyas. The Lātyāyana Srauta Sūtra states that the *vipatha* "rough chariot" or "cart" of the Vrātyas was called *Prachyaratha* "eastern chariot" only hinting thereby that the Vrātyas were most numerous in the east. But this does not prove that they were confined to the east alone. They were, on the other hand, as the Atharva Veda maintains, in every direction. But their expansion in the north was limited by the Himalayas, in the south by the Vindhyas, and in the west by the pressure of other tribes, while in the east they had almost unlimited scope for expansion. It would thus appear wrong to consider the Vrātyas as Māgadhas, though some of the Māgadhas may be styled as Vrātyas, as we shall see later on.

To what stock did the Vrātyas then belong?

Before trying to reply this question it would be advisable on our part to see to their social customs. The Pañchaviṁśa Brahmana of the Sāma Veda[10] states that the Vrātyas rove about in lands in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans and garments with a red border and having fluttering ends, wear shoes and sheepskins folded double, and possess cattle; their leaders are distinguished by brown robes and silver ornaments for the neck. They pursue neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws are in a state of confusion; they call an expression difficult to pronounce, when it is not difficult to pronounce; they speak the language of the initiated "*diksitavacum*, though 'uninitiated' *adiksita*[11]; and do not observe the rules of the *Brahmacharya* 'the principle regulating the Brahmanic order of life.'

The man of Magadha, again, is as we have seen before, brought into close connection with the Vrātya in the mystical hymns of the Atharva Veda which elaborate the Vrātya as a type of the supreme power in the universe. These hyms with their deification of a wandering Vrātya priest, with its strange paraphernalia and his cortege seem to be a little puzzling. Referring to these hymns Dr. S. K. Chatterji says that "they suggest the presenoe of a Saiva cult among the Vrātyas, and certainly a cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. The extravagant respect paid to the Vrātya in these poems", continues the scholar, "either shows the hand of the followers of Vrātya cults themselves, or they are the work of Vedic Aryans

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9. Cf. Bhagwat, "A Chapter from Tandya Brahamana of the Sama Veda and the Latyayana Sutra on the admission of the Non-Aryans into Aryan Society in the Vedic Age", *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XIX, pp. 362-63; Sastri, *Magadhan Literature*, p. 9.

10. *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, xvii, 4, 1-9; *Atharva Veda*, XV, 1-4.

11. अदुरुक्त वाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः.....अदीक्षिता दीक्षित वाक्यं वदन्ति ।

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who felt fascinated by the Vrātyas with their non-Midland practices, and perhaps by their wild mysticism, for the Atharva Veda hymns are highly mystic in this connection".[12] But Haraprasad Sastri on the other hand, while commenting upon the passage of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa maintains that "they were Dâiva prajā worshippers, worshippers and favourites of gods—the same gods as were worshipped by the Vedic Aryans".[13] What was then the exact religion of the Vrātyas? Before giving an opinion at this stage let us see into their other qualities. As far their speech was concerned, the Vrātyas, though unconsecrated, as we have already seen before, spoke the tongue of the consecrated. And this again was confirmed by the statement that they called what was easy of utterance, difficult to utter. This only proves that they had some Prakṛitic form of speech.[14]

With the above data we could only state at this stage that the Vrātyas were certain people, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, but certainly living outside the pale of Brahmanism. They were persons regarded as outcaste. But the fact that they had a turban to keep the sun off, and were clad in skins and white garments with black borders, and silver ornaments round their neck, and wore "black and pointed shoes",[15] shows that they certainly were not savages but civilized people[16].

Different scholars have identified these Vrātyas with different people. Barua takes them to be the Alpines of Iran or the Magians of the Gangetic valley who spoke the Aryan tongue and migrated at the place centuries before the Vedic Aryans arrived in India.[17] Dutt suspects them to be "Turanians who pressed into Behar through the Himalayas, and gradually adopted Hindu language and civilization"[18]. Jayaswal, on the other hand, states that "the term Vrātya indicated those who had traditions of the Jinas and the Buddhas amongst them even before the sixth century B. C. Buddha and Jina"[19]. But to say the least about these statements they seem to be far-fetched and

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12. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, I, p. 46: Cf. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, IV, p. 149.

13. *Magadhan Literature*, p. 5.

14. Cf. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 47; *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 56; Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 343; Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, I, p. 38.

15. *Katyayana Srauta Sutra*, XXII, 4.

16. Cf. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, pp. 57, 64, 68-70, Bhagwat, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

17. Barua, 'Alpines in Eastern India', *Indian Culture*, pp. 166-67.

18. Dutt, *A History of Civilization of Ancient India*, p. 203.

19. Jayaswal, "Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire", *J.B.O. R.S.*, XIV, p. 26.

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so preposterous, because as we shall presently see, the earliest reference to the Vrātyas agrees with none of them. The Vrātya book of the Atharva Veda describes a Vrātya as a wandering Vedic priest, roaming in the different non-Aryan provinces and converting the people of those places to the Brahmanic fold.[20] So this Vrātya, mentioned for the first time, was an Aryan preaching Brahmanism to the non-Aryan people. But we find a sudden change in the application of the term "Vrātya". The first band of the Vrātyas who went to foreign places to teach their own religious teachings were themselves tempted by the non-Aryan religious preachings and their huge wealth. The ninth and the tenth hymns of the Vrātya book hint at this slow progress of the Vrātya towards his own degradation. "He went away", according to the first hymn, "to the people. Meeting and Assembly and Army and Wine followed him. He who hath this knowledge becomes the dear home of Meeting, Assembly, Army and Wine. So let the king, to whose house the Vrātya who possesses this knowledge comes as a guest", continues the next hymn, "honour him as superior to himself". This shows the slow progress of the status of the Vrātya, rising from a mere wandering preacher to a man superior even to a king. And this change in position was due to the huge wealth he made through the conversion-rites. "Meeting, Assembly, Army, and Wine followed him" wherever he went. He started by meeting individuals whose number increased to form an assembly. His preachings in assemblies had the necessary effect and his following amounted to an 'army' as it were, meaning thereby, that he had a huge following of the Aryanised non-Aryan people. But his position tempted him towards luxury. Wine was introduced, it seems, as a necessity in the form of fees along with the number of cows, as we shall presently see.

With luxury started the degradation in the position of a Vrātya. The Pañchaviṃśa Brahmaṇa gives us the next stage. "The Gods forsooth", states the Brāhmaṇa, "went to the world of heaven; of them the adherents of 'the God' were left behind (on earth), leading a Vrātya life. They came to the spot where the Gods were gone to the world of heaven. (But) they found neither that *stoma* nor that metre by means of which they might reach them. Then the Gods said to the Maruts: 'Deliver ye to these that *stoma*, that metre, by means of which they may reach us". "To them", continues the same passage, "they (the Maruts) delivered that sixteen-versed *stoma*,...Thereupon, they reached them"[21]. This shows that the first Aryan Vrātyas who went to preach to the non-Aryan people forgot their own duties of life as the study of the Vedas and other rituals necessary for an Ārya.

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20. *Atharva Veda*, XV. I, 12.

21. *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, 1, 1, (Tr. by Dr. W. Caland), Cf. XVII, 1, 7; Cf. Sastri, *op. cit.* pp. 5-6.

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The same Brāhmaṇa goes on further to describe the qualities of the Vrātyas. "Those who lead the life of a joined group", states the passage, "are destitutes, left behind. For they neither practise the study of the Veda nor do they plough or trade. It is by the sixteen-versed *stoma* that this can be reached"[22]. "Swallowing poison are those, who eat foreign food as Brahman's food, who call good words bad, who use to strike the guiltless with a stick, who, though being not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The guilt of these may be removed by the sixteen-versed *stoma*".[23] These passages also help to prove the influence of the non-Aryan Magadhan culture upon the Vedic preachers. The Vrātyas of the first stage remained neither pure Āryas nor pure *Anaryas*. They not only neglected and so forgot their Brahmanic rituals, but even did not till the land or carry on trade like the Māgadhas. And as it could very easily be found out, this was due to their getting huge wealth from the non-Aryan inhabitants. They never cared for the above things because they were able to settle without them. They enjoyed the non-Aryan dishes and adopted even their language to a certain extent.

To these Vrātyas we may apply very well the words of the Buddha, when he describes his contemporary Brāhmanas to Ambaṭṭha, himself a young Brāhmaṇa pupil of Pokkharasadi, who was "knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who had mastered the three Vedas..."[24]. As the Buddha states in the Ambaṭṭha Sutta, these Brāhmaṇas "parade about well-groomed, perfumed, trimmed as to their hair and beard, adorned with garlands and gems, clad in white garments, in the full possession and enjoyment of the five pleasures of sense...live as their food, on boiled rice of the best sorts, from which all the black specks had been sought out and removed, and flavoured with sauces and curries of various kinds,...waited upon by women with fringes and furbelows round their loins...go about driving chariots drawn by mares with plaited manes and tails, using long wands and goads the while, ...have themselves guarded in fortified towns, with moats dug out round them and cross-bars let down before the gates, by men girt with long swords" [25].

According to the above passages the Vrātya did not remain the Aryan wandering preacher. The term came to be applied to those Āryas who were outside the sphere of Brahman culture, and who were allowed to become members of the Brahmanical community by performance of the ritual prescribed, which would hardly be so natural in the case of the non-Aryan people. The first Vrātyas, *viz.* Aryas of the first migration, came to stay long in

22. *Ibid.*., XVII, 1, 2.
23. *Ibid.*, XVII, 1, 9.
24. *Digha Nikaya*, I, p. 88.
25. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 104-105.

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the non-Aryan provinces like Magadha. Naturally they not only Brahmanised several Māgadhas and accumulated huge wealth in cash and kind, but themselves became addicted to luxuries and forgot their own duties of preaching Brahmanism, as well as their own Aryan brethren in the west. Manu, for example, describes the Vrātyas as persons whom the twice-born beget on women of their own classes, but who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the *gayatri* [26]. The latter, on the other hand, tried hard to bring their degraded brethren—who in course of time themselves came to be called Vrātyas—to their own original Aryan fold. Thus there came into existence two types of Vrātyas. The first were pure Aryan people, but the second had a great non-Aryan influence upon their culture and habits. The latter even went to the extent of settling with the non-Aryan women, as we shall presently see. The second stage of the Vrātyas was thus that of those people who had left their hearth and home, and, had made their brethren and relations assume a contemptuous attitude towards them and the country of their adoption. And consequently the non-Aryan people of Magadha were also looked down upon and styled by the same denomination [27]. The Mahābhārata puts the Vrātyas in the same category of the outcaste classes as the Cāṇḍālas and the Vaidyas, and describes them as the progeny of a Sudra man and a Ksatriya woman [28].

There are four kinds of Vrātya-stoma which, in the beginning, seem to have been a prayer for the regeneration or readmission of the degraded Aryas into the Aryan fold and, later on, for the conversion of the non-Aryas into the same. The first Vrātya-stoma, according to the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, readmitted the degraded Āryas into the Aryan fold[29]. The second *stoma* 'rite' admitted the 'base' and the 'censured' into the Brahmanic fold[30]. Bhagwat explains the 'base' and the 'censured' as the "guilty of manslaughter", and continues further that "these having fled from justice or being condemned to banishment, after passing some years among alien races, naturally yearned to return to their kith and kin[31]. But to our mind this rite was meant not for readmission but for conversion. The 'base' and the 'censured' here mean the non-Aryas. This is further corroborated by the same passage of the Brāhmaṇa when it states that cattle played important part in this rite. "It is the cattle that leads the base to superiority"[32], says the Brāhmaṇa. And cattle formed the chief wealth of the non-Aryas acceptable to the Aryas. This was

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26. *Manu*, X, 20.
27. Cf. Chatterji *op. cit.*, I, pp. 45-46 Samaddar, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
28. *Mahabharata*, Anusasanikaparva, 2621.
29. *Panchavimsa Brahmana* XVII, 1, 1 ; Cf. Bhagwat, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
30. *Ibid.*, XVII, 2, 1.
31. Bhagwat *op. cit.* p. 360
32. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*,, XVII 2, 4.

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thus the rite which admitted the 'Asura Easterners of Magadha' into the Aryan fold[33]. The third Vrātya stoma was meant for the re-admission of those Āryas who stayed with the non-Aryas since childhood and were thus 'nearly denationalised'[34]. And the fourth rite was meant to entitle the degraded Āryas to procure a re-admission into the Aryan fold, even in a very advanced age[35]. These old degraded Aryas were, according to Bhagwat, men who had enfeebled their constitutions by undue intercourse with the non-Aryan women[36].

With the above data at our disposal, we could safely conclude that since the Vedic times, the conception of a Vrātya considerably changed. In the beginning the Vrātyas were Aryan nomadic hordes (*vrata* 'horde')[37]. But in course of time the term came to be applied to those Aryas who forgot their duties and indulged in luxuries with the non-Aryas. This degradation brought in hatred. And the same denomination was applied contemptuously to the non-Aryas like the Māgadhas, who were outside the pale of Aryanism. And it is this contempt alone that has given rise to the definition of a Vrātya as the son of a 'twice-born' father and mother, who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, were excluded from *Savitri*[38]. The memory of their having been a contemptuous people was even retained in the same word meaning later on those Brahmans, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, "who, their thread ceremony not being performed for 16, 22, or 23 years respectively, either from birth or from conception, had lost their claim to the honour of being called brethren by the three regenerate castes"[39]. "Curiously enough", as Bhagwat states, "the word *Vratya* is still preserved in the sense of 'naughty, unmanageable, playing pranks' in the everyday language of the Marāṭhā people"[40].

From the above study we may safely conclude that the Vrātyas were a few people from the non-Aryan countries like Magadha, so denominated by the Aryas, through contempt, in course of time, though the term "Vrātya" was applicable to the Aryas themselves in earlier days[41], the Vrātyas thus having a

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33. Cf. Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 71.
34. *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, 3, 1, Cf. Bhagwat, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-2
35. *Ibid.*, XVII, 4, 1.
36. Bhagwat, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
37. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 4. It should be noted here that the Aryas who migrated in the beginning, to the non-Aryan countries, moved always in groups.
38. *Manu*, X, 20; Cf. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
39. Bhagwat, *op. cit.*, p. 363.
40. *Ibid.*, p.364.
41. Just as the word " Vratya" developed from a respectful term to one of contempt, other examples also could be quoted. The word " Pillai," in Tamil, for example, meaning originally " a son," when

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better status once. In the beginning the Vrātyas were thus a group of Āryan preachers who resided among the non-Āryan people for a long time and thus were influenced by the non-Āryan people. The term 'Vrātya', however, was used contemptuously, being applicable to the non-Āryan people, in course of time. The Vrātyas were thus, in the beginning, Vedic preachers following Āryan religion, but later on they were taken to be non-Āryan people following a non-Āryan religion.

THE "PUSHYA PERIOD" IN THE VEDIC CULTURE

BY

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Efforts made to approach the problem of ascertaining antiquity of the Vedas and Vedic culture on the Astronomical basis are very few and far between. Value of Astronomical data when compared with that of Genealogy, Geography, Geology, Philosophy etc. is decidedly superior as the results obtained with the help of Astronomy are more exact. In this small note attention of orientalists is drawn to a new single, simple and definite evidence from Katyayana's Shulba Sutra. The verse No. 35 from the ending portion of the book contains a list of stars that were used for the orientation purposes in the sacrificial architecture. The verse runs thus :

कृत्तिका श्रवणं पुष्यश्चित्रास्वा त्यार्यदंतरम ॥
एतत् प्राची दिशोरूपं युगमात्रोदिते पुरा ॥ ३५ ॥

There are different four cases *viz.* (1) Krittika (Eta Tauri) (2) Shravana (Altair) (3) Pushya (Delta Cancri) and (4) A point between Chitra (Spica) and Swati (Arcturus) mentioned in this verse.

Out of these four cases the last one is very controversial. But the remaining three are simple, clear and definite in their meanings. From these it seems that the stars (1) Eta Tauri (2) Altair and (3) Delta Cancri were used for fixing the due East. This could only be done when these stars would have their appearance in due east. Out of the three only one case and that of Krittika (Eta Tauri) has been noted by research scholars

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borrowed by the Indo-Aryan language, came to mean " a cub" *pilla*, showing its degradation through contempt (Cf. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, I, pt. I, p. 131). Another word is 'Magadha'.

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in this connection and their attention towards this evidence for antiquity was not arrested by the verse cited above but by a reference made about them in the Shatapatha Brahmana which says that they never deviate from the East.

एताह वै प्राच्यै दिशै न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यैदिशश्च्यवंते ।
—शतपथ २-१-२

According to the late Mr. S. B. Dixit the antiquity suggested by them when they were in such a position is 3000 years B. C. (History of Indian Astronomy (Marathi), page 127).

Dr. K. L. Daptari of Nagpur, an authority on Indian astronomy has suggested an improvement in the interpretation of these references. The late Mr. Dixit took the appearance of the star on the horizon for the calculation purposes. But Dr. Daptary has pointed out that the stars like Krittikas are not distinctly visible unless they rise 15 degrees above the horizon. The height above the horizon of a particular star sufficient to make it visible depends upon its magnitude. It is impossible to see it when it is exactly touching the horizon. This suggestion of Dr. Daptari is logical and fully supported by ancient Indian Astronomical works.

कृत्तिकामूलमैत्राणिसार्परौद्रर्क्ष मेवच ।
दृश्यन्ते पंचदशभिदाषाढा द्वितयं तथा ॥
भरणित्विष्यसौम्यानि सौक्ष्म्यात् त्रिसप्तकांशकैः ॥ ६ ॥
—सोमसि ध्दांत ग्रहोदया स्तमानाधिक ॥

However, in whatever way the evidence may be reduced to figures scholars will have to take into consideration a point that is 65° ahead of the Krittikas. Because this is the difference between the Krittikas and Pushya. Besides it may be noted that the position of the Pushya is nearly on the ecliptic as it is only 1/15th of a degree in the north of it while the Krittikas are well over 4 degrees away from it. So it is certain that whatever antiquity is revealed by Krittikas, Pushya will take it over 4000 years further back.

Lok. Tilak in his Orion tried to show that the point of vernal equinox was in the Mriga Shirsha and there are indications that its position in Punarvasu too seems to have been noticed by the Vedic sages as the presiding deity of that star-group is Aditi, the mother of all Gods (Orion, page 206).

By this new evidence about Pushya his suggestion is supported. Pushya is 15 degrees ahead from Punarvasu. And when Pushya was seen in due east the equinoctial point cannot be so much away from it even if we follow Dr. Daptari's method.

One word is necessary about the verse itself. The wording of it is likely to be interpreted in more than one way. The term Yugamatra and Pura used in this verse will be subjected

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to different interpretations. Yuga means age and it also means a measure for height. In one way it will mean at a particular height above the horizon and by the other at an age. The word Pura to suit the first meaning will have to mean East and if otherwise it will mean only formerly. But it seems quite logical to accept that Yuga means age and Pura means formerly. For these three stars cannot be visible in due east during one and the same period. Shatapatha Brahman too, says, that only Krittikas were in the east and no other Nakshatra. So this verse gives us a list of the stars which have been used for fixing the east at different ages.

The period calculated from Krittikas comes to 3000 years B.C. and that of Pushya on the same grounds will have to be taken at least 4000 years further back. So we are in a position to say that the existence of the Vedic sacrificial culture of the Hindus can be definitely taken back to 7000 years B.C. and more, by this single simple and definite evidence. As referred above Lok. Tilak said:—"The oldest period in Aryan civilization may therefore be called the Aditi or the pre-Orion period and we may roughly assign 6000-4000 B. C. as its limits." But Pushya pushes this period further back to 9000-7000 B. C. Let us call it '*Pushya Period*' of the Vedic culture.

[*Note*:—Dr. Daptari has suggested the improvement referred to in this note in one of his letters privately written to me while seeking his aid in some astronomical problems.]

THE PURĀṆAS ON THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE INDO-ARYANS

BY

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Problem Tackled from a Wrong Angle

So far the majority of Indologists have tackled the problem of the original home of the Indo-Aryans on the basis of the following very important, but not conclusively proved, assumptions[1]:

(*i*) There was originally a uniform Aryan race, the branches of which subsequently spread to various countries of Europe and Asia, the Indo-Aryans being one of them.

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1. G. Childe: The Aryans; Isaac Taylor: The Origin of the Aryans; P. Giles: Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, pp. 66 ff.

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(*ii*) The original Aryan race was speaking a language, the various streams of which flowed along with the migrating branches of the original stock.

(*iii*) The original home of the Aryan race can be traced back through linguistic streams to the common habitat of the Aryan peoples.

These assumptions have been seriously challenged. Like the monogenic origin of man the existence of a uniform Aryan race has been questioned. Therefore, the problem of the Indo-Aryans need not be linked up with the problem of the origin of the so-called Aryans of Europe, who were not called Aryans before the philological studies were started in the nineteenth century A.D. It is only fair that we should make an independent attempt in seeking the origin of the Indo-Aryans. The second assumption that linguistic affinity indicates a racial unity has also been disapproved. The third assumption is based on linguistic data of a highly speculative character, which are used by different contestant schools to prove different original homes of the Aryans. In the humble opinion of the present writer linguistic and philological evidences are very incomplete and shaky and any conclusions derived from them will suffer from their inherent defects. Languages contain words indicative of persons, objects and events, which belong to the different periods of time and climes and yet they are used together at a particular time. Pieced together they can present a picture but it will be a composite one and it can be far removed from reality. Philological and linguistic evidences can have only corroborative and supplementary value; they cannot have the sole constructive value unless all the direct and chronologically connected evidences are dried up. It cannot be maintained that the direct sources of the early history of the Indo-Aryans are non-existent and, therefore, we have to depend upon indirect casual and incidental evidences of philology.

The Right Approach Through the Puranas.

In the following lines an attempt has been made to show that a systematically connected history of the Indo-Aryans has been preserved in the Purānas and that they contain direct evidences on the problem of the original home of the Indo-Aryans. According to the Indian tradition [2] a study of the Puranas is essential even for the understanding of the Vedic and allied literature, on the basis of which the early history of the Indo-Aryans has been generally so far written. The force behind this tradition is that while the Purānas contain a systematic and chronologically continuous history of the Indo-Aryans, the

2. Vayupurana, I. 200-1.

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Vedic literature, essentially being poetic, ritualistic and philosophical, furnishes incidental, sporadic, and scanty references which can be understood in their true contexts only with the help of the Purāṇas. An independent study of the Purāṇas leads to conclusion, regarding the original home of the Indo-Aryans, quite different from inferences drawn from philological researches.

The Purāṇic data on the problem can be briefly summarized as follows :

1. *The Rise of the Indo-Aryans in Mid-India (Madhyadesa).*

(1) The Indo-Aryans, from the very beginning of their history, were in possession of the slopes of the Himalayas and the major portion of northern India (excluding North-West and North-East). These constituted the earth (=land)of Manu, the first historical king of the Aryans.[3]

(2) Manu's eldest son Iksvāku ruled at Ayodhya, which was the capital of his father also, on the bank of the Saryu river. He was the founder of the main line of the Surya-vamsa (Solar Family).[4]

(3) An Aryan family matrimonially allied with the family of Manu through his daughter Ilā established a dynasty at Pratisthana (=Jhunsi near Allahabad) on the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna. Aila (born of Ilā) Pururavas, the grandson of Manu through his daughter, was the founder of the Aila or Chandra-vamsa (Lunar Family).[5]

(4) Another Aryan dynasty, which was also connected with the family of Manu through marriage, ruled over southern Bihar and Orissa. This was the Saudyumna dynasty. Saudyumna had three sons, Gaya, Utkala and Haritāsva. Gaya ruled at Gaya (the city founded by him).[6]

2. *The Expansion of the Indo-Aryans.*

(*i*) *The expansion of the Solar Family.* The first expanding family was that of Manu. His sons and grandsons were ambitious and daring, and they were able to found colonies and kingdoms in different parts of India and even beyond it.

(*i*) The main line of Manu under Iksvāku continued at Ayodhya.

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3. Brahmanda-purana, iii, 20,2-3.
4. Vayu-purana, 85, 20-1.
5. Siva-purana, vii, 60; Visnu-purana, vi, 20.
6. Vayu-purana, 85, 18-19; Siva-purana, 60, 14-15.
7. Matsya-purana, 12, 15.

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(*ii*) Nābhānedistha (Manu's son) founded a dynasty at Vaisāli (=Basarha in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar).[8]

(*iii*) Kārusa (Manu's son) established a kingdom on the banks of the Sone river in S. W. Bihar and E. of the Rewa State.[9]

(*iv*) The descendants of Dhrsta (Manu's son) occupied the eastern Panjab.[10]

(*v*) Nābhāga (Manu's son) founded a dynasty on the southern bank of the Yamuna river.[11]

(*vi*) Saryāti (Manu's son) ruled over Ānarta in N. Gujrat.[12]

(*vii*) The descendants of Narisyanta went towards N. W. outside India and became the progenitors of the Sakas.[13]

(*viii*) Iksvāku's son Nimi founded the Videha dynasty in N. E. Bihar.[14]

(*ix*) Iksvāku's son Danda explored the forest region of the Deccan, which was known after him as Dandakāranya.[15]

(*x*) Fifty descendants of Iksvāku, under their leader Sakuni, occupied Uttarāpatha (N.W. India).[16]

(*xi*) Forty-eight descendants of Vasāti occupied Daksinā-patha.[17]

(*xii*) Fifteen descendants of Vikuksi (the eldest son of Iksvāku) occupied north of Meru (=Sumeria).[18]

(*xiii*) One hundred and fourteen other descendants of his colonized south of Meru[19].

(2) *The expansion of the Lunar Family.* This family was very prolific and virile. Soon after the expansion of the Solar Family the expansion of the Lunar Family started and it subordinated the former in many places.

(*i*) The main line under Āyu (the eldest son of Pururavas) continued at Pratisthāna[20].

(*ii*) Amāvasu (another son of Pururavas) founded a dynasty at Kānyakubja (=Kanauj)[21].

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8. Vayu-purana, 86, 3-22.
9. Padma-purana, v. 8. 129.
10. Matsya-purana, 12, 20-1.
11. Bhagavat-purana, ix. 2. 17-18.
12. Visnu-purana, iv. 1. 20-34.
13. Siva-purana, vii. 60, 19.
14. Vayu-purana, 89, 1-2, 6.
15. Siva-purana, vii. 6. 33-5, 37.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Vayu-purana, 91, 51-2.
21. *Ibid.*

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(*iii*) Ksatravriddha (grandson of Pururavas and son of Āyu) established a dynasty at Kāshi[22].

(*iv*) Yayati, the son and successor of Nâhuṣa, was a great conqueror and made wide corquests towards N. W., S. E. and S. W. He was the first emperor of Indian history[23].

(*v*) Yayāti had five sons—Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru. The empire of Yayāti was divided among them as follows :

(*a*) Puru, the youngest, succeeded Yayāti at Pratisthāna.

(*b*) Yadu got S. W. territories watered by Charmanvati (Chambal), Vetravati (Betwa) and Suktimati (Ken).

(*c*) Turvasu was given S. E. His descendants later on shifted towards N. W.

(*d*) Druhyu was allotted West—west of the Yamuna and north of the Chambal. His descendants later on moved towards N. W.

(*e*) Anu occupied northern part of the Ganga-Yamuna doab.

(3) *Later disposition of the Lunar Family in N. W.*

(*i*) The Yādavas (descendants of Yadu) developed into a great power under their king Saśavindu[24]. They pushed the descendants of Druhyu up towards N. W. into the Panjab[25]. The Druhyus were further forced by the Emperor Māndhātā of Ayodhya. Their king Gāndhāra was compelled to move towards N. W and founded the kingdom of Gandhāra[26].

(*ii*) The Yādavas also eclipsed the main Lunar Family at Pratiṣṭhāna and they forced the Pauravas to move towards N. W.[27]

(*iii*) The Ānavas who lay between the Druhyus and the kingdom of Ayodhya were also forced by Māndhātā to proceed towards N. W. into the Panjab[28].

(*iv*) Sivi, the son of Uśinara (an Ānava), was the progenitor of Sivis in the Panjab, and his sons founded the Kingdoms of Vṛṣadarbha, Madra, Kekaya and Sauvira[29].

(*v*) Druhyus, though lost the eastern part of their dominions, were able to retain Gāndhāra. Five generations after-

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22. *Ibid.*
23. Bramanda-purana, iii, 68, 12-13.
24. *Ibid.* 95, 19.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* 99. 9.
27. Visnu-purana, iv, 4. 1.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Brahmanda, iii. 74. 15. 16.

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wards they began to multiply and their further movement towards N. W. led to the foundation of a number of kingdoms in the Mlechchha (foreign) countries outside India[30].

(*vi*) The Pauravas, dislodged from Pratiṣṭhāna by the Yādevas and Māndhātā, moved towards N. W. and founded Hastinapur their Capital. Duṣyanta reorganized the Paurava dynasty. He was succeeded by his famous son Bharata born of Sakuntalā. His successors Bharatas became very famous in Indian history. The whole country was known after them as Bhāratavarṣa[31].

(*vii*) One of the Bharatas occupied upper part of the Gānga-Yamuna doab. There one Bharata king Bhṛmyaśva had five sons whose joint nickname was Pāñchāla and their kingdom was called after them. One of the five brothers was Mudgala, whose son Vadhryaśva extended his kingdom widely. The latter's son Divodāsa further augmented it. Divodāsa's successors—Mitrāyu, Maitreya, Sṛnjaya, Chyavana and Sudāsa played very important part in the political and religious history of the country. Sudāsa was very ambitious and he made extensive conquests towards N. W. According to the Mahābhārata he defeated a confederacy of neighbouring kings on the banks of the Paruṣṇi (Ravi) river[32].

Conclusions from the Puranic Data.

1. *The Original Home of the Indo-Aryans.*

The original home of the Indo-Aryans was Madhyadeśa (Mid-India). Its centre lay between Ayodhyā and Pratiṣṭhāna (Allahabad), where the first two Aryan dynasties (the Solar and Lunar ones) arose. It roughly included, in its expanded form, the whole of U. P. and Bihar, the eastern Panjab upto the river Sarasvati and the eastern portion of Central India. This conclusion is based on the fact that the early branches of the first dynasties were established in these areas without struggles and wars with non-Aryan elements in India, which shows that the Aryans had already been settled there.

2. *The Westward Expansion of the Indo-Aryans.*

With their original centres at Ayodhya and Pratiṣṭhāna, they expanded towards east, south and west. Instead of invading India through N. W. passes and marching towards east, the Aryans advanced from Madhyadeśa towards N. W.,

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30. प्रचेतस : पुत्रशतं राजानः [illegible] एव ते। म्लेच्छ राष्ट्राधिपाः सर्वे ह्युदीचीं दिशमाश्रिता : Vayu-purana.
31. Bhagwat-purana, IX. 23, 17-18.
32. Agni-purana, 277. 20. Garuda-purana, i. 140, 9.

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beginning from the early migration of some of the near descendants of Iksvāku upto the westward conquest of the Pānchala king Sudāsa.

3. *The Migrations of the Indo-Aryans beyond India towards N. W.*

The Aryans did not only expand inside India and occupied the whole of Uttarāpatha (N. W. India), but they also crossed the N. W. passes of India and occupied the countries now covered by Afghanistan, Central Asia, Persia and Western Asia upto the Mediterranean Sea.

The Criticism of Pargiter's Inferences from the Puranas

1. "According to tradition...the Ailas or Aryans began at Allahabad (=Pratisthāna), conquered and spread out northwest, west and south and had by Yayāti's time occupied precisely the region famed as Madhyadesa....."[33]

"Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aila or Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan, nor of any gradual advance from thence eastwards. On the other hand, it distinctly asserts that there was an Aila outflow of the Druhyus through the N. W. into the countries beyond, where they founded various kingdoms and so introduced their own Indian religion among the nations,"[34] The above inference is straight and easy. Anybody, who has read the Purānas, will agree with him. But Pargiter draws some other inferences, which are not warranted by any text in the Puranic literature.

2. "What does tradition say about the origin of the Ailas or Aryans? It makes the Aila power begin at Allahabad, and yet distinctly suggests that they were outside India. The legends and fables about the progenitor Pururavas Aila connect him with the middle Himalayan regions."[35]

The basis of this inference is that the daughter of Manu, Ilā, had been on a pleasure tour in the mid-Himalayan region, when she met Budha, the son of Soma. There is, however, not the slightest suggestion or indication that Budha or his father Soma belonged to the mid-Himlayan region or he came there from outside India. There is a much clearer suggestion, supported by later events, that Budha, like Ilā, was also on a pleasure tour and had gone there from Pratisthāna, where his son Pururavas succeeded him on the throne. Had the Ailas or Aryans been invaders from the north through the mid-Himalayan regions, they could not have spared and bypassed the Mānavas (Solar people) at Ayodhya before their arrival at Pratisthāna, which lies south of Ayodhya. The natural inference will be to regard the Mānavas

33. F. E. Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, P. 296.
34. *Ibid.* p. 298.
35. *Ibid.* p. 2 7.

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and Ailas both as Aryan families inhabiting Madhya-desa and the mid-Himalayan region as its outskirt, which was visited and haunted by people from the plains for pleasure and meditation. There are other considerations also against any Aryan invasion from the due north. Firstly, there is the insurmountable physical impossibility. Secondly, there is hardly any ethnic affinity between the Aryans of India and the Trans-Himalayan Mongoloid people.

3. An outlandish inference drawn from the Puranas by Pargiter is regarding the race of the Mānavas (Solar people) and the Saudyumnas. In his opinion the Mānavas belonged to the Dravidian race and the Saudyumnas to the Munda-Mankhmer stock[36]. In the case of the Mānavas his main argument is that in the Purānas the Mānavas are depicted as a people distinct and different from the Ailas (=Aryans), and they lived in India before the advent of the latter. The pre-Aryan people, according to him, were Dravidians. First of all, the Mānavas are not described as a people distinct and different from the Ailas. On the other hand, the close and frequent matrimonial relations between them imply an affinity of race. Both are described as a people similar in race, language and religion. Moreover, the centre of the Dravidians in India, as in the modern times so in the past, was the south and not the north of India. The Dravidians came, in course of time, to northern India through migrations, wars, trade or jobs. It is absolutely unnecessary to seek the original home of the Dravidians in the north.

As regards the Saudyumnas, Pargiter thinks that, because they ruled southern Bihar and Orissa, they belonged to the Munda-Mankhmer stock, the centre of which lies near these areas. The Purāṇas, however, treat the Saudyumnas as a family branching off from, and matrimonially connected with, the Mānavas. The Saudyumnas were distinct and different from the Munda-Mankhmer people, who were confined to the forest and hilly tracts of Bihar and Orissa and who have still preserved their racial peculiarities. The Saudyumnas, who were intimately connected with Mānavas, cannot be confused with the Munda-Mankhmer stock.

The Puranic evidences and the Vedas.

The Puranic evidences are fully corroborated by the incidental references found in the Vedas. As a matter of fact, the Vedic references can be understood in their proper contexts in the light of the Puranic history. This fact corresponds with the well-known Indian tradition[37]. The Brāhmaṇa, who may know the

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36. *Ibid.* pp. 288ff.

37 यो विद्याचतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदोद्विजः । न चेत्पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः । इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् । बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥ Padma purana V. 2. 50-2.

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four Vedas with the Angas and the Upaniṣads, should not really be regarded as having attained proficiency, if he should not thoroughly know the Purāṇas. The Veda is afraid of him, who is deficient in tradition, (thinking) he will do me hurt." The following correspondences between the Vedas and the Purāṇas should specially be noted :

1. Almost all the Aryan families and kings of the Purāṇas, who sought N. W.-ward expansion, are referred to in the Vedas. On the evidence of the Vedas, however, we cannot determine their chronology and location, whereas the Purāṇas contain statements, regarding their sequence, succession and location. The Purāṇas narrate the history of the five sons of Yayāti and their successors—Puru, Yadu, Turvasu Druhyu, and Anu ; the Vedas refer to their descendants—Anus, Druhyus, Turvaas, Yadus and Purus.[38]

2. The Purāṇas describe the wars between Sudāsa, a king of Pāñchāla and the kings and peoples of the Panjab ; the Rigveda contains a description of the 'Dāsarājna-Yuddha' fought between Sudāsa on the one side and the ten tribes of the Panjab.[39]

3. The Purāṇas systematically record the successive expansion of the Aryans from the Madhyadeśa towards N. W. The westward march of the Aryans with their horses and chariots, crossing the rivers of India from the Ganga in the east upto the Kubha (Kabul), Gomati (Gomal) and Kramu (Kurrm) in the west is clearly indicated by the Rigveda in its hymn to the rivers.[40]

The important fact to be noted in this connection is that the rivers in the Rigveda are enumerated from the east to the west, indicating the direction of the Aryan expansion.[41] The pity is that the champions of the theory of the foreign origin of the Aryans ignore this crucial fact, and, contrary to the evidence, base their theory of the Aryan invasion of India from N. W. on this hymn.

4. The non-Aryan peoples, with whom the Aryans had to fight in the course of their westward and southward expansion from Madhyadeśa, are called in the Purāṇas as Asuras, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Piśāchas etc. All these names are found in the Vedas also.

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38. Rigveda, vii. 33, 2, 5; 83, 8.
39. Rigveda, vii. 33, 83.
40. Ibid., x. 75.
41. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।
असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयाऽऽर्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ।
तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्यात्वा ॥
त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे ।
अजीत्येनी वशती महित्वा परिज्मांसि भरते रजांसि ॥ Rigveda. x. 75-4-6.

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The Puranas and Philology

The main thesis of philologists, regarding the original home of the Aryan race, is that the family of the Indo-European languages, stretching from the Ganga in the east to Ireland in the west, shows certain affinity which indicates a common original home of the Indo-European Aryans. The different schools of philologists seek this original home in different places—Central Asia, Mesopotamia, various centres in Europe etc. The main basis of the identification of the original home of the Aryans is speculation on common words found in these languages. How far this speculation is uncertain and shaky is proved by the wide divergences that exist among the champions of various theories. In the opinion of the present writer the linguistic affinities among the Indo-European peoples can be satisfactorily interpreted and the differences of view among scholars can be smoothly resolved, if we look to the Purāṇas for light. The Purāṇas tell us, in no uncertain words, that the Aryans rose to power in Madhyadeśa (Mid India), from where they expanded in different parts of India. It was from here that they moved westward and occupied the Punjab, Frontier and the Kabul valley; the most adventurous of them still advanced further and colonized central and western Asia. By reaching the Mediterranean, they came in contact with the Europeans. This process of Aryan expansion, as described in the Purāṇas, will explain the diffusion of the words of Sanskrit origin in different languages of Asia and Europe and the close connection between the Indian and Iranian. The testimony of the Purāṇas, which is based not upon speculative inferences but upon clear statements of facts, is more trustworthy than philology, which is highly speculative and therefore, less certain.

THE CARVED LINTEL FROM PAWAYA IN GWALIOR STATE

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This curious sculptured piece was discovered at Pawaya in Gwalior State in the year 1924-25 in the course of excavations carried by the State Archaeological Department.[1] The excavations have revealed a very peculiar monument now known simply as the *Tila*. About 50 feet to the south east of it was discovered the above fragment of a lintel which forms the subject-matter of the present article.

1. Annual Administration Report of the Achaeological Department, Gwalior State, for the year 1924-25, page 10.

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From its size and form it can be stated with certainty that it once formed part of a *Torana* gateway the other parts of which (excepting a portion of the present lintel) have unfortunately not been found so far. The existing piece is exquisitely carved on both sides. On one side on the square end of the lintel is seen a very beautiful dancing scene while on the other main curved portion has been represented the well-known legend of Bali's sacrifice in two separate scenes the second one of which is partly broken away. On the other side on the curved portion is represented the famous *Amrita-manthana* scene while on the square end at the back of the dancing scene is found the six-armed god Kārtikeya.

As has been stated the legend of Bali's sacrifice has been depicted in two parts : the first one representing the scene of Bali's sacrifice and the second one showing the god Trivikrama in his act of taking the "three steps". In the first scene the Dwarf Vāmana is shown in the lower corner to the right with the king Bali pouring water into Vāmana's right hand through a vessel in token of his promise to make the gift (*i. e.* the three steps of the earth demanded by Vāmana). The figure to the right of the king is seen raising his hands up apparently in reprobation and he may be taken to be the sage Sukra of the Purāṇas who it is there stated to have presaged the impending doom of his sovereign through this rashly given promise and had warned him before of the fatal consequences. The small figure to the other side of the king just above that of Vāmana may represent a companion of the Dwarf god. To the left of all these figures lower below is the sacrificial altar with a goat tied to the *yupa* or the sacrificial post. To the extreme left is seated on a stool a female figure who is very probably the queen of the king Bali. The three seated figures to her left may be the other three priests of the sacrifice. The portion above this excepting to the extreme right is divided into two horizontal panels each one of which is further divided into four vertical panels each of them containing a female figure in different positions of their hands. It appears here it is intended to depict a two-storied balcony about the sacrificial hall where the sacrifice was in performance. To the right end of the balconies is shown a sort of a gateway with a woman standing underneath. It may perhaps have some bearing on the original appearance of the gateway from which the present piece has survived. It is difficult to state whether the females in the panels are the ladies of the royal harem or as can be surmised from the postures of their hands they are the royal dancers, a supposition which appears more probable from the exquisitely carved "dance and music" scene seen to the left. It is particularly interesting that the panels are here separated by pillars which in their design and shape closely resemble the pilasters seen on the exterior walls of the *Tila* referred to above.

On the whole the ladies, the priests, the queen and the king

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are very simply dressed and ornamented. The queen wears a neclace, ear-rings, anklets and bracelets and a single garment covering the lower part of her body. The other ladies also are similarly embellished. The king and the priests wear a tight fitting *dhoti* upto knees and ear-rings, the former also being adorned with bracelets. The figure of Vāmana is somewhat impish his legs being disproportionately smaller. He is represented as being nude with a bulky belly wearing bracelets, large ear-rings, and the sacred thread. In his left hand is a *kamandalu*.

The next scene represents the god Trivikrama taking his "three steps" part of which is broken away. The god has eight arms of which only the four right ones and one of the left are now preserved. Of the right hands one holds a dagger, the other a discus (*chakra*), the third a staff while the fourth touches the breast. The surviving left hand holds a branch of a tree (?) The god wears a cap-like crown and is adorned with ear-lobes, a necklace and bracelets. The lower portion of his body is lost. On both sides of the god at the top-most corners are represented the figures of the Sun and the Moon, the latter being to his right, that of the Sun being to the left. The Moon is shown personified in the centre of a disc, it being indicative of the god's identity, seated on it as in a chariot drawn by two horses flying in opposite directions with the god holding the reins. The Moon-god wears a simple crown and ear-lobes. The Sun-god is represented by a round ball which is partly broken away. To the right of the Moon-god is a sort of projection which may signify a mountain. Below the Moon-god are two female figures, standing to the right of the god Trivikrama, one of them to the extreme left holding a fan-like thing in her right hand, and the other holding with her both hands a staff (only the lower part of it being visible) probably of an umbrella. Both the figures wear a number of bangles covering their fore-hands also necklaces, ear-rings and girdled chains to fit on the only garment they had put on to cover the lower part of the body. Their hair is arranged slightly differently from those of the females in the first scene. It is difficult to suggest as to what they are meant to represent.

But artistically the most interesting scene on the lintel is the one depicting music and dance on the square end. It is this part of the lintel that was once supported immediately on one of the two pillars of the gateway as can be easily inferred from the mortice hole at its bottom. The scene illustrated here is certainly one of the rare masterpieces of ancient Indian art. In the centre is shown a female dancing with charming grace and poise to the tune of the music played by the other members of the party on various musical instruments. All the members of the party, it will be noted, are females. To the left of the dancer down below is a much damaged figure, with the upper portion of her body now gone, playing on a guitar and seated on a cushion. To the right

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opposite her is a similar but well preserved figure playing on a lyre and also seated on a cushion. In the central portion to the left is a damaged figure, also seated, playing on a flute. To the right is another female figure playing on a tabor and seated on a raised cushion with her legs hanging down. In her front is an object which it is difficult to make out. In the uppermost portion are four females—probably they were more as the portion to the left has broken away—one of them playing on a pair of tabors, the second one near her on cymbals with a third one (an idler ?) sitting midway between them at the back, and the fourth to the extreme right holding a fan-like thing in her right hand which may be a sort of musical instrument. On the whole all the female figures in this scene are similarly dressed and embellished each wearing a lower garment to cover the lower part of the body right upto ankles and bodice to conceal the breasts. Necklace, anklets, earrings and a number of bangles covering the whole of their fore-arms are the only ornaments on their bodies. The chief figures of attraction in the scene—*i.e.*, the main dancer—is, however, better adorned and dressed. For in addition to the embellishments of her companions her breasts are covered by an upper garment with a knot at her left breast and with its remaining portion hanging down in a fold right upto her knees. This has admittedly given an additional charm to the nonetheless graceful movements of her body which must be deemed to be perfectly attuned to the music played by the other members of the party on the various musical instruments.

The other side of the fragment is also carved but the carving here is much shallower and damaged. Behind the "dance and music" scene on the square and of the lintel is represented the figure of the god Kārtikeya part of which has, however, been broken away. But fortunately part of the detached portion has been recovered in the excavations. The god is shown standing with his (six) heads (four of which only are visible) and twelve hands. There seems to be a hood of a snake forming canopy over his head. His hair is arranged in *jata* fashion like that of a *muni* or sage. All of his hands are with palms open pointed towards the sky *i. e.* they hold no weapon or implement. He wears a simple necklace and bracelets and a lower garment reaching down to ankles with a tuft hanging in between his two legs. On each of the two sides of the deity are three figures. What they are meant to represent is not clear. All of them appear to be male figures excepting probably the middle one to the right of the god. The detached portion is better preserved and shows the three figures with their hair arranged in *jata*, the knot being bound by a fillet. They further wear an upper garment. What the two of them hold in their left hands is not clear. Is it a bow ? The figures to the right of the god are too severely damaged to enable us to give a similar description of them.

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On the curved portion of the lintel on this side is represented the "*Amrita-manthana* scene" which is also partly broken away. The surviving portion is divided into two panels and is considerably damaged. The lower panel illustrates part of the main scene with four figures pulling the rope (*i.e*, the tail of the legendary snake) with a cow and a small figure standing in their midst. To the right are other three figures seated on stools with a fourth one sitting behind the first and second of them. Out of the three seated in front the one to the extreme right has a *kalasa* in his left hand while his other hand touches his breast. The central figure holds a club (?) in his left hand the right hand being damaged. The figure to the left holds a noose (?) in his right hand the left hand being broken away. The upper panel is occupied by five figures all of them being seated. There is amongst them a figure of a bird with spread out wings having a human head apparently meant to represent the mythical Garuda, the vehicle of the god Viṣṇu. All the other figures have two hands and are seated on stools or cushions with haloes round the heads of all. They have been considerably damaged the first one having only its upper portion now surviving. All the figures appear to have been adorned with large garlands.

As has been stated the scene has partly been broken away and existing portion described above represents the *Asuras*, who in the legend, as it goes, are stated to have held the tail portion of the legendary snake the gods having to their lot the poison-emitting portion towards the mouth.

Returning to the story of Bali's sacrifice it is to be noted that it is a favourite legend with the Purāṇas and the epics.[2] Its popularity in the Gupta period can be well attested from the references to it in the inscriptions of the age.[3] The main points in the story as found in the different Purāṇic texts mentioned above as follows :—

(1) Bali, son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlāda, was the lord of demons. All the texts are unanimous in acclaiming him as a great sovereign. Unlike the other Asura lords he had faith in the institution of sacrifice and was himself a great devotee of the lord Viṣṇu.

(2) But the thing was that he had deprived Indra of his power and glory and he being a Dānava the Devas disliked his rule and contrived to depose him. In some Purāṇas[4] this account

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2. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, p. 158.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Bhagavata Purana* (Bombay edition published by Yande). VIII. 8 *Brahma-Vaivarta Purana* (Aandasrama Sanskrit Series) IV. 61 ; *Mahabharata* (Bengal edition published by Asiatic Society of Bengal) V, 10, 297-9.

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is preceded by the story of the *Amritamanthana* in which Viṣṇu plays a trick and deprives the Dānavas of their due share of the nectar.

(3) A deputation of the gods and sages then waits on Viṣṇu as usual with prayers and complaints for the redress of their grievances. Viṣṇu promises sympathetic consideration and action. Some Purāṇas[5] narrate also the story of Aditi's penance as she had been greatly afflicted at the miserable plight of her son, Indra. Viṣṇu thus gives her the promises that he will be born as her son and will re-instal Indra on his lost throne.

(4) Viṣṇu is then born as Vāmana (Dwarf) to Aditi. This divine Dvija boy later attended the sacrificial session just started by the king Bali, who, without any idea of what would happen, promised Vāmana as much of the portion of the earth as the boy will cover with his three strides as his religious dues demanded by him. The fore-sighted Sukra tried to dissuade the king from giving such a promise but in vain.[6]

(5) Vāmana now assumed his divine form (*svarupa*), known as Trivikrama, and covered within his two steps the whole of the universe. He now asked of Bali to fulfil the condition of the promise but the great Asura king without any sentiment of remorse requested the Lord to place his third step on his head. Indra thus got his power back and Bali had to retire to the *Rasatals*"[7]

(6) After all Bali was a great king and a faithful devotee of Viṣṇu and the Lord proposed to appease him with a boon. But Bali only begged for the Lord's constant association and it is said the god Viṣṇu is still standing as a gate-keeper at Bali's palace in the Rasātala.

From the above it would follow that the version of the story as represented in our sculpture is much simpler or, it may be, we have not here a complete serial of the legend, portions of it such as those pertaining to Aditi's penance etc. having been lost. There is, however, the scene of the *Amrita-manthana* at the back. There is no doubt that as compared with the elaborate details of the epic and Purāṇic stories the representation of the legend on our piece is much simpler with the four priests, the king and the queen, the Dwarf-god and his companion and the altar and the victim all these only going to make up the story. It appears the carving here has not been executed strictly after the narratives of any of

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5. *Matsya Purana* (Anandasrama Sanskrit series), chapter 245; Kurma Purana (Bibliotheca Indica series) p. 208 ; Ramayana (Bombay Nirnayasagar Press edition) I, 29.
6. *Brahma Purana* (Anandasrama Sanskrit series), 73, 32-3.
7. *Bhagavata Purana* VIII, 23. 10.

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the existing texts as can be said in case of similar sculptures found elsewhere in India to be mentioned just below :—

The story of the Vāmanāvatara is found on the sculptures at Mahābalipuram in Madras Presidency[8], at Badāmi in Bijapur District of Bombay Presidency[9], and at Ellora in Hyderabad State[10] all of which belong to the period between the 6th to 7th centuries A. D. There is also a beautiful piece from Rajim in the Central Provinces[11], belonging to the 8th century A. D. One will be at once struck by the differences in the presentation of the legend in the Pawaya piece from that found in the above sculptures. These differences can be enumerated as under :—

(1) At Badāmi, and Ellora the scene of Bali's performance of the sacrifice and his giving of promise of Vāmana and that of Trivikrama measuring his three steps are both presented in one composite scene while in Pawaya there are two separate panels for the two events, a more logical and much simpler arrangement.

(2) At Mahābalipuram and Badāmi the god Trivikrama is accompanied by a host of gods, demons and sages. For instance at Mahābalipuram god Siva and Brahmā are made to pay respects to the god Trivikrama. Both at Badāmi and Mahābalipuram king Bali, his Asura lieutenants, the sage Nanuci and a number of Daityas are shown tossed up in the air being terrified at the huge form of the god. As our lintel is partly broken it may not be stated for certain what the lost portion actually contained. But from the carving on the existing piece it can easily be surmised that the original piece had no scope or room for such a large number of figures and did not contain many of them at all, since to the right of the god in our piece we have two female figures, a fact which is not accounted for in any of the known sculptures found in India, nor in any of the texts referred to above.

(3) At Rajim and Badāmi it should be noted that the god Trivikrama holds in one of his hands a maimed head with a grinning face which apparently had no place in the setting of the scene as depicted on the Pawaya piece.

(4) The branch of a tree found in Pawaya sculpture has a parallel only in the Rajim piece.

(5) The manner in which the sun and the moon are represented in our piece is also peculiar. They are no doubt found at Badāmi and Mahābalipuram but there they do not appear so prominently as in Pawaya.

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8. Cf. *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 33, pp. 31-2.
9. See *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 25, pp. 17 ff.
10. Cf. Burgess, *Guide to Ellora Caves*, p. 29 ; and Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. I, I pp. 174-5.
11. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.* p. 169.

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(6) Further the realistic scene of the performance of the sacrifice is nowhere else found amongst the sculptures mentioned above.

There are also certain iconographical peculiarities of the Pawaya sculpture which deserve to be noted. The texts on iconography[12] provide for a number of attendants on the god and on the king Bali who, as already mentioned, do not figure in our piece. In the Pawaya sculpture the king Bali does not at all figure in the scene of measuring the three steps, as is provided for by the texts. These authorities further enjoin that Indra should hold an umbrella over the head of the god Trivikrama and that the gods Varuṇa and Vāyu should wave the *chamaras*. It is interesting that in our sculpture two females perform the same function instead and thus it may be surmised that they are the heavenly *Apsaras* so attending on the god.

Further according to the texts god Brahma and Siva are to be present in the scene paying homage to the god ; but they are absent in the Pawaya piece. It should be noted the other sculptures fulfil, to greater extent, the provisions of these texts while the Pawaya sculpture strikes a much more different note. The texts also lay down that in addition to a Kamandalu Vāmana should hold an unbrella in one hand, a thing absent in our piece.

In some Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata the story of the Vāmanāvatara is preceded by that of the Amṛtamanthana in which Bali is said to have taken part. Thus the representation of the legend on the back side seems justified. Unfortunately the scene here has partly broken away, but from whatever is left we can easily compare it with that narratives of the Purāṇas and state that the presentation here is much simpler and much less elaborate.

The representation of Kārtikeya on the present piece is not intelligible in the context unless we see in the iconographic texts that the god Trivikrama is to be accompanied among others by the sages Sanaka, Sanyasa and Sanatkumāra,[13] the last one being the proto-type of the god Kārtikeya. It is interesting that the god here has a hood of a snake forming a canopy over his head a feature not observed in any of the extant representations of the god nor is it so laid down in the texts on iconography[14]. He is attended on both sides by three figures not so accounted for in the texts. As compared with the other Gupta representations of the god his portrayal here is much different. Further he does not hold any weapon or implement in any of his 12 hands and

12. See Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.* p. 163 ff.
13. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pt. 11, p. 415 ff.

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reminds us more of the sage Sanatkumāra than of the warlike Skanda Kārtikeya.

The dance and music scene can easily be passed as one of the best masterpieces of ancient Indian art and can be favourably compared with the finest pieces of Gupta sculptures. The plastic art of this period is rich in such dance and music scenes ;[15] for example, we have a similar beautiful scene in the famous Varāha sculpture of the Udaygiri Caves in the State.

There is one aspect of the fragment which must be mentioned here. We do not know of similar *toranas* in relation to Brahmanical temples belonging to the Gupta period and in point of proportion and the manner in which the mouldings and the details of the carvings are executed, it appears the *torana* to which the fragment once belonged was much like the famous *torana* gateways at Sanchi[16]. There are mortices in the bottom and upper sides of the square end as well as in the upper side of the curved portion of the lintel which suggests that there were one or more parallel lintels on it and the mortice holes in the upper side of the curved part may once have accommodated the uprights in just the same way as we get them in the Sanchi gateways. Both the sides of the existing fragment are exquisitely carved into sculptured panels as in case of the Sanchi *toranas*. Indeed the similarity is far from superficial. The resemblance is pronounced even in point of size and form and other details. It is interesting to note that the carved reliefs on the fragments are enclosed at the top by a border line of decoration of triangles exactly as it is found in all the *torana* lintels of Sanchi. In Sanchi, however, we have the "false capitals"[17] on the square ends of the lintels while in Pawaya is found the "dance and music" scene and the sculpture of the god Kārtikeya on the other side. This is understandable since the *torana* in Pawaya was meant to adorn a Brahmanical edifice which required a different subject from the false capitals. It is thus tempting to assume that while executing their work the Pawaya artists had constantly in mind the Sanchi *toranas* though they were no doubt required to satisfy the demands of a different faith and age.

Thus from the above discussion it seems the lintel belongs to the early Gupta period if not slightly earlier. It should be noted that geographically Pawaya is situated midway between Vidiśā, the great centre of Suṅga art and Mathurā, which has yielded masterpieces of Kushana and Gupta art. Pawaya itself was a capital town being the seat of the Nāga dynasty before the rise of the Gupta empire. The anti-

15. See R. N. Saletore, *Life in Gupta Age*, p. 453 ff.
16. *The Monuments of Sanchi*, edited by Sir John Marshall, Vol. II, plates No. XX and ff 2.
17. *Ibid* Vol. I. p. 86, 131

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quities discovered at this ancient site fully bear out the implications of its geographical situation. While indicating the influence of Vidiśā in the size, and form of the lintel and its mouldings, it at the same time shows in its art and workmanship, definite link with the best of the Mathurā School. But there must have once existed a monument which the original *torana* gateway adorned. Was it the same now known as Tila which has not still been identified for certain? A reference has already been made to the design of the pillars in the carving of the scene of Bali's sacrifice which closely resembles the pilasters carved on the side walls of the Tila monument, which would certainly indicate same connection of our fragment with the Tila. The Tila site, however, has yielded numerous other antiquities which have not so far been studied *in extenso*. The present writer has just commenced this work and hopes that after such a study has been made more light will be shed not only on the exact antiquity of the present fragment but also on the history and culture of ancient Padmāvatī.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA FROM THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE I—III CENTURY A.D.

BY

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The Buddhist literature of the first two centuries of the Christian era presents valuable information relating to administration. Though it is not possible to suggest if the same material actually refers to the administrative system of the Kuṣāṇas, it can hardly be denied that the machinery which they refer to, must have been set up for the administration of a sufficiently big empire. The Buddhist literature of this period seeks to present the condition of N. India during the period of the Buddha. As such it is rather safer to presume that the data does not refer to any particular administrative machinery but presents general administrative information scattered in pieces and at different places in the entire Buddhist literature of this period. By placing these scattered pieces together it would be possible to present the structure of the administrative machinery. The material may be classified and considered under the following headings—Division of the country, King's coronation, Officers of the State, Minor Officers, Provincial administration with particular reference to civil and criminal law, and punishments under different counts.

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Division of the Country—The Buddhist literature envisaged the division of the country (rāṣṭra) into a number of administrative units—village (grāma), city (nagara), borough or town (nigam), province (janapada), and ultimately the country (rāṣṭra) itself with its capital rājadhānī. The parcelling out of the empire into a number of units was an administrative necessity for the proper and smooth sailing of the ship of the state. The units necessarily show complete decentralization and localization, but it would however appear that the central control was rigid as would appear from the data relating to the central administrative machinery.

Position of the King—The head of the state was the King who was assisted by numerous officers of high and low rank, with complete and rigid arrangements for his safety through a panel of officers, guards and spies. The Milindapañho refers to the coronation of the King who was consecrated with the inauguration ceremonies of the Kṣatriyas (*abijatukulinassa khattiyabhisekena abhisittassa paricaranti*),[1] waited in service by all the citizens and country folk in the land (*Saratthanegama janapada*), the soldiers and the peons (*bhatabalattha*) to the accompaniment of thirtyeight divisions of the royal retinue (*atthatrinsa carajaparisa*), acrobats (*nata*), dancing men (*naccaka*), and the soothsayers (*mukhamangalika*) and the heralds or utterers of blessings popularly known as Svasti-vācakas (pali *sotthivacaka*). The court was frequented by Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas and followers of every sect (*samana-brahmana-Sabbapasanda gana abhigacchauti*) Power was then vested in him as the lord of every seaport, treasure mine, town and custom house (*pattana ratanakara-nagara-sukatthana*) and he gave instructions to the fate of every foreigner and criminal (*verajjaka-cheijabhejjajana-manusa sanam sabbatha samiko bhavati*)[2].

Officers of the State—In the discharge of his duties the king was assisted by a council of which the members were known as *Parisadyan*.[3] His councillor was also called Tulaka.[4] according to the Divyāvadāna. The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka[5] distinguishes between king's ministers who were known as Rājāmātya and king's officers called Rāmāmātra. According to the Lalitavistara[6] courtiers of the king were known as Pāriṣādya[7]. The king

1. Saddh. Pun. III, p. 72, ll. 1 ff. IV, p. 102, ll. 5 etc.; A. S. XXXVIII, p. 219, 11, 2; Sukh, p. 26, para 10.
2. P. 359, ll. 4 ff.
3. Div. 291.29.
4. *Ibid* 212. 9.
5. XIII, p. 288.
6. P. 119, ll. 14 cf. also Div. 291. 17.
7. P. 114 ll. 27 ff. *Yatha va pana Maharajaranno Satam-pi-divi satam pu amacca-honti, tesam ca yeva tesam ca yeva janaamaccage gananaya ganiyanti.*

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was assisted by no less than 102 officers but according to the Milindapanho,[8] the following six alone were important: Commander-in-chief (*Senapati*), Prime Minister (*Purohit*), Chief Judge (*Akkhadasso*), High Treasurer (*Bhandagariko*), Bearer of the sun shade of the state (*Chattagahako*), and state sword bearer (*Khagga gahako*). The Divyāvadāna mentions other ministers of the state including the Prime Minister (Mahāmātyā gramātya), Minister attached to a Prince (Kumārāmātya)[9] ,Minister in charge of Palace (antaḥpurakumārāmātya)[10] and Minister in charge of Safety (amātyadavvārika).[11] The same work also refers to the disgrace of a minister (adarśanapatha).[12] The Mahavasti[13] refers only to the prime minister (Mahāpātra).

Minor Officers—Besides these other officers included Minister in General (Sabbaṭṭhaka), Family chaplain (Purohita),[14] customs officers (Sunkasāyika) astrologer (gaṇaka), officer in charge of clearing the road,[16] (mārsya saucādhikrita), Person in charge of Royal granary[17] (koṣṭagārikaṁ puruṣaṃ), Superintendent in charge of tolls and customs[18] (Saulkika), Census officer (gaṇakamahāmātra),[19] overseer (cinatakaḥ),[20] mechanical engineer (yantrakalā cārya),[21] Architect of the city (Nagaravaḍḍhaka),[22] Trustworthy spies (prachannan-car puruṣān, and secret agents (cārpāla)[24] were not conspicuous by their absence in the civil list. Personal guards and attendants included warders (Dauvārika),[25] palace guards (ballaṭṭha)[26] and watchmen (utkroṣa).[27] The hangman (Vadhya)[28] is also mentioned in the Lalitavistara.

It would thus appear that the head of the state was the king in whom was vested the sovereignty. In the discharge of his duties he was assisted by a council of which the members

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8. *Ibid.*
9. 549.9.
10. *Ibid* 269.17.
11. *Ibid* 291. 27.
12. 511.1.
13. Vol. III, p. 42, ll. 9.
14. Mil. p. 291, ll. 23.
15. *Ibid* p. 265.
16. Budd Car. III. 49.
17. A. S. XXXII p. 176. ll. 6.
18. Divy. 276.20.
19. *Ibid* 291.2[illegible].
20. *Ibid* 451.20.
21. *Ibid* 535.13.
22. Mil. p. 330 ll. 8.
23. Buddha. Car. IX. 82.
24. Divy. 529.9.
25. Lalit, p. 119.
26. Mil. p. 230 ll. 24.
27. Divy. 453.21.
28. Lalit XV. p. 207, ll. 3.

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were known as the Pāṇṣadyān with the Prime Minister (Mahāmātya gramātya or Mahāpatra) as the principal officer of state assisted by other officers including the commander in chief (senāpati). References to minor officers of the state some of whom were in personal attention to the king necessarily suggest that the central administration was properly planned. Customs officers (suṅkasāyika), and the Superintendent in charge of tolls and custom (Saulkika) besides the High treasurer (bhaṇḍāgāriko) were supposed to look to the central exchequer, its receipts and disbursements.

The Milindapanho also refers to the raising of righteous taxation by a king (uttarim Karanam).[29] The same work also makes a mention of Tax Collector (Sunkasāyika) while in the Divyāvadāna[30] there is a reference to wharf and ferry dues (*gulma tarapanya*).[31] References to other officers of a minor character possibly under the central administrative machinery necessarily point to the comprehensive nature of the system.

Provincial Administration—The Buddhist Literature does not refer to the details in the Provincial administrative system, save of course mentioning the names of the head of the Province who was called *Kottaraja* according to Lalitavistara[32] and *Tirṇath* (Skt *Tirnamatha*)[33] in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika. A duke was called Koṭṭarājaputta. Curiously enough there is no reference to the Kṣatrapas and the Mahākṣatrapas who, according to the inscriptions,[34] were Provincial heads in the administrative machinery of the Kuṣāṇas. There is also no reference in this literature to the functions, powers and officers in the Provincial administrative system, nor is there any mention of the number of Provinces.

Local Administrative Units—The Head of a village was known as *Karvatikah*[35] or *Nipaka.*[36] There is no reference to the Vedic Grāmaṇi.[37] Karvatikah[38] is noticed for the first time, while *Nipaka* meaning 'chief master' is mentioned as an adjective meaning clever, prudent or wise in the Majjhina and Anguttara[39] Nikāyas. The Miliṅdapañho, however, calls the headman of

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29. P. 277 11 2.
30. 365 11 4.
31. 92.27.
32. VIII p. 119 11 14.
33. XVIII.25.
34. E. I. Vol. VIII, p. 182 f., C. I. I. Vol. II, p. I.
35. Divy 445.23.
36. *Ibid* 451.20.
37. VII.1.56.
38. I.339.
39. III.24.

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the village as *Bhojaka*.[40] There are no references however to the Gūḍapuruṣas or village elders.

Judicial Administration—The Literature of this period furnishes ample details regarding the judicial administration with particular reference to the laws—civil and criminal, law courts, offences punishable with various types of sentences and the methods of administering sentence. The town house or Law Court was known as *Kulopa Karna Sala*.[41] This was possibly the smaller court. The king's court was called adhisthana.[42] The civil laws are referred to in a couple of references. Thus the property of a person without any issue went by escheat to the crown (mamātyayāt sarva-svāpateyam-aputrakaṁ-iti kṛtvā vājavidheyani vhaviṣyati-iti[43]. The Dasiputra was not to get a share in the property.[44] There are also references to surety and pledge (Pratibhu) in the Saundarananda Kavya of Asvaghosa.[45] The Miliṅdapañho refers to son being pledged as a surety by the father who had fallen in debt (*pita puttam inatto va ajivakapakato va avapitum va vikkinitum va vikkinitum va*).[46] Punishment to criminal offences was severe and those of a grave nature were punishable with death sentence. Adultery (Pāridāra)[47], theft (*adattadanam*),[48] robbery (*corika*).[49] *Larceny* (*Sandhamchitvi*)[50] were offences of a grave nature punishable with death sentence.[51] Madman guilty of capital sentence was only to be beaten and set free[52] (*kho bhaute unmattakassa dando bhavissati tam mayam pothapetva niharapema eso va tassa dando ti*)[53]. In the same work there are also references to the robber being taken to the place of execution or his eyes plucked out (cakkhuppaṭanaṁ), or impalement (sūta ropanaṁ) or carried to the scaffold straight (*Sisacchedanam papunanti*). References to prisons (Bhadhanāgāra),[54] and place of Torture (Yantragrihaṁ),[55] kind of torture (anupāta),[56] are also noticed in the literature of this period. Thieves were fettered[57] (*Rudyante chaura*) and even youngmen

40. P. 265.
41. Divy. 126.33.
42. *Ibid.* 211.9 ; 250.13.
43. A. S. pp. 13, 195.
44. Divy. 30.6.
45. XII. 13.
46. Mil. p. 279 11.16.
47. A. S XVIII p. 102 11 6.
48. Divy. 302.7.
49. Mil. p. 158.
50. Mahav. Part II p. 167 11.5-6.
51. A. S. XLII. p. 300. Mil. p. 110.
52. Mil. 221.11.5.
53. P. 166.11.35.
54. Sukhav. p. 68.
55. Divy. 418.1.
56. *Ibid.* 299.2.
57. Lalit XV p. 207 11 3.

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of good family were bound in wooden or iron menacles[58] whether they be guilty or innocent. The punishment was inflicted by a soldier (Rajadaṇḍabhaṭā)[59] who was different from the executioner called vadhaka[60] (Vadhya).[61] A wicked punisher was called Kudaṇḍā.[62] The Divyāvadāna also refers to the Maha Sreṣthin as a wielder of rod,[63] which may be construed to mean his position as a judge administering sentence. Punishments were of different kinds. Besides execution (māraṇaṁ) which was accompanied by a bell (ghaṇṭā śabdapane)[64] other punishments included cutting of hands and feet (hatthachedo, Pāddacchedo), flogging (vadho), casting into bonds (bandhanaṁ), torture (karana), degradation (Santativikopanaṁ)[65] hitting by clods or weapons (Loṣṭa-prahāra), threatening with sticks (Daṇḍesu Saṁtraśiti) and beating with whips (Kaśadaṇḍatādita).[66] Release from prison (cārakamadhye)[67] of innocent persons (anāpaṭṭika)[68] was often followed by their rearrest. We have thus considered the entire material relating to administration. It would appear that the criminal laws were very strict which necessarily helped in raising the morale of the people. The state servants were most faithful and ever anxious for the seal and the office.[69]

THE KṚTA ERA*

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I

It is well known that the Vikrama era, now in almost universal use in Northern and Western India, is mentioned specifically for the first time in the epigraphs of the 9th century.

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58. Saddh. Pun. p. 440 11. 4....*nadinigada vandhnair=baddho bhavet=aparadhyana paradhi va.*
59. Lalit V. p. 43 11. 9.
60. Saddh. Pun. IV. 9.
61. Lalit XV.207.
62. *Ibid.* V. p. 43.
63. Divy. p. 243 11. 27.
64. *Ibid.* 421.2.
65. Mil. p. 183 11. 3.
66. Saddh. Pun. III.117. *Parimuktah punah=eva bandhanain.*
67. Lalit XV. p. 207.
68. Saun. VIII.29 Lalit XV. p. 207 11. 3.
69. Mil. p. 280 *amacco muddakamo mudda dhikaranam yam kuncigaha.*

*Paper read before the Tenth Session of the Indian Historical Congress, held at Bombay in December, 1947.

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Prior to this it was known first as the Kṛta and then as the Mālava era. The designation Kṛta is found in inscriptions from the beginning to the 5th century of the Vikrama era. Thereafter it assumes the name Mālava down to about the 9th century. That it was one and the same era that was known by these different names at different periods is a fact now well established.

However, while the Mālava and Vikrama eras derive their names from the Mālava people and their illustrious leader, the term Kṛta has remained a veritable puzzle.

II

This queer term Kṛta has exercised the minds of scholars considerably. Various explanations have been brought forward to account for its origin and its nomenclature, but none has yet met with universal acceptance.

(1) Fleet, confronted with the problem of the interpretation of the term Kṛta in the Gaṅgadhāra inscription of Kṛta year 480, reading यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु शतेषु..., suggested that कृतेषु meant 'made, effected, established by', and assumed the three letters preceding it as indicating the name of the founder of the era.[1]

(2) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out in a discussion the inadmissibility of such an interpretation. He suggested instead that Kṛta might be taken as expressing the sense of 'four'.

(3) In the light of this criticism Fleet revised his opinion and decided to take Kṛta as meaning 'made, done, performed'. He considers यातेषु in the Gaṅgadhāra inscription having a practically similar sense as redundant.[2]

(4) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar surmised that "what is now known as the Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years and was consequently originally known as Kṛta, which means 'made'." He is inclined to think that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the actual foundation of the era, as the phrase मालवगणाम्नात [*i.e.* 'handed down traditionally' (not originated) among the Mālavas] indicates. It shows merely that the Mālavas were in possession of a traditional mode of reckoning years, known as Kṛta.[3]

(5) Fleet found it necessary to revise once again his opinion. He questioned Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion on the ground that the Vikrama era has never been an astronomical reckoning, but has always remained a great historical reckoning of Nor-

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1. J. F Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. III, 1887, pp. 73n, 75 and 77.
2. Fleet, op. cit., 73n.
3. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 163.

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thern India. He suggested that Kṛta may be connected with Ki-li-to, the people who according to Yuan Chwang seized the sovereignty of Kashmir after the death of Kaniṣka[4]. Fleet's view has been rejected by Konow[5].

(6) MM. Haraprasād Shāstrī[6] suggests that Kṛta indicates the name of the first year of a cycle of 4 years, current in the Vedic period. Up to this time only three inscriptions in Kṛta era were known : the Bijayagadh pillar inscription of the Kṛta year 428, the Mandasor inscription of Kṛta year 461, and the Gangadhāra inscription of Kṛta year 480. Of these the second date leaves one as remainder after dividing it by 4, and therefore fits in with the hypothesis. In the Gangadhāra inscription of 480, the phrase यातेषु कृतेषु suggested, according to MM. Shastrī, that 480 is the expired year, and the next year, 481, is the running one. Similarly, he believes that the Bijayagadh inscription of 428 also records, very probably, the expired year.

(7) Konow disagrees with Fleet and Bhandarkar. He rejects MM. Shāstri's theory because every year of the era and not every fourth is designated as Kṛta. He explains that 'Kṛta is the best throw in the play of dice, when the number of points is divisible by four, and a Kṛta year is a year divided in three seasons each comprising four months.' The designation Kṛta is chosen to distinguish the era from another older one, which may be the older Saka reckoning[8].

(8) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar gave up his earlier theory and postulated an altogether different hypothesis in 1932.[9] He pointed out that the Harivamsa and the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata describe the evils of the *Kaliyuga* and prophesy that a Brahmin named Visnuyasas will be born as Kalki in the town of Sambala in a Brahmin family, will be a supreme ruler (*cakravartin*), and a righteous conqueror (*dharma vijayi*). He will exterminate the Dasyus, perform the Asvamedha sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brāhmanas, and will usher in the Krta age. According to Dr. Bhandarkar this description will apply to Pusyamitra admirably as he was a Brahmin, a supreme ruler,

4. Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1913, pp. 994-998.

5. Sten Konow, *Kharosthi Inscriptions. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 1929, p. lxxxvi.

6. Mm. Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, '*Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman ; the Malava Year 461 ; Epigraphia Indica* : Vol. XII, 1913-14, pp. 319-320.

7. In this cycle *Krta* is the first, *Treta* is the second, *Dvapara* is the third, and *Kali* is the fourth year.

8. Sten Konow, *op. cit*, p. lxxxvi.

9. D. R. Bhandarkar, '*The Years called Krita, or the Origin of the Vikrama Era.*' *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXI, 1932, pp. 101-103.

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a righteous conqueror, and as he celebrated the Asvamedha sacrifice and re-established the Brahmanical religion. In the Kaliyuga, which preceded the advent of Kalki, Buddhism predominated and there was preaching by Sudras. Harivamsa says that this state of things was ended by Senāni Dvija, who cannot but be Pusyamitra. As Jayaswal has shown the Purāṇas, and particularly the Matsyapurāṇa, refer to Kalki as having actually flourished and ushered in the Kṛta age. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar questions Pusyamitra's generally accepted date (180 B. C.) and is inclined to bring him down to 57 B. C. on the basis of paleographical evidence. An inscription of Dhanadeva, sixth in descent from Pusyamitra, is paleographically akin to the records of Northern Ksatrapas (1st century A. D.) Pusyamitra subdued the Mlecchas and became a supreme ruler and a righteous conqueror in about 57 B. C. He, therefore, is the usherer of the *Krta yuga*. Thus Dr. Bhandarkar submits that " the Vikrama years were originally the years of *Krta yuga*, and that this epoch was ushered in most probably by Pusyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty."

(9) Sri D. N. Mookerjee accepts, in main, this theory, but postulates a different initial date for the Kṛta era.[10]

He points to the statement in *Kalki Purana* that Kalki defeated the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Mlecchas with the help of King Viśākhayūpa and introduced the Kṛta age. Viśākhayūpa was the son of King Pālaka of Avanti (528 B. C.-504 B. C.) Viśākhayūpa's reign falls between 504 B. C. and 454 B. C. With the help of Viśākhayūpa Kalki reintroduced the Kṛta era sometime between 504 and 447 B. C. Possibly King Viśākhayūpa of Mālvā marked the introduction of the Kṛta era by granting a republican constitution to the Mālavas.

Thus, Mookerjee contends, the Kṛta era should not be identified with the present Vikrama era or the Mālava-gaṇa era, but with the earlier Śrī Harṣa era of 458 B. C. mentioned by Al Beruni. He tries to support his view with evidence from an unknown work on Hindu Astronomy entitled *Graha Manjari* and the Jaina and Buddhist traditions about Kalki.

This theory rests simply on tradition and ignores the contemporary inscriptional evidence, a circumstance, which renders Mookerjee's hypothesis untenable. Moreover, the Kṛta : Mālava era has been synchronised and proved identical with the Vikrama era by a host of eminent authorities[11].

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10. Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee, *The Krta Era. New Indian Antiquary*, January, 1943, pp. 229-234.

11. Cf. Fleet, *CII*, III, Introduction, p. 68 ; A. S. Altekar, *'Vikyama Samvatsara' Sahyadri* (Marathi) October, 1943, p. 695 : D. R. Bhandarkar, *'The Vikrama Era,' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1947, pp. 193-194 ; etc.

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(10) The latest theory of the origin of the Kṛta era and the explanation of the term is propounded by Dr. A. S. Altekar.[12]

He criticises Fleet's view on the ground that it cannot explain the expressions such as श्री मालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते (Mandasor inscription of Naravarman) where Kṛta appears evidently to be the proper name of the era. Similarly he rejects MM. Shāstri's theory as it cannot fit in with several Kṛta records now available, *viz.*, the inscriptions of Kṛta years 282, 295, and 335 none of which can be reckoned as the initial years of the 4-yearly Vedic cycle, even if we assume them to be expired years. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's first proposition that the Vikrama era was founded by the people or astronomers is also unacceptable in view of the fact that none of the famous Hindu astronomers like Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira or Brahmagupta is known to have ever founded an era. Dr. Altekar similarly rejects Bhandarkar's other theory that the Kṛta era, a 'Kṛta yuga' or 'a golden age' was first started by Puṣyamitra Sunga, on the ground that Purāṇas almost invariably refer to the *Kaliyuga* as the current age, and that Puṣyamitra's time, fixed by unanimity of opinion at 180-150 B. C., can on no account be aribitrarily brought down to 57 B. C. as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Dr. Altekar's own theory may be summarized as follows: From the inscriptions dated in Kṛta calendar it appears that the era was traditionally handed down to the Mālava tribe. It does not designate any part of the era, but the whole collection of years (cf. कृतसंज्ञिते). Dr. Altekar suggests that the era may have been known by that term, because of the name of its founder. Kṛta might have been the name of a king or a leader. Though Kṛta as a personal name is not familiar in later Indian history, instances are not wanting of its use in earlier times. Thus there is nothing inherently improbable, according to Dr. Altekar, in postulating that Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king or a leader or general named Kṛta to commemorate his signal victory over the Sakas, who had usurped Ujjayini for a while. Kṛta might have been given the title Vikramāditya by a grateful people, who owed to him their emancipation from the Saka tyranny. Dr. Altekar also points out that Kṛta has another meaning in the Vedic language, *viz.*, 'booty', which is not very common. Thus Kṛta will also incidentally signify the stupendous booty secured by King Kṛta. Later on when the memory of Kṛta had faded away in Mālava, the designation naturally changed to Mālava era.

Dr. Altekar postulates this theory as only a tentative interpretation particularly because no evidence of the existence of a

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12. A. S. Altekar, '*Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yupas: Krita Year 295*', *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXIII, 1935-1936, pp. 49-50; and '*Vikrama Samvatsara*' *Sahyadri* (Marathi), October, 1943, pp. 698-700.

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king named Kṛta in ancient Indian history has yet been forthcoming. Thus, as Dr. Altekar puts it, the problem of the interpretation of the term Kṛta is still on open question.

III

We shall now attempt to find a solution to this intriguing problem.

(1) The phraseology of inscriptions like मालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते (Mandasor inscription of Kṛta 461), and कृतेषु...मालवपूर्वायाम् (Nagari inscription of Kṛta 481), indicates that the terms Kṛta and Mālava have the same relative position and should be interpreted in a similar manner.

(2) Turning to the provenance of the Kṛta inscriptions we find that all of them come from south-eastern Rājputānā,[13] touching the northern border of Mālvā. In this region the Kṛta designation was predominantly used. According to Dr. Altekar it was also a centre of an important revival of Vedic religion during this period.

(3) (*i*) Now this (S, E. Rājputānā, where Kṛta designation was most popular) is the same region which is referred to by Yuan Chwang as K'i-T'a and described as follows[14]: "From Mālwā the pilgrim went *north-west* about 300 li[15] (or 3 days' journey) to the K' i-t'a country. This was above 3000 and its capital above 20 li in circuit. It was a rich district subject to Mālwā to which it bore a resemblance."[16] "From K' i-t'a 1000 li is Fa-la-pi".[17]

(*ii*) Beal, of course, reads K' i-t'a as Kie-ch'a. But as the renowned Cinologist Takakusu notes, in Chinese Ch'a is often misprinted for t'u[18] Thus as the Chinese characters ch'a and t'a are liable to be confused, and as Watters, an admittedly more accurate writer, is inclined to read the word as K'i-t'a instead of Kie-ch'a K'i-t'a in all probability represents the proper reading.

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13. Cf. A. S. Altekar, *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXII, 1935-36, p. 51.
14. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*. Vol. II 1905, p. 245,
15. =60 miles.
16. Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhistic Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, 1906, p. 266. "This country (Kie-Ch'a) is 3000 li—The population is dense. The establishments wealthy. There is no king amongst them; the country is an appanage of Malwa and the climate, products of the soil and manners of the people are very similar in both countries. From this going north 1000 li or so we come to Fa-la-pi (Valabhi.)"
17. Watters, Ibid. 246.
18. Vide J. Takakusu, '*A Record of the Buddhistic Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*' (671-695 A. D. by I-tsing, Tr., Oxford, 1896, p. xxxn.

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(*iii*) Besides, if Kie-ch'a were accepted as the correct reading it would definitely point to Kaccha, which will not fit into the context on account of its far greater distance and the direction in which it lay relative to Mālvā and Valabhi. From the Kṛta country the pilgrim might have mistaken the westerly or slightly south-westerly direction of Valabhi for the northern ; perhaps he first went north and got on to the highroads connecting Binnamāla and Gujarāt, and later turned to the south. But if Kaccha is accepted as the intended meaning then the northerly journey of 1000 li (=200 miles) from Kaccha to Valabhi will be a gross error on the part of the great Chinese savant, which is improbable. If scholars like Julien and Beal thought that K'i-t'a indicated Kaccha, that was because they did not know of the existence of a Kṛta country (the exact term we shall give later on) north-east of Mālvā. Some of them are aware of the disparity between Chwang's estimate of the distance between Mālvā and Ki-t'a and the actual distance between Mālvā and Kaccha, if the latter is construed as representing the Kṛta country.

(*iv*) According to Watters' scheme of transcription K'i might stand for कि or खि and t'a represents aspirated dental त approaching थ Thus K'i-t'a might approximately represent a Prakrit word like किथ, (क्हित, कित्ह are also possible) or कथ.

The existence of a Katha (or Kaṭha) people in the centuries preceding the Christian era is vouchsafed by the contemporary evidence of early history.

The Greek writers mention Kathaians (equated to Kaṭhas by Jayaswal) as one of the most powerful 'nations' of India. Their capital in Alexander's time was Saṅkala. They enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war, and shortly before their encounter with Alexander they had defeated both Poros and the king of the Abhisāras. In their battle with Alexander they did not submit even though they were tremendously outnumbered[19]. The Kaṭhas and Madrakas, as Jayaswal points out, were also known for their learning, just as Kṣudrakas and Mālavas (the latter then living on Hydaspes, *i. e.* the Jhelum after its unity with the Chinab) were renowned for their bravery[20]. The Kaṭha recension of the Yajurveda and the Kaṭhopaniṣad owe their origin to the Kaṭhas, whose antiquity reaches back to the Vedic times[21]. The Kaṭhas determined franchise by birth[22] and elected their 'king'[23] in contradistinction to Kṣudrakas and Mālavas who had no 'king' consul, and were, therefore, required

19. K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity (Vols. I and II combined) 1924, Vol. I, p. 64.
20. *Ibid.*, I, 138.
21. *Ibid.*, I, 188.
22. *Ibid.*, I, 120.
23. *Ibid.*, I, 82.

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to send 100 to 150 representatives to negotiate the treaty[24]. The Kaṭhas were originally a tribe, for Patañjali mentions कठजातीय and कठदेशीय as meaning 'of the Kaṭha tribe' and 'men of the Kaṭha country'[25].

(5) Kaṭha or K'i-t'a appears to be the original term current in popular speech; Kṛta is only its Sanskrit restoration, which even in its Sanskrit garb has not been able to shake off the Prakrit Instrumental Plural termination in five copies of Kṛta inscriptions (Kṛta inscription of 284, of 295, three copies, and of 335). The plurality of the inflections in which the word Kṛta appears points almost certainly to its Prākritic origin. Such restorations are frequently met with. It is very likely that the original Prakrit word Kata signified the Kaṭha people, the Kathaians of the Greek writers and the K'i-t'a people of Yuan Chwang. As in the early centuries of the Christian era the Prakrit word कत also represented Sk कृत (cf. द्वे चिकीछ कता Aśokan Rock Edict II, Girnār), the composer of the inscriptions (dated in Kṛta era), naturally, transformed the original word Kata (*ta* perhaps aspirated) into the respectable-looking Sanskrit Kṛta, though the terminations still betrayed its real self.

V

We have now to correlate the terms Kṛta, Mālava, Vikrama, which are found to have designated the Vikrama era at different consecutive periods.

As legends like मालवानां जयः, मालवगणस्य जयः appearing on Mālwā coins of the 1st century B. C. would show, a great victory seems to have been won by the Mālavas and Kṛtas (in alliance perhaps with other powers), a victory which probably emancipated them from the tyranny of a barbarous foreign power. This momentous event was naturally an occasion for the initiation of an era. It was known to outsiders as the era of a Mālavagaṇa, for it was the Mālavagaṇa that led the war of independence against the Sakas, and, again, it was there that the era was generally current. The Kṛtas too, who had joined with the Mālavas in the common battle for freedom, similarly celebrated their emancipation by counting an era from the date just as the Mālavas, their brothers in arms, had done. It was of course identical with the Mālava (=Vikrama) era. In the Kṛta country the era naturally took the name Kṛta. No incongruity between these two parallel designations Kṛta and Mālava struck the ancient people, as then Kṛtas (or Kaṭhas) were almost identical with the sister-tribe, the Mālavas. Chwang's description of the Kṛta as attached to the Mālavas and the contiguity of the Kṛta country to Mālwā confirms this

24. *Ibid.*, I, 81.
25. *Ibid.*, I, 135.

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opinion[26]. The amalgamation of both the people into a greater Mālwā must have commenced sometime before Chwang and ended sometime after him, with the result that the subsequent documents refer exclusively to the Mālava era.

The numismatical evidence on Mālava coins (मालवगणस्य जयः etc.) precludes the suggestion that the era was originally founded by the Kṛta, and was later on adopted by Mālavas when they expanded and absorbed the neighbouring Kṛta province.

The relation of the Mālava : Vikrama era is a different problem, which has been explained by the present writer elsewhere[27].

PALLI BANA PERUMAL

(Some new light on the story of his conversion to "Bauddha Margam")

BY

P. C. ALEXANDER, M.A , M.LITT, D. LITT.

The "Keralolpathi" gives an interesting account of the conversion of an ancient Kerala ruler by name Palli Bana Perumal to "Bauddha Margam". Different interpretations have been given to the term "Bauddha Margam" and the religion adopted by Palli Bana Perumal is still a subject of keen controversy. Some scholars are inclined to think that the Perumal became a Muslim, some are of the view that he embraced Christianity, while some others think that he became a Buddhist. In this paper I intend to throw some new light on the story of the Perumal's conversion which may strengthen the view that the "Bauddha Margam" adopted by the Perumal was Buddhism.

The following is the relevant account in the Keralolpathi :— "During the reign of Palli Bana Perumal some Bauddhas came to the court and preached to him the doctrines of their religion. Convinced of the truth of it the Perumal embraced the "Bauddha Marga" and ordered the Brahmans to enforce the new faith throughout Mala Nadu..... One day six pandits came to the Brahmans and assured them that they would do their best to

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26. Cf. Watters II, 245 : "It was a rich district subject to Malwa to which it bore resemblance". Also Beal II, 266 : 'The country is an appanage of Malwa and...manners of the people are very similar in both countries".

27. Vide K. B. Vyas, *'The Vikramaditya Problem : A Fresh Approach'. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, July-October, 1946.

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relieve them of the trouble of the Bauddhas. They had a hot debate with the Perumal about the truth of the new faith. But finding the Perumal steadfast in his faith, they suggested that there should be an open debate between themselves and the Bauddhas. Those who lost in the debate were to be expelled from the country after cutting off their tongues. The Perumal agreed. In the debate the Bauddhas were defeated and the Perumal cut off their tongues and expelled them. Abdicating in favour of his successor, the Perumal left for Mecca'.[1]

The Keralolpathi describes Bana as one of the twenty-five kings who were brought to rule over Kerala from the neighbouring kingdoms. The date of accession of the first Perumal is given as 216 A. D. and calculating from this date Bana is assigned to the period 305-317 A. D. But as Mr. Sewell says the dates of the Keralolpathi are probably entirely fictitious and cannot be for a moment depended upon.[2] It would be certainly quite wrong to say that the first Perumal came to the throne only as late as the 3rd century A. D. The ancient Tamil classics give us ample information about kings who ruled Cheranadu many centuries earlier than the 3rd.[3]

Dr. P. J. Thomas is inclined to identify Bana Perumal with Banavarman Cheralāthan (Keralathan) the predecessor of the famous Cheran Chenguttavan.[4] If we accept the latter's period as the early decades of the 2nd century A. D., Bana Varman may be assigned to the latter half of the 1st century A. D. There are ample evidences in the Manimekalai and the Silappathikaram to show the wide prevalence and popularity of the "Bauddhamargam" in the Chera country during the reign of Cheran Chenguttavan and his immediate predecessors. Both the classics suggest that conversion to other faiths was very common in royal families. On the whole, it seems reasonable to identify Palli Bana Perumal with Bana Varman Cheranathan.

"Bauddhan" literally means one who follows the Buddha. But in common parlance it was used to refer to all faiths other than Orthodox Hinduism. Thus the term came to be applied to Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and Jains. Mr. Logan interprets "Buddha" to mean "Mappila" or Mohommadan[5]. An important argument in support of the view that the Perumal accepted Islam is the reference to his pilgrimage to Mecca[6]. But it is interesting to

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1. Keralolpathi, Mangalore Edition, pp. 28-31.
2. Sewell, Sketches of the Dynasties of South India, page 56, note 7.
3. The reference to Keralaputra in the Asokan Edict is a clear evidence of the rule of kings in Kerala even many centuries before Christ.
4. P. J. Thomas, "Baudhanaya Perumal" article in Malayalam in the Bhasha Poshini, Vol. 11 and 12, Book 13, page 410.
5. Logan, Malabar Manual, p. 230
6. Keralolpathi, p. 31.

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note that Bana is not the only Perumal who is described to have undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Keralopathi itself gives the story of Cheraman Perumal's conversion to Islam and pilgrimage to Mecca[7]. The "Kerala Mahatmyam" gives the story of another king by name Nasanga who is said to have gone to Mecca[8]. It is really amusing that all these stories end with 'the Mecca pilgrimage'. The very striking resemblance in the plot of the stories given in the Keralolpathi and Kerala Mahatmyam lead us to the obvious conclusion that one would have borrowed the plot from the other. It is difficult to accept the reference to the Mecca pilgrimage in its literal sense. The author probably uses this phrase to refer to the king's acceptance of an alien faith and leaving his country. Anyone who left his country for a long journey—particularly a sea voyage—was described as having gone to Mecca and so we need not attach any other importance to this statement. The whole theory of conversion to Islam falls to ground when we remember the fact that Bana is assigned to a period many centuries before the advent of Islam.

Dr. P. J. Thomas gives some good evidences to show that the Bauddha Margam adopted by Bana Perumal was 'Christianity. The Portuguese author Faria-y-Souza in his "Asia-Portugueza"[9] says that one of the Perumal rulers of Kerala accepted Christianity and abdicating his throne went over to the Mylapore Asram where the apostle St. Thomas was buried. The Perumal is said to be a contemporary of the apostle and is said to have been converted by the apostle himself. St. Thomas is said to have visited Malabar during the latter half of the 1st century A. D.—the period which we have already assigned to Bana Perumal. This strengthens the view that the Perumal could have been converted to Christianity. There are some other evidences in support of this theory. According to the popular traditions, the Perumal after his abdication, left his capital by boat to the south. Following the lake route, he came over to Kiliroor, a village three miles west of the Kottayam town. After staying there for some time, he came to Nilamperoor a village on the eastern shore of the Vempanadu lake, about six miles south-west of Kottayam. He is said to have spent the rest of his life at Nilamperoor spending his wealth in charities. There is a Bhagavati temple at Nilamperoor called "Palli Bhagavati" temple. A dilapidated structure on the left side of the temple is believed to be the tomb of the Perumal. Some years ago a bronze statuette was unearthed from the tomb and it is believed to be that of the Perumal. What is surprising is that it has a conspicuous cross in the middle of a string of pearls hanging from the neck. I visited the place and examined the statuette carefully. It is about 9 inches in height

7. *Ibid.* pp. 67-69.
8. Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII, p. 103.
9. Vol. I. p. 100.

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and 2½ inches in thickness. The cross is about an inch long. The statuette is in the standing pose and holds a staff with a knob at the head by the left hand and a broken staff by the right hand. The presence of the cross on the statuette has given weight to the theory that the Perumal became a convert to Christianity.

Now let me submit the evidence in support of the view that the "Bauddha Margam" adopted by Bana was nothing else that Buddhism. We have referred to the tradition of the Perumal staying at Kiliroor. There is an ancient Bhagavathi temple at Kiliroor on the top of a small hill and this is believed to have been the abode of the Perumal. Within the temple walls, on the left side of the main shrine, there is an old image of the Buddha seen embossed on the wall, in the characteristic yogic pose under a Bodhi tree. In the same shed there is a comparatively recent image of the Buddha in bronze constructed in imitation of the old one. Puja is being regularly offered to both the images and the Hindus worship them as their own deities. What is significant in our discussion is that the old image is popularly known as "Pallivanavar" and I found this name engraved at the bottom of the image. At Nilamperoor also, on the left side of the main shrine there is an image housed in a small shed very closely resembling the Kiliroor Pallivanavar. What does the presence of the Buddhist images at Kiliroor and Nilamperoor suggest? How can we account for the name "Pallivanavar" for the Kiliroor image? I venture to suggest that both the Kiliroor and Nilamperoor temples must have been originally Buddhist shrines and they became Bhagavathi temples only with the decline of Buddhism in the country. It is significant to remember that we find Bhagavathi temples in almost all places where we have come across Buddhist images in Kerala. Obviously with the decline of Buddhism, Buddhist images were replaced by images of the Bhagavathi. The Buddha image at Kiliroor must have been named "Pallivanavar" after Palli Bana Perumal who must have installed the image there. But today people consider Pallivanavar as the name of the image they worship.

The association of the term "Palli" with the Nilamperoor temple is very important. The place where the temple is situated is called "Pallipatikal". The deity in the temple is called "Palli Bhagavathi". The accountant of the temple is called "Palli Menon". Palli seems to be a word peculiarly associated with places of Buddhist worship in Kerala. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao says "all places called Pallikal seem to be associated with the Buddha worship[10]. In fact most of the places from where images have been discovered bear the name "Palli" or "Pallikkal"[11]. The association of the term Palli with the name of the Perumal and

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10. Trav. Archaeological Series, Vol. II, p. 122 Note I.
11. For example, Bharanikkavu Pallikal, Kunnathur Pallikal, Karunagappali Palligal etc.

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all places connected with him is very significant. The Buddhist images at Kiliroor and Nilamperoor the two places associated with the Perumal—their close resemblance to each other, and above all the name "Pallivanavar" by which the former is known are clear evidences in support of our theory that the "Bauddha Margam" adopted by the Perumal was Buddhism and no other religion. The presence of the cross on the Statuette is indeed an unsolved mystery. Could it be true that the Perumal was interested in Christianity also?

JUDICIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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In order to have a clear conception about the judicial administration in Ancient India, it is necessary to take note of the social condition and the organisation of the Society.[1] The life of the Vedic Aryans was pastoral, agricultural and rural. Their politics was definitely democratic in practice and the voice of the women also counted and was an important factor in moulding public opinion.[2] The Society was organised on the basis of autonomous village and the village organisation was more or less natural development and not a creation of the central government. The villages had a judicial system of their own, at once familiar to and respected by them; the various trades and guilds had a similar system.[3] The administration of justice seems largely to have been the work of village assemblies, or other popular communal bodies, whether with or without the authority of the king. The law of community was administered by the community and it is in the Satpatha Brāhmana that we find the king empowered not only to protect but to administer the law personally.

The lowest unit in the Vedic period was village and its chief was Grāmani who represented the people before the ruler and the ruler before the people. There is nothing certain about his appointment but it is believed that he was elected. He was the keystone of the village constitution. The principle of representation was highly appreciated in the Vedic period[4] and

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1. Maine—"Ancient Law," p. 17.
2. A. C. Das—"Rigvedic Culture," p. 315. Atharva-Veda, IV, 3.
3. Lee—"Historical Jurisprudence," p. 141.
4. Atharva Veda XII. 1. 56.

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from a reference in the Atharva-Veda we can infer that the village units also sent their representatives in the Samiti. Local disputes in the villages were disposed of by the villagers themselves but in matters of national importance the village reflected the decision of Samiti in actual practice and the co-ordination seems perfect. One remarkable feature in Ancient India is the absence of a strong central government and this accounted for the permanence of the popular element in the Judicial System. There stood beside the king, as the mode of expression of the popular will, the assembly which is denoted by the terms "Samiti" and "Sabha" and the tacit consent of the people played an important part in judicial administration.[5] The Vedic people were conscious of the intrinsic importance of the Common Assembly and the efficiency of their corporate political authority was based on unity and agreement. Zimmer admits that activity and co-operation of the people were carried on in meetings. The Society in Vedic India was characterised by a keen sense of public life and animated political activity.[6]

Sabhā and Samiti were the two representative institutions in the Vedic period. According to Macdonell and with the business of the Samiti was general deliberation of policy of all kinds and also the judicial work and in their opinion Sabhā was a kind of village council.[7] The Sabhā frequently met to administer justice and the term Sabhāvada meant assessors or legal experts who decided legal cases in the assembly. The frequent use of Sabhācara in the Veda signifies the Sabhā as a Law Court and it is clear that Sabhācara sat there to decide the cases.[8] Sabhā was the local assembly and Samiti was the national assembly and judicature. The relation between the king and the people was determined in the Sabhā and this is clear from a passage in the R. K. Veda where we find, "Like a true king who goes to great assemblies."[9] The importance of Sabhā as the judicial institution came to be recognised in the Dharma Śāstras.[10] Hillebrandt is of opinion that Sabhā and Samiti were identical but on the authority of Atharva-Veda his conclusion does not hold good. The Atharva Veda Sabhā and Samiti have been described as two different bodies—as the two daughters of Prajāpati."[11] During the time of A. V. Sabhā became a central aristocratic gathering.[12] R. K. Veda shows the judicial

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5. Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, p. 96.
6. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar. "Corporate Life in Ancient India."
7. Vedic Index, Vol. 2, pp. 426-27.
8. *Ibid*, 427-28.
9. R. K. Veda. IX. 92. 6.
10. C. H. I. Vol. 1, p. 96 and 133.
11. Atharva-Veda. VIII. 12 I. —सभा च समितिश्चावतां प्रजापतें दुहितरौ संविदानो ।—Also A. V, VIII. 10. 5. XII. 156. XV. 8, 9, 2. VIII. 1. 12.
12. A. V. XIX. 57. 2.

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character of Sabhā[13] on the authority of Atharva-Veda[14] we can say :—

(1) Samiti was a gathering of the whole folk of the community.

(2) It was the assembly on the rāstra.

(3) It met on all important occasions.

From the constitutional point of view, Samiti was a sovereign body and also a legislative body. Sabhā maintained its judicial character even in the later period and the Jātakās describe that Sabhā which has no good people is no Sabhā.[15] According to Dr. Shamsastry the following judicial topics were discussed in the assembly *viz.*, (*a*) land disputes, (*b*) recovery of debts, (*c*) cheating at play, (*d*) inheritance, (*e*) abduction of women, (*f*) cattle-stealing, (*g*) theft, (*h*) assault, (*i*) murder, etc. Even in the Sutra and Smriti period the following topics were discussed in the assembly : (*a*) destruction of fruit-trees, (*b*) falsification of weights, (*c*) provisions for soldiers' widows, (*d*) exemption of Brāhmanas and (*e*) punishment for false witnesses etc.[16] Sabhā and Samiti were personified as positive power in the life of the community. Where laws are operative, respect and good-will of the people are essentially indispensable, and here we find the presence of western conception of ethics-politics, *i.e.* "It is the objective mind which is subjective and self-conscious in the citizens; it feels and knows itself in the heart of each" [17] Vedic assembly was regarded as the "footsteps of God in the world-"[18]

The Council—The term "Parisat" signifies the assembly of advisers on questions of philosophy, but in later literature we find the term used in the sense of assessors of a judge or the council of ministers of a prince. The ancient tribal assembly was the background, out of which the council developed for executive purposes.[19] The business of council was general deliberation on policy of all finds and legislation. In the Upanishad, Parisat is identified with Samiti.[20] Its importance in pronouncing judgment was indispensable. Brhspati says, "a rightful thing (Dharma) the king should do only on the advice of the wise."[21] According to Kātyāyana the king should not decide a law suit by himself but should do it along with the council. The council was the first of the national life. "The royalty of the king

13. R. V. X. 71. 10.
14. A. V. v. 19.
15. Tartak. v. 509.
16. Shamsastry. "Evolution of Indian Polity," p. 85-86.
17. Bradley. "Ethical Studies," p. 184.
18. Hegel, "Philosophyof Might." Sec. 258.
19. Law, "Aspects of Indian Polity," p. 32.
    Sarkar, "Positive Background of Hindu Sociology," p. 54.
20. Chandogya, Upanishad, V. 3. Brh. Upa. VI. 2.
21. Brahspati, Sutra. 1. 4-5.

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and the prosperity of the world .....are borne out of the goodwill of the people. Pleasing the people and the welfare from the love of the people.....these are the two means to sovereignty."[22]

Pauras—Paura was one of the units of administration. In modern terminology it may be identified with the township. In Ancient India we find the recognition of the Kula and Gana laws[23] and we find that the Kula Court was presided over by Kulika and according to the prescribed Law the appeal from Kula Court should go to the Gana Court.[24] Kulika was a judge of the Paura, and the Prathama Kulika was generally regarded as the First Judge of the Paura Court. Paura maintained the tradition of local laws. Paura also enacted the fixed laws (or Sthiti) or the country laws (Desa Sthiti).

THEORY OF PUNISHMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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Manu has rightly pointed out in a nutshell the Ancient Indian Theory of Punishment in the following words :—

"Punishments have been prescribed by the sages, so that righteousness may not be outraged and unrighteousness may be cured".[1]

In Ancient India law was based on the twin conception of theology and agreement and as such it is clear that even in matters of punishment and justice, the theology had its sway. General conception about punishment was that it should help the man or the criminal to reform himself according to the prescribed codes of Dharma. This does not mean that punishment was merely religious stick to terrify the people. Punishment was meted out with accuracy and those who violated the king's peace or justice were heavily punished, after being duly examined by the Court. Punishment signifies Danda. The administration of justice pre-supposes the existence of an authority. Every organisation, Social or Political, must have some authority without which the human society can't function. The principle of authority is an eternal support of the human society. Danda is the important

22. Agni Purana, 164, 165.
23. Yajnavalkya 1.360. II. 186.
24. Viramitrodaya, p. 40.

1. Manu VIII. 122. धर्मस्यावभिचारार्थं धर्म नियमायच

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aspect. The state must have some coercive power and viewed in this light we can see that Danda is the coercive power of the state. The term Dandniti was first adopted by Uśanasa[2] and the "Book 'Daṇdniti' " ascribed to Prajāpati is mentioned in Mahābhārat.[3]

Prajāpati is regarded as the creator of Danda.[4] Danda was created by God Shiva after long concentration and even the Science of Politics was made out of Danda.[5] Sometimes Danda is identified with Dharma and it is said that the Danda is the Soul of Dharma[6] and is Dharma itself.[7] The whole universe is under Danda.[8] Thus we find that the theory of Punishment of Danda was basically theological and metaphysical and an attempt was always made to develop its abstract side in its entirety. Though we find that a realistic approach to law was given in the Vedic period, its practical side was fully ignored in the later period. The principle of Danda is omnipotent. One particular reason behind the religious colour of Danda is that religion gives Danda the authority or sanction. The Hindu conception of sanction corresponds closely to the modern concept of Sovereignty.[9] Speaking about the authority of Danda, Manu observes: "The whole world is rectified by Danda and even the Gods and Demi-Gods are subject to its authority."[10] Manu identifies Danda with Dharma "and it is through the sanction of Dharma that all men enjoy the World straying away from Svadharma.[12] Danda is the authority which represents the state's will and as such it has got not only a legal pre-eminence but also a moral pre-eminence. It is the fountain of social peace.

It is with the development of society that the idea of punishment also developed. Society was organised on some fundamental principle. In order to stabilise the society it was thought proper to vest some authority in the state. The state was armed with the power to coerce, restrain and punish according to the needs. But in doing so, the state was in duty bound to take note of Dharma and do accordingly. Hence the practice was always guided by theory. Danda was the guarantee of universal happiness and righteousness[13]. By awarding Danda it was thought that it was designed to correct the human vices. The epic conception was that Danda had two functions. "It protects

2. Mudraraksas 1.
3. Santi Parva 59.
4. Manu, VII 14.
5. Rajdharmanusasana Parva, 121.
6. } *Ibid.* 7, 51, 50, 121.
7. }
8. }
9. Gatell, 'History of political Thought,' p. 27.
10. Manu. VII, 22, 23. दण्डस्याहि भयात्सर्वं जगद्भोगाय कल्पते
11. *Ibid.* VII. 18 दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्बुधाः
12. *Ibid.* VII. 15.
13. Rajdharmanusasana Parva, 112, 34 35.

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and governs"[14]. Manu holds the same view about Danda[15]. Danda saves Dharma, Artha, and Kām[16]. Ethical interpretation of the term leads us to believe that Danda acted as a guide for all and helped men in choosing between right and wrong. Dharma was really well applied Danda[17] for it paved the way for sound morality.[18] Danda is a great lustre. It cannot be held by despots. It strikes down the King who swerves from law[19]. Only a King who is honest could wield Danda[20]. Danda is also identified with administration[21]. According to Manu Danda was vested in the Amātya[22]. If we identify the term Danda with administration we will have to accept that there was an officer to execute Danda into practice. That Officer known as Dand-Nāyak, or the Minister-in-Charge of the administration.

Danda is derived from the term Dama—"to restrain". The means by which a person is restrained from misconduct is Danda[23]. Danda is the means of purification and the punishment awarded to the offender is for the purification of the state[24]. Kautilya treats Danda as an instrument for bringing people under control[25]. In ancient India, Danda was simply a part of the four-fold policy of the state, *i. e.* "Sāma, Dāma, Danda and Bheda", (reconciliation, gift, punishment and division). Danda is extolled and almost deified in Dharmshāstra literature. Gautam treats Danda as reforming or correcting influence.

King was only empowered to inflict Artha and Vadha Danda (fine and corporal punishment), Some authorities hold the view that the right of inflicting punishment was the prerogative of the King but a glance at the republican constitution of ancient India will dispel this notion. In the republican constitution the Raja or the President alone had the right to convict the accused but in doing so he was to be guided by the "Pareni Pustaka" or the Book of Precedents. Thus we find that the King honoured the law of the land.

The ancient Indian Theory of Punishment was based on the central idea that punishment for wrong-doing was to be meted out by the King for the preservation of social order[26]. Dr. Sen

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14. *Ibid.* 50.
15. Manu VII, 18 दण्डः शास्तिः प्रजाः सर्वा दण्ड एवाभि रक्षति ।
16. Rajdharm.....50.
17. } *Ibid.* 120, 50.
18. }
19. Manu. VII. 28.
20. *Ibid.* VII, 30-31.
21. Jayaswal—'Hindu Polity,' p. 296.
22. Manu. VII. 65.
23. Sukraniti.
24. Nitivakyamritam, p. 202.
25. Arthasastra, p. 9.
26. Dr. P. K. Sen, "Parology, Old and New," p. 89.

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holds the view that there is no tinge of the theory of retribution or vengeance and points out that in the matter of punishment, the directives given by the Hindu legal experts compare favourably with the advanced systems of to-day, in taking into account not only the objective circumstances of the offence but also the subjective limitations of the offenders[27].

The ruler in ancient Indian polity is called Dand-Dhar.[28] Danda is considered as an essential attribute of royalty.[29] The King regulates the state by wielding this weapon of Danda. Danda is supreme in Royal Dharma.[30] Danda brings into existence well-regulated and well-planned society recognising rights and duties and privileges and law. Behind this philosophy of law and punishment lies the conviction, as held by Manu, that man is essentially low, vile and selfish and can be kept on straight path only with difficulty and harshness.[31]

The view of Dr. Sen, that there is no tinge of retribution, does not hold good in the light of modern researches. Kaegi has rightly observed : "The hymns strongly prove how deeply the prominent minds in the people were persuaded that the eternal ordinances of the rulers of the world were as inviolable in mental and moral matters as in the realm of nature and that every wrong act, even the unconscious, was punished and sin expiated."[32]. The Vedic conception was that it was a retribution from heaven. Expiation and Danda are spoken of as twin modes of purification. Retribution in form of expiation was very common during the Vedic period. Expiation was a logical part of the system based on religion and metaphysical theory. The divine judgment was based on the belief that all guilt was punished by God. The existence of the term "Vaira-Deya" or Wergeld proves the payment of compensation. Retribution in its practical character was present in the Vedas. In Mahābhārat also punishment as retribution is visible in the following words :—"To take revenge on him who takes revenge, to retaliate, when struck and to do harm in return for harm"[33].

The punishment by oath and ordeal was also known. According to Jolly, the system of oath was prevalent even during the time of Rigveda. Jaiswal says that ordeal was only a form of oath.[34] The system of ordeal is as old as Rigveda. According to Nārad and Yāgnavalkya ordeal shall be resorted to only

27. *Ibid.* p. 110.
28. Jolly, 'Hindu Law and Custom,' p. 280.
29. *Ibid.* p. 263.
30. Nitisar, p. 30.
31. Dr. Beni Prasad, "Theory of Govt. in Ancient India," p. 39.
32. Kaegi, Rigveda, p. 18.
33. Vana Parva, 29.
34. Jayswal, 'Manu and Yagnavalkya,' p. 135.

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in default of worldly proofs.[35] When the right arguments fail ordeal has to be used in the investigation of cases.[36]

Punishment for crime was inflicted by divine judgment or through the penance imposed by the priest—an amalgamation of earlier priestly jurisprudence with later legal practice—penance was inflicted by the King at the behest of prest[37]. The philosophy behind this theory of expiation was that punishment purifies sin. The principle of purification is also advocated by the Purāṇa[38].

Another marked feature of Danda was the restraining principle. Gautama has opined that the creation of punishment was for checking the miscreant and wrong-doers. Kautilya and Sukra suggested the practical means of ennobling the criminal soul. So far as stringency is concerned Kautilya is no less but his view was reformatory. His conception is that the crime is inherent in social make-up of a man and it spreads from person to person as a disease. He treats crime as a contaminating disease and suggests that the criminal must be reformed by finally doing away with the criminal tendency in him. He says : "When the guilt is got rid of, there will be no guilty persons, but when only a guilty person is got rid of the guilty will contaminate others"[39]. Kautilya wants the extirpation of those who desire evil of the kingdom.[40] He not only attached reformatory or retributive value to the punishment but also he saw the germs of discipline in the punishment. His inner motive was to educate the people and in this respect he was in line with Aristotle who viewed punishment as "educational discipline." Kautilya observes : "Punishments which alone can procure safety and security of life depends on discipline[41]. He, like Vishnu, holds that punishment must be proportionate to guilt.[42]

Sukra's idea was that punishment leads to the abdication of bad practices and that the king should administrate punishment for the furtherance of morality and religion and he regards punishment as the great "stay of virtue."[43] Kāmandaka justifies

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35. Yagnavalkya. II 22. Narada, 1 241. Jolly, "Hindu Law and Custom," p. 308.
36. Sukraniti, p. 203.
37. Hopkins, " Ethics of India," p. 110-13.
38. Bhagwata Purana, III, 9 ; 10. 14.
In this connection it must be remembered that the duty of the King was to free the people from sin by punishing them according to law. See Rajdharmanusasana Parva, 68.
39. Arthasastra, p. 425.
40. *Ibid.* pp. 187 and 197. Also consult S. B. E. Vol 33, p. 90
41. Arthasastra p. 10
42. *Ibid*, p. 71,243 and 247. Also Vishnu III, 65.
43. Sukraniti, p. 130-31

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punishment for the purposes of justice.[44] According to Yāgñavalkya punishment should place the subject in right path.[45] Before awarding punishment the following points were taken into consideration: (1) Motive (अनुबोध), (2) Circumstances, (3) Capacity of the criminal, and (4) the crime.[46] Various types of punishment have been devised,[47] such as (a) Vadhdanda or Capital Punishment, (b) Arthadanda or Fines, (c) Vagdanda or Verbal Punishment, and (d) Moral Disapprobation. Pali texts inform us that a Brahmin was not given a privileged position in the eyes of law and if a Brahmin was criminal he was sure to be executed.

THE STORY OF VASU UPARICHARA AND ITS SUMERIAN, GREEK AND ROMAN PARALLELS

BY

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To the ancient Indo-Mediterranean peoples the eagle, besides being other things, was a vehicle between earth and heaven, and, therefore, a means of deifying mortals. This is borne out by the Indian story of Vasu Uparichara, the Sumerian legend of Etana, the Greek-Roman myth of Ganymedes, and the ceremonies connected with the apotheosis of the Roman emperor after his death.

The Story of Vasu Uparichara

We are told in the Mahabharata[1] that once upon a time there lived a King called Vasu Uparichara, who was singularly devoted to Narayana. In the fulness of time, "renouncing his body, he ascended to heaven".[2] However after some time, through

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44. Nitisar, p. 64.
45. Compare this view with that of Mahabharat where it has been said that the duty of the king was to bring the people to good ways of life. (Vide Moksdharma Parva, 167).
46. Manu and Yagnavalkya, p. 83.
Mokshadharma Parva 167.
Manu VIII. 126.
Yajnavalkya 1. p. 59.II p. 110 and
also Vasistha.
47. Mokshadharma Parva 167. Manu VIII. 129-30.
1. *Shanti Parva*, Chs. 336-338.
Dutt's translation, Vol. III (Caloutta, 1903)
2. Ch. 337, v. 59.

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the curse of the Brahmanas,[3] he tumbled down from heaven and "went down a hole in the earth."[4] Although he had fallen so low, Uparichara did not give up his faith in Narayana, but continued to adore him as fervently as before. The god was highly pleased with the King "who thus showed himself to be entirely devoted to him, and entirely depended upon him as his sole refuge",[5] and ordered his *vahana*, "the fleet Garuda", to rescue the King. At Vishnu's bidding, Garuda, "swift as the wind," entered the pit in the earth in which Vasu was lying, and "taking the king up, the son of Vinata, soared into the sky and there released the king from his beak."[6] In this way, thanks to the eagle of Vishnu, Vasu Uparichara got back his divine form and re-enter edheaven.

The Legend of Etana.[7]

According to the early Sumerian chronology,[8] Etana the shepherd was the thirteenth king of the first dynasty of Kish after the Flood. He made the most daring attempt ever made by a mortal : he proceeded to heaven clinging to the pinions of an eagle.[9] This ascent of Etana is the main theme of the legend of Etana, a fascinating Sumerian poem, fragments of which have survived the ravages of time.

The original intention of Etana in trying to launch upon this dangerous enterprise appears to have been to bring the insignia of royalty from Anu. But the immediate occasion of this flight heavenward was the search for the "plant of child-birth," which would enable his wife to have a easy and safe delivery. He had been looking high and low for this miraculous herb, but in vain, so he appealed to Shamash, the Sun-god, to help him to find it. The god advised him to go to a certain

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3. The king was cursed by the Brahmanas because, when he acted as arbitrator in a dispute between the gods and the rishis regarding the proper method of offering sacrifices, he showed his partiality for the gods by giving the decision in their favour.

4. Ch. 338, v. 16.

5. Do., v. 29.

6. Ch. 338, v. 35.

7. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia*, pp. 171, 209-210 (London, 1925); Wallis Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, pp. 143-144 (London, 1925); Waddell, *Makers of Civilization*, p. 166 (London, 1929); Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 31-32 (London, 1928).

8. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

9. Cf. Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 166. 'That legend goes on to relate that Lord Etana was invited by his "friend" the Sun-hawk (Aukh) to cling to it and be carried up to Heaven.'

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eagle. Etana found this eagle lying in a pit, badly mangled.[10] He tended it like a good Samaritan, and as a result of his ministrations the bird's wounds were healed, and it recovered its strength. The eagle showed its gratitude to the king by undertaking to carry him to Ishtar, the goddess of childbirth, to get the herb which Etana needed so badly. Etana, old though he was, took courage into his hands and "set his breast against the breast of the eagle, and laid his hands on the feathers of its wings,"[11] and the eagle soared higher and higher pointing out on the way "the vast dwindling panorama of earth and sea.[12] At last they reached heaven, and passed through the gates of Anu, Enlil and Ea. The throne of Ishtar was still higher up. It was now six hours that they had been going up without stop, and Etana, either because his courage failed him,[13] or because he became giddy,[14] told the eagle to halt and take him back to earth. The text is badly damaged here, and the poem ends with the statement that both vehicle and passenger "fell crashing to the earth".[15]

The ascent of Etana is represented on several early Sumerian cylinder seals,[16] We are shown a bird, probably an eagle, taking off with a bearded man, presumably Etana, on its back. Immediately below Etana and the eagle are two dogs seated face-to-face on either side of a bag or vessel, evidently belonging to the patriarch. They are regularly depicted looking up in surprise at their master. Another interesting feature of these representations is the flocks of sheep. These details leave no doubt in our mind that the man on the back of the eagle is a shepherd. This is hardly to be wondered at as in the King lists Etana has the title of shepherd. Other shepherds, too, are often shown expressing their amazement by looking up like the dogs or by lifting an arm in the attitude of wonder.

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10. The eagle had devoured the young ones of a certain snake. When a suitable opportunity occurred, the snake took revenge on the eagle and wounded it severely. This enmity between eagle and snakes figures in all Indo-Mediterranean mythologies. See my paper, "The Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Eagle," in the Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress.

11. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

12. Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

13. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

14. Delaporte, *op. cit*, p. 171.

15. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

16. *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates I, pl. opp. p. 40, *a, b, c, d*... four impressions from cylinder seals showing the ascent of Etana (Cambridge, 1927); Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXIV, h (London. 1939); Spearing, *Childhood of Art. fig.* 262. *Ur Excavations*, Vol. II Plates, pl. 205, No. 180 (Oxford, 1934); the same is reproduced in Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, i. In the last example the ascent of Etana is used as a space-filler and, therefore, only the eagle with the rider is shown.

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The Myth of Ganymedes.

Ganymedes, the most beautiful youth that ever lived, was carried away from the earth to Mount Olympus to replace Hebe as cup-bearer to Zeus. There are several versions of this myth, describing differently the manner in which Ganymedes was kidnapped, But the most popular version has it that he was carried off by the eagle of Zeus.[17] Some writers say that the eagle was Zeus in disguise.[18]

We have illustrations of this myth in different branches of Greek and Roman art. The rape of Ganymedes in bronze by Leochares, a famous Attic sculptor of the fourth century B. C., easily heads the list. Though the original, praised by Pliny,[19] has been lost, several copies of this work have survived.[20] The best and most celebrated of these is the marble copy in the Museo Pio Clementino at the Vatican.[21] Vincent Smith's description of the Vatican group is worth quoting. "In the Vatican copy the eagle is shown as supported by the trunk of a tree in the background, with wings expanded and neck stretched upwards, grasping with tender firmness the nude youth, whose feet have just ceased to touch the receding earth. His robe disclosing the nude figure, is so disposed as to protect his back from injury caused by the bird's talons. A dog, seated below howls piteously for his vanishing master, as described by Vergil".[22]

Another interesting example, which illustrates the later version of the myth, is provided by the relief frieze on a silver *simpulum*[23] from Cullera, near Valencia. The vessel is shaped like a saucepan and "inscribed on the bottom in the lettering of the second half of S. III A. D."[24] The frieze shows Zeus in four of his amorous adventures, *viz.*, as a swan with Leda, as

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17. Vergil, *Aeneid*, V. 252-57: Horace, *Odes*, IV, 4, 2: Apollodorus, III 12. Vergil's account is powerfully reminiscent of the scene below Etana and the eagle depicted on the Sumerian seals.
"*Longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt custodes saevitgue canum latratus in auras.*"

18. Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, X, 155; Nonn., *Dionys.*, XV, 280.

19. XXXIV., 79.

20. It is interesting to note that there are adaptations of the work of Leochares in some specimens from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara. In these, Garuda is shown seizing a Nagi after the manner of the eagle in the Vatican copy. *Vide* Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pl. XV a (London, 1926); Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, fig, 70a (Oxford, 1911).

21. Smith and Marindin, *Classical Dictionary*, first fig. on p. 357 (London, 1909); Nettleship and Sandys, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, fig. on p. 349 (London, 1891), Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 71.

22. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

23. Cook, *Zeus*, Vol. II, pl. XV (Cambridge, 1925).

24. *Id. ibid.*, p. 229.

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a man with Semele, as Artemis with Kallisto, and as an eagle with Ganymedes.

On pottery the rape of Ganymede by the eagle of Zeus figures once or twice, but usually "Zeus himself seizes or pursues the youth while he is engaged in bowling a hoop or otherwise at play."[25]

The Apotheosis of the Roman Emperor.

We have a full account of the ceremonies connected with the deification of the Roman emperor from Herodian's[26] description of the obsequies of Severus, which he apparently witnessed. The most significant ceremony was "the liberation, at the moment of kindling the funeral pyre, of an eagle which was supposed to bear the emperor's soul to heaven."[27]

Apotheoses of emperors, or members of the imperial family, were popular motifs in Roman art. The eagle is an indispensable part of these representations. Among the better known examples are the apotheosis of Titus on the arch of Titus and that of Augustus on a grand cameo in the Louore[28]. Bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius[29] have CONSECRATIO inscribed on their reverse and the emperor with a *himation* wrapped about his legs and a sceptre is his right hand is shown being carried aloft on the back of an eagle. On some Roman coins the apotheosis of Faustina is represented[30].

Conclusion.

All this literary and pictorial evidence leads us to the obvious conclusion that all these Indo-Mediterranean peoples believed that heaven was high up in the sky—a belief which has persisted to the present day. How deep down into the past, and how far afield have we to dig for the roots of the present! It is not surprising that these people should have plumped, in the absence of the aeroplane, on the eagle, the bird loved and respected by gods and men, as the best and the most natural means of transporting men to the abode of the gods. The eagle had a easy access to this abode as it was so closely associated with the gods. But what is important is that the eagle did not carry only the living to heaven, it also conveyed the souls of the dead thither, and thus was instrumental in transferring human beings from

25. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. II, p. 18.
26. Book IV, C. 2.
27. *Enc. Brit.*, Vol. II, p. 125 (14th edition).
28. *Enc. Brit.*, Vol. II, p. 125 (14th edition).
29. Cook, *op. cit.*, fig. 58.
30. *Enc. Ital.*, Vol. III, fig. on p. 718.

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the mortal to the immortal plane. The fundamental identity of these beliefs and the striking parallels in the diverse myths which enshrine these beliefs, reminds us of Donald Mackenzie's remark, So do the beliefs of mingled peoples survive in complex mythologies[31].

MAHAKANTARA AND ITS LOCATION

BY

L. D. PANDEY SHARMA
Balpur (Mahakosal)

Professor G. Jouveau Dubreil writes in his 'Ancient History of the Deccan' as follows:—

About A. D. 340, Samudra Gupta left his capital Pataliputra and marched directly towards the south. First he conquered Southern Kosala where the King Mahendra was reigning in the vicinity of Sirpura (on the Mahanadi) in Raipur District, and Sombalpur (present Sambalpur) in Orissa. He then crossed the forests that are to the south of Sonepur and found there the small 'kingdom of Mahākāntāra' which means "the great forests", and where Vyāghra-rāja, the 'tiger-king' was reigning. Then he reached the coast of Orissa.

This observation was made by the learned scholar and historian prior to 1920.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal, B.A., the famous archaeologist and historian, writes in his Hindi work—"Madhya-Pradesh-Kā Itihas" (History of C. P.) on page 19 :

समुद्रगुप्त ने महाकोशल अर्थात् छत्तीसगढ़ के राजा महेन्द्र से लड़ाई ली और उसे हरा दिया। इसी प्रकार महाकान्तार के राजा व्याघ्रदेव को भी हराया। यह (महाकान्तार) कदाचित् बस्तर का कोई भाग रहा होगा जहाँ पर इस समय भी बड़ा भारी जंगल है।❀

In his opinion '*Mahakantara* kingdom formed a part of the present Bastar State, where there are still dense forests. Bastar is a native State in the Raipur District in Chattisgarh, C. P. to its extreme south. It lies between 17°-46' and 20°-14' N and 80°-15' and 82°-1' E. with an area of 13,042 sq. miles. Its length from north to south is about 164 miles and breadth from east to west about 128 miles. The State is bounded on the north by Kanker State

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31. *Myths of Crete* etc., p. xlviii.

❀ मध्यप्रदेश का इतिहास—published by काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, बनारस in Samvat 1996 Vikram, after the author's demise—1st edition.

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and the Raipur District ; on the east by the Jeypore estate in the Madras Presidency ; on the south by the Bhadrachalam *taluk* of the Godavari District of Madras and on the west by the Chanda District and the Nizam's Dominions.

The early history of the Bastar State is unknown. Gold coins issued by kings, named *Varaha* and *Arthapati* with legend in *box-headed* characters, having *humped bull* (Nandi) devices, were recently discovered at village Edenga in the Kondgaon Tahsil of the Bastar State. These kings, as shown by M M. Mirashi, belonged to the Nala dynasty and flourished about the 5th century A.D. "This Nala family was ruling over Kosala (modern Chattisgarh comprising the Bastar State and the adjoining territory). The Nalas were contemporaries of the Vākātākas. These coins fail to throw any light on the name of the kingdom ruled over by the kings whose names they bear. In the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. the Bastar State was known as 'चक्रकोट'. Inscriptions discovered in this State are recorded in *Telagu* scripts, leaving some which are in the *Devanagari* characters. This shows the domination over the tract by Telagu-speaking dynasty from the south, especially Warangal where the Kikatiyas held sway. There are old buildings and inscriptions at Barsur, Dantewara, Bhairamgarh, Narainpal, Kuruspal and Dhanora. The temple at Barsur belongs to God Siva with 12 stone-pillars carved on the outside with sculptures of *nude* figures in a damaged state. A ruined *Ganesh temple* is also found here (Barsur). The image of *Ganesh* about 8 feet high and over 17 feet in girth is still there. Narainpal has a temple of Vishnu. At Dhanora are the ruins of about 20 tanks and also about 25 mounds which probably cover the ruins of temples. One on being excavated disclosed the remains of a temple and a *Siva-lingum* six feet long and as much in girth. These temples and inscriptions are not older than 1000 A.D. About that time, the central part of the present Bastar State was known as *Chakrakot* or *Bhramara Kotya* both of which names appear to be identical. The "C. P. inscription" has :—

"Bhramarakotya *mandala* is apparently an alternative name of Chakrakotya *mandala*, and formed the central portion of the Bastar State according to the Rajapura Plates of Madhurāntaka-deva" (Ep. Ind. Vol. X, p. 40 ff.)

The District Gazetteer of Raipur quotes on page 38 from V.A. Smith's Early History of India :—

Emperor Samudra Gupta directed his attention to the conquest of the south, and the kingdom of the South Kosala, the old name of Chattisgarh, was the first country he conquered in his 'kingdom-taking' expedition. The invader marching due south from his capital Pātaliputra or Patna, overthrew its King Mahendra. Passing on, he subdued all the *chiefs* of the forest-countries, which still retain their ancient wildness and constitute the tributary States of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central

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Provinces. The principal of those Chiefs was Vyāghra Rāja, whose country was named *Mahakantara*, literally the *great forest*, which was situated somewhere near Sihāwā in the Dhamtari Tahsil (District Raipur, C. P.). Sihāwā is not very far off from Sirpur and Rajim and one would be unwilling to take it as an important place in Mahākāntāra. In inscriptions it is referred to as 'देवह्रद' and the adjoining State of Kanker (कांकेर) as काकैर. Although from an inscription at Sihāwā, of about 1192 A. D., we get two names of early rulers, *i. e.*, 'सिंहराज' and 'बाघराज', the gap between 400 A. D. and 1200 A.D. is very great. To be brief, in all probability, both *Bastar* and *Sihawa* with Kanker were within the geographical limit of Mahākosala.

In the Mahābhārat, we find the following slokas :—

स विजित्यं दुराधर्षं भीष्मकं माद्रिनन्दनः
कोशलाधिपतिं चैव तथा वेणा तटाधियम् ॥
कान्तारकांश्च समरे तथा प्राक्कोशलान्नृपान्
नाटकेयांश्च समरे तथा हेरम्बकान युधि ॥

(See सभा पर्व अध्याय ३१)

From the above lines, this much appears to be clear, that 'महाकान्तार' was a contiguous or neighbouring kingdom of 'प्राक्कोसल which, no doubt, included the whole of the present-day Sambalpur Dist. and the Sonepur and Patna States in Eastern States Agency.

In the absence of any express mention of the names of rivers, mountains or of its capital-town or of two or three kingdoms, bordering on it, it is very difficult to find out its actual situation. Decidedly it was a famous kingdom in दक्षिणापथ and the very mention of it and its ruler in the 'Allahabad pillar inscription' shows its due importance. With the adjective 'महा' the Kāntara kingdom cannot be said to be a small one. In the महाभारत and other Sanskrit works such as बृहत्संहिता and पुराण's both दक्षिण कोसल otherwise called महाकोसल, and महाकान्तार are mentioned and described as कोसल and कान्तार bereft of the qualifying prefix 'महा' Both in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, we find the names कोसल and कान्तर without the prefix 'महा'.

We are still in the dark as to why the word महा was added to कोसल, and कान्तार and what is the early authority for this use in its bigger sense and longer form. My great friend the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, I am afraid, has simply accepted the views of the late Dr. Hiralal, B. A., author of the Hindi work 'मध्यप्रदेश का इतिहास' and 'C. B. Inscription,' who was a great authority on the history of C. P. But the views of both these great historians still remain without authoritative and convincing support and data,

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Who this ruler व्याघ्रराज of महाकान्तार of Samudra Gupta's time was, is not yet definitely known. At least scholars are not unanimous over any identification of महाकान्तार and its ruler व्याघ्रराज, so far as my knowledge goes.

PRE-HISTORIC CULTURES DISCOVERED ON THE NARBADA

BY

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In peninsular India (India south of the Indo-Gangetic plains) from Jaipur State in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, and West Bengal in the east to the peninsula of Kathiawar in the west, hundreds of remains of a pre-historic culture complex are distributed all over the region. These remains are found mainly confined to the river valleys and the low hills scattered in the cultivable plains. The remains are characterized by tiny implements of such silicious stones as agate, carnelian, chert, jasper, bloodstone, etc., with plain as well as serrated edges. These stone implements are known as microliths, pygmy flakes, etc., and occur in association with a wheel-turned pottery bearing simple geometrical patterns either incised or painted black on a burnished red surface; bangles and beads of chank shell, agate and glass; and at numerous places with paintings executed in colours on rocks, which are considered to be of pre-historic times. This culture has superficially nothing in common with the Harappa or the Indus culture of North-western India. As this culture complex is distributed all over the Indian peninsula, it may provisionally be called the Peninsular culture.

India is indeed a land of archaeological paradoxes and therefore to interpret its pre-historic and other cultures in terms of the discoveries and researches made in other countries has in cases misled even expert archaeologists in India. It is a known fact that the pottery of the type of the Harappa culture and that of the Susa-I ware is still manufactured in Sind, hence to label an Indian culture pre-historic on the only basis of ceramic art, which has become a fashion in this country, is not always without risk. It is not pottery alone, but other associated antiquities which may enable one to ascertain whether a given culture is pre-historic in age or not.

The term 'pre-history' denotes that past age of a country which preceded the period of its continuous history down to our own times. Every country has its own pre-historic period in its history. In the histories of Egypt and Iraq all that precedes

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3000 B. C. is pre-historic, whereas in India the vast period before 7th century B. C. falls within the scope of pre-history.

The pre-historic age as a whole has been subdivided on the basis of the use of certain industrial materials, which were employed for making tools and weapons and for some other purposes by man at different stages of his material progress. These materials are stone, copper and its alloy bronze and iron.

Ever since his origins in the Lower Pliestocene period some 6,00,000 years ago, man began to utilize stone for his weapons and tools. In the beginning tools were larger. The size began to diminish with the passage of time, and by the end of the Pliestocene period some 20,000 years ago, the tools of the Upper Palaeolithic period became much smaller. During the succeeding Mesolithic or the transitional period between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic ages man began to use 'composite tools', whose working edge consisted of microliths fitted into a groove of an implement of wood, bone or horn.

There was a time when the term 'neolithic' meant the period in which polished or ground stone implements were in common use. This definition has now been modified and the term stands for that period of human history in which agriculture was invented, man became tied to the soil and the era of settled life set in and pottery began to be used extensively. It is for these facts that the neolithic age of the human history is also known as the period of the New Economy. Further, it has now been displayed that not polished stone implements, but microliths were the stone tools which were in general use during the neolithic period in Eurasia. In the preceding Mesolithic period man lived by hunting, fishing and gathering and passed the nomadic life. During the succeeding Neolithic he took to cultivation and therefore he had to make some alterations in his tool equipment in order to meet the new requirements of ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting. For some of these purposes implements having toothed edge, for example sickles for harvesting, were needed and therefore a new type of microliths with serrated edge was introduced. Hence at the remains of the settlements of the earliest farmers of history one is sure to come across a number of microliths with serrated edge. This is not the case with the microlithic or identical remains of the cultures of the pre-Neolithic hunters. As a hunter and gatherer man is a nomad and therefore cannot use pottery on account of its fragility. The regular use of pottery is therefore connected directly with the settled life, and this is a well-known fact that it was agriculture which enabled man to enjoy a settled life in permanent habitations.

Stone is evidently not available in the alluvial plains of the larger rivers, namely, the Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Indus and the Ganges, and the Hoang-Ho. When the plains of these rivers had been formed and the Neolithic cultivators entered them

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as they were most suitable for their life, they did not there find stone for their implements and other purposes, and out of this necessity of vital importance they found out a substitute in metal in the rockless alluvial plains in Egypt, Iraq, upper India, and other similar areas. However, where stone was available of suitable type and in sufficient quantity, man clung to the tradition, as in peninsular India and some parts of Africa, he did not take to the use of metals, and did fairly well with stone till the use of iron became universal sometime in the middle of the second millennium B.C. India which abounds greatly in stone and iron has very little copper. On this account there have never been in India's past the ages of copper and bronze, as was the case with the countries of Western Asia, Northern Africa and Europe. In India the use of stone persisted side by side with that of copper and bronze in the Harappa culture and other early metal age cultures of upper India and the tracts now forming the part of Pakistan and therefore they are known as the 'chalcolithic' cultures.

A study of the Peninsular culture complex would indicate that its remains occur as a rule incultivable tracts. This evidence, when supported by the presence of microliths having serrated edge which are known as the sickle flints and the occurrence of pottery which denotes a settled life that cannot be possible in any other economy than of agriculture, is sufficient to show that the people of this culture lived mainly by cultivation.

The fact that the pottery of the Peninsular culture is a wheel-turned ware helps us to some degree to ascertain to approximate date of its rise. We do not yet know when the potter's wheel began to be used in India. In Iraq it was introduced during the late period of the al 'Ubaid culture, a little before 3500 B. C. This shows that the Peninsular culture can hardly be of an earlier date than this unless the use of potter's wheel in India is displayed to be earlier.

Having worked as a member of the Gujarat Pre-historic Expedition, which conducted field investigations in North Gujarat, the writer was sent in 1944 by the Archaeological Survey of India to carry out an archaeological survey of the Narbada valley in Western and Central India for the State of Rajpipla, whose Dewan, Khan Bahadur Pheroze D. Kothavala was deeply interested in this work, being a friend of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit then Director-General of Archaeology in India. The survey progressed under the direction of Rao Bahadur Dikshit and subsequent to his sad demise under that of Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, present Director-General of Archaeology.

After the writer had explored with much success the Narbada valley in Western and Central Indiain search of the relics of the Palaeolithic communities, who flourished during the Ice Age or the Pliestocene period, he concentrated his efforts to finding

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out remains of the pre-historic cultures of, geologically speaking, the 'Surface period', as from the winter of 1945-46.

On the Lower Narbada and its tributary the Umaravati, the Kim and the Lower Tapti in the Rajpipla State, the writer was able to trace numerous remains of the settlements yielding, like the sites of the Peninsular culture, microliths including sickle-flints (toothed microliths), a wheel-made red pottery.

The following is a list of these sites.

(A) The sites occurring on the river banks.

I—On the Narbada.

(From east to west).

1. Mokhadi.
2. Dudheshwar.
3. Gardeshwar.
4. Akteshwar.
5. Sānjroli.
6. Rengaṇa.
7. Vāsaṇ.
8. Gaṇasīdu.
9. Vāndaria.
10. Karāḍ.

II—On the tributary Umarāvati (a tributary of the Narbada from the south).

11. Vijayanagar.
12. Chiklotā.

III—On the Kim.

13. Kambodia.
14. Daulatpur.

IV—On the Tokri (a tributary of the Kim).

15. Koili-Māndvi.

V—On the Tapti

16. Gangṭhā.

VI—On the Tini (a tributary of the Tapti from the north).

17. Khāmpāḍa.

VII—The Shiva (a tributary of the Tapti from the south).

18. Nalva.

(B) The sites occurring on the low hills of the lateritic rock in the cultivable plains between the rivers the Narbada and Kim.

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19. Pānvaḍī.
20. Vālia.
21. Dungri.
22. Bharaṇ.

It is erroneous to soon indulge in forming conclusions merely on picking up what was available at a singular or a few sites with the understanding that what antiquities had been found was all that the sites may have contained originally, and without taking into consideration the factors that govern the conditions of preservation of sites and their contents. The state of preservation of an archaeological remain, subsequent to its desertion, depends largely upon the durability and resistance against weather, erosion, insects, and other destructive agencies both natural and artificial, of materials from which the remain was originally made. For instance, a habitation made of such perishable materials as bamboo, reed, straw, timber and the like, soon disappear beyond recognition, with the result that the things it had contained are exposed to adverse action of radiation, weather, drift, etc. Under these circumstances nothing except the things of such harder materials as stone, to some extent terr-cotta, and of the like can survive. But on the other hand, after crumbling down, the debris of such habitations as made of mud or brick serves as a protection against the above-named destructive agencies, and it is the remains of such habitations that form artificial mounds and yield antiquities in a far better state of preservation and also in larger numbers than the sites of the first type.

On the Lower Narbada as well as all over South Gujarat houses, since time immemorial, are built of bamboo or timber as these materials occur abundantly in this area, whereas on the same river in Central India and the Central Provinces the houses of the common folk are made of mud and those of the well-to-do class are brick-built.

The archaeological sites shown in the foregoing list are no doubt pre-historic as they abound in stone artifacts (microliths). It is to be particularly remarked here that none of the early historic period sites have so far yielded microliths. In the Narbada valley itself and adjacent tracts early historic sites occur at Kasrāwad (near Maheshwar on the Narbada), Ujjain (the Vaishya and Kumbhār mounds), Besnagar (near Bhilsa), Eran, etc., in Central India and at Kāmrej (near Surat) in South Gujarat, but none of these sites yield microliths, showing that the microlith-bearing sites are no doubt of pre-historic age. The enlisted sites found on the Lower Narbada and some surrounding areas contain hardly any antiquities other than microliths and pottery on account of their having been subjected to the destructive action of natural agencies for centuries together. Further they do not form artificial mounds, showing that the habitations whose remains they represent must have been built of perishable materials. Under the

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circumstances, there seems no hope to gather from them the data that may enable us to form an idea about their culture in all of its aspects.

Having completed his preliminary survey of the Lower Narbada valley in South Gujarat in search of pre-historic sites of the Surface period, the writer moved along the Narbada towards the east and entered the middle plain of the river known as Nimar. This is the tract which was known anciently as 'Anupa'.

On entering Nimar from its western end near the Hiranphal rapid of the Narbada, the writer found at Chikalda (Indore State, Nisarpur Pargana) two pre-historic village sites. It was for the first time at Chikalda that the writer found a pre-historic site on the Narbada rising into lofty artificial mounds, representing the debris of decayed mud-built habitations comprising originally a village. It is at such sites, as the writer has already remarked, that antiquities, remain in the least damaged condition and *in situ* under the protective covering of the decayed earth of the crumbled mud-built houses. Microliths and pottery occurred in abundance at the two sites at Chikalda. They belonged to the same type as those which had been found on the Lower Narbada in South Gujrat, showing that the pre-historic culture of the Narbada valley was identical in both of its areas. The mounds at Chiklada were deeply entrenched by erosion, exposing to the view at places, sub-surface sections of the sites. Here the pottery, particularly that from underground, was in a satisfactory state of preservation in respect of its decoration. Besides microliths and pottery, the sites yielded in plenty sub-fossilized bones of animals among which those of the quadrupeds predominated ; plain bangles of chank shell, paste or a form of glass, and white opaque agate, and a stoneware turned on lathe both from the surface and from under it. The mounds both on the surface and under it abounded greatly in river-pebbles and other form of rubble, showing that the pre-historic habitations and other structures were built of rubble cemented with mud, contrary to the current practice of building houses purely of mud in Nimar and Malwa. The Mound A at Chikalda, as the photograph No. 4 would show, has been truncated on its southern side by the recent flood-action of the Narbada, exposing the entire depth of the archaeological site (about 20 feet). Careful observations on this section as well as on those ones exposed to the view by ravines, showed not any marked difference in the constitution of the culture from bottom to the top.

Proceeding eastward from Chikalda upstream the Narbada, the writer found microliths occurring all along the river bank, as was the case on the Lower Narbada in some parts. It is to be borne in mind that microliths which have either edge or point are not, under ordinary circumstances, subjected to drift and remain *in situ* for ages together unless they are displaced by human agency. This occurrence of microliths showed that the pre-historic

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settlements must have lined, in suitable areas, all along the Narbada.

After (1) Chikalda in the Indore State, the writer found the major pre-historic sites to the east in Nimar at (2) Mohipura in the Barwāni State (3) Barā-Bardā in the Sardārpur district of the Gwalior State (figure. 5), (4) Lohārā again in the Barwāni State and at (5) Khūjawan in the Dhar State. Out of these the sites at Mohipura and Barā-Bardā consist of extensive and lofty artificial mounds, representing evidently larger villages of pre-historic times. All of these sites contained the same antiquities from the surface and from under it, as those found at Chikalda. It follows from a study of the types of stone artifacts and pottery which are common at the sites both on the Lower Narbada in Gujarat and on the Middle Narbada in Nimar, that the pre-historic culture of both the areas was similar. Out of these two areas the sites occurring in Nimar, being in a far satisfactory state of preservation, furnish rather sufficient data for us to form preliminary opinion about the nature and age of this pre-historic culture, which may provisionally be named the 'Narbada culture'.

Before proceeding further, now a word about the nature and scope of the writer's archaeological survey. In this respect it may be reckoned a general survey rather of the type conducted, for example, by Sir Aurel Stein in Baluchistan and adjacent areas. In course of such surveys observations are made on physiography, natural resources, living cultures, etc., of a given terrain ; then archaeological sites are traced and their situation and surroundings are studied ; sites are fully explored on the surface and for a study of their stratigraphy full opportunity of naturally-exposed sections is taken, and where such sections do not occur of a required type or are absent, trial-pits are sunk. This much of work furnishes sufficient data for ascertaining general type and stage or age of culture or cultures of remains found. In the case of the writer's survey he followed these rules. As regards stratigraphy of pre-historic sites, he practically at all places, found deeply-cut sections by the erosion of ravines even at the centre of sites; and in many cases by the Narbada itself, where exposures showing depths below the archaeological layer occurred.. At Mohipura, however pits were excavated as no natural sections occurred there.

A study of the stratigraphy of the mounds of the Narbada culture showed that the culture remained more or less of a uniform type all throughout its range from the beginning to the end. No distinct stratification of different habitational layers was noticed anywhere. This may show that the people of the Narbada culture enjoyed a prolonged period of, generally speaking, peaceful life for some centuries at least, as the thickness of the uniform archaeological layer indicates. This very same case was found by Stein in respect of the pre-historic village sites of the

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early Chalcolithic Zhob and the Quetta cultures of Baluchistan, which flourished some centuries before the rise of the Harappa culture of the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa remains.

Now we shall proceed briefly with a study of the characteristic antiquities of the Narbada culture and see whether their counterparts occur in any of the better-known pre-historic cultures of our country.

The microliths are the predominating antiquities at the Narbada culture sites. A people cannot do without a material from which to fashion implements, weapons, etc. We have already noticed that use of stone in course of time was replaced by metal. This process took place gradually. Hence a site of an identical culture where microliths occur comparatively in larger amount than at a site containing them in smaller quantity, may be considered older than the latter. Among the cultures of our country best known to us, it is the Zhob culture of Baluchistan in which microliths occur in some form. At the earlier sites of this culture which occur on or near the sea-coast of Makran for instance Suktagen-dor, microliths occur in larger numbers than the sites of the same culture in the interior of Baluchistan (Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir 37, 1929, pp. 75-76; Memo., 43, p. 63).

We have seen that the habitations and other structures of the Narbada culture were built of rubble cemented with mud. Among the known pre-historic cultures of our land the remains of such structures occur at the sites of the Zhob culture as also of some other cultures of Baluchistan (Arch. Surv. Memo. 37, 1929. p. 6, 9, 15, 17, 18, 33, 43, 53, 57, 71, & 73; Mem. 43, 1931, p. 23, 30, 31, 32, 33, 135 & 187).

The bangles of chank shell (Shankh) of a plain type are much met with at all the Narbada culture sites. In a little quantity these bangles have been found at the Harappa culture sites (at the early historic sites these occur of finely carved type) as also at some later period pre-historic sites. At the earlier sites of the Zhob culture in Baluchistan these bangles occur on the sea-coast of Makran. Here they have been found in appreciable quantity at Suktagen-dor and Shahi-tump (Arch. Surv. Mem., 43, p. 64, 68 & 92). The occurrence of glass (paste) bangles in various colours both of plain and of decorated type at the Narbada culture sites seems rather important for the antiquity of glass does not carry us much back into the past even in such ancient lands as Egypt and Iraq (Gordon Childe, The New Light on the Most Ancient East, London, 1935, p. 271, It is of particular note that among the better known prehistoric cultures of India, it is only in the Zhob and the allied cultures that glass bangles of approximately the same types and colours are known to occur. In the Narbada valley the most prevalent glass bangles are of black colour. In Baluchistan the similar black glass bangles have been found at Pak, Turbat,

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Dabarkot, and Periano-ghundai (Arch. Surv. Mem., 43, p. 40, 43, 55, 60 and 108). All of these sites belong to the Zhob culture of the pre-Harappa times.

Fragments of lathe-turned vessels of stone (a dark green trap rock) have been found at the sites of the Narbada culture. This type of stoneware occurs at the Zhob culture sites too, for instance, at :—

Periano-ghundai:—"Of special interest is a small fragment from the rim of a cup of stone evidently lathe-turned on a wheel, for finds of such small vessels are frequent at Chalcolithic sites from Sistan to Zhob." (Arch. Surv. Mem., 43, p. 51).

Turbat:—"Two fragments of neatly worked stone cups....The use of such lathe-turned cups and bowls is abundantly attested at Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in Sistan and Baluchistan." (Ibid, p. 55).

Before we proceed further, let us see if the Narbada culture has any kinship or other relation with any of the pre-historic cultures known to occur in South India. There are two divisions of such cultures in southern part of our country. The first whose remains are found most widespread is that problematic culture complex which the writer has named the Peninsular culture as has already been pointed out. As the mystery of this great culture of our country directly connects itself with that of the Narbada culture itself, which seems to be a regional variant of the former. The second culture is that of the Megalithic structures of South India. The sites of this culture has on excavations yielded iron implements and a pottery fundamentally different in type from that of any known pre-historic culture of Central and Northern India as well as that of the Peninsular culture. It is noteworthy that this Megalithic culture of South India finds its records in the early Dravidian literature of our country. Under the circumstances, there seems at present no other way than to take into account the points of similarity which the Narbada culture bears to a single pre-historic culture of our country, *i.e.*, the Zhob culture of Baluchistan, which belongs to the pre-Harappa times by some centuries. The similarities between the two cultures are so close that they appear to denote a generic relationship. This relationship becomes rather more defined in respect of pedigree, when we make a comparative study of the ceramic art.

The characteristic pottery of the Narbada culture is a plain wheel-turned red ware, which in many a case, bears ornamentation. On decorated pieces the ornamentation consists of simple geometrical patterns either incised or applied in black or in cases in white on a burnished red slip. Shreds of a plain dark grey pottery are also met with occasionally.

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The earliest cultures of North-Western India are, on the basis of ceramic art, divisible into the two pre-historic peasant cultures of early chalcolithic stage, (1) the Zhob and (2) the Quetta culture, the former possessing a tradition of a red pottery and the latter of a buff ceramic ware. Even in respect of the pottery tradition the Narbada and the Zhob culture appear to be akin. "Apart from the dual division," remarks Stuart Piggot, "of the pre-historic cultures into the urban civilization of the Harappa culture and the peasant communities which comprise the reminder on the ground of pottery, we can see a major division which equates with the Iranian cultures that were parental to those of India, a division into a buff ware province in South Baluchistan which must be the easternmost extension of the equivalent south Iranian group, and a red ware region in North Baluchistan again equating with a northern Iranian province." (Ancient India, New Delhi, January, 1946, p. 9).

Now emerges the interesting point that seems to lead us to determine genealogical relationship of the Narbada culture with that of the Zhob valley. The Zhob pottery bears decoration of somewhat elaborate geometrical patterns as well as a little of naturalistic motives in a conventionalized form. On the Narbada ware, on the other hand, the decoration consists of simple geometrical patterns with no naturalistic motives whatsoever. In the development of decoration on pottery first of all the simple geometrical patterns appeared during the Neolithic period. These patterns grew elaborate by the time of the early Chalcolithic period and at the same time naturalistic motives also began to be depicted in conventional styles. From this point of view the decoration of the Narbada were equates with the red ware division of the Neolithic culture of the Iranian highlands and Central Asia. The Narbada culture, however, cannot be as old as the above-named Neolithic culture for the pottery of the former being a wheel-turned ware and that of the latter a hand-made one. What follows from this that the Narbada people followed in their ceramic art the tradition of the red ware Neolithic of the Iranian highlands and Central Asia. This evidence indicate the probability of the Narbada culture having been an offshoot of the red ware Neolithic group of the Iranian highlands and Central Asia which seems to migrate to the Narbada valley without coming, while on the way, in contact with the Zhob culture or other contemporary cultures on whose pottery appear the decoration of an advanced stage. From this point of view of an earlier tradition of ceramic art, the writer is inclined to place the beginning of the Narbada culture somewhat earlier than the advent of the Zhob and the Quetta cultures in North-Western India, the parental culture of both the Narbada and of the Zhob cultures being the same red ware Neolithic of the Iranian highlands and Central Asia. From the buff ware group of the Iranian Neolithic emerged the Quetta culture of Baluchistan and the al

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'Ubaid culture of Iraq which in turn was parental to the Sumerian culture, the contemporary of the Harappa culture of India. The people of the al 'Ubaid culture were the folk, who fell victim to the sufferings of the Great Flood or the Deluge, whose story occurs in the early Sumerian literature and whose Indian version is recorded in the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Vedic literature, the Puranas and the Mahabharata. It is interesting to note that the remains of the Quetta culture, which, like the al'Ubaid culture was an immediate offshoot of the buff ware group Neolithic culture of the highlands of Iran and Western Asia, were found by Sir Aurel Stein on the dry bed of the Vedic Saraswati stratified below the Harappa culture layer at Sadhanawala in the Bahawalpur State.

According to the new dating of the Harappa culture proposed by Mr. Stuart Piggot and Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, this culture arose somewhere about 30th century B. C., reached its heyday by 24th century B. C. during the Sargonid period in the history of Iraq, and came to an end about 1500 B. C., when the Indo-Aryans occupied Northern India. Piggot places the beginnings of the Zhob culture about 3500 B. C. or a little later than the period of the al 'Ubaid culture (Ancient India, Jan. 1946, p. 25). We can therefore maintain that the Narbada culture may have arisen by 37th or 38th century B. C.

By what time the Narbada culture did meet its end ? The presence of microliths upon the surface of the sites of this culture indicates that at the time of its end these stone artifacts were as common in use as they were before. We have already taken note of the fact that microliths do not occur at the early historic Indian sites even at the lowest levels. This shows that an intermediate cultural phase—transitory between the end of the Narbada culture when stone artifacts were in commom use and the dawn of India's historic past in about 7th century B. C. when the use of iron became fully established—should have existed. The writer has found the remains of such a transitory culture on the banks of the Narbada in Nimar at Ekalwara in the Sardarpur district of Gwalior State (Figure 6), Chhota-Barda in the Barwani State and Hatnawar in the Dhar State. The thickness of the archaeological layers at these places shows that some centuries must have elapsed between the end of the Narbada culture and the beginning of the early historic period. Thus in the Narbada valley we possess a complete archaeological record of the past of the aera from the earliest times of human settlement down to our own times.

Thus the data collected so far by the writer in course of his general archaeological survey which was repeated once in 1945-46, may be sufficient to show the nature, stage, correlation and age of the Narbada culture. For further details of a minute nature and for reconstructing a systematic history of this culture, a campaign of systematic and detailed excavations must follow.

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Now turning to the Peninsular culture, we find that it possesses the same characteristic antiquities which constitute the culture of the Narbada valley. On this basis the writer has already stated that the Narbada culture seems to be a regional variant of the Peninsular culture complex. With the solution of the problems of the Narbada culture, the veil from the mysteries of the Peninsular culture which had long been puzzling the archaeological profession in India, has also been lifted at the same time. Besides, the problem of the antiquity and authorship of the pre-historic rock-paintings found in the valleys of the rivers Sone and Tons, on the Narbada at Hoshangabad and in the Mahadeva hills, in eastern part of the Central Provinces and the Hazaribag plateau, in the Raichur Doab and the Bellary district in the south, also finds a solution.

The matter does not end here. In Nimar the writer proceeded further east and reached the ancient and sacred town of Maheshwar on the northern bank of the Narbada, in the Nimar district of the Indore State. According to the local tradition Maheshwar was the ancient Mahismati of the Puranic lore, which was the earliest capital of the Anupa country or Nimar. The local Brahmins recite the sacred Mahismati Mahatmya to the pilgrims who visit Maheshwar for a sacred bath in the Narbada. Mr. Pargiter suggested that Omkar-Mandhata was the Puranic Mahismati. There is no local tradition to this effect. Further, Mandhata is situated amidst the hills at the eastern extremity of Nimar upon a small rocky island in the Narmada. This situation does not favour of Mandhata ever having been the capital of Anupa. The fresh researches by Indologists have now well displayed that Maheshwar was without doubt the Puranic Mahismati (S. K. Dikshit, 'Mahismati, Maheshwar. and Jvaleshwar', Proc. Indian History Congress, Calcutta session, 1939, p. 137-146).

According to the Puranas, the royal power first grew in India in the Gangetic valley 133 generations before Chandragupta Maurya (accession in about 322 B. C.) according to the genealogical lists of the Puranas (Pargiter). The capitals of the first major Indian kingdoms were Ayodhya and Pratisthāna (Allahabad) in the Gangetic valley in the east and Kushasthali in Kathiawar in the west. Bhrigukachcha (Broach-Barygaza of the ancient Greeks), a sea-port city on the mouth of the Narbada was also founded by the same time by a tribe known as the Bhrigus. The leading personages of the Bhrigu tribe figure in the Rigveda. Six generations later (127 generations before Chandragupta Maurya), a people known as the Haihayas, who had inhabited Anupa in the middle Narbada valley, rose to prominence. At this time Mandhata, the mighty ruler of Ayodhya, carried his arms to the Narbada valley. The hymns composed by Mandhata and his son Purukatstha occur in the Rigveda, showing that the ruling house of Ayodhya spoke an Indo-Aryan tongue. Muchu-

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kunda, a son of Mandhata, founded a town on the middle Narbada, which a generation later was enlarged and fortified by Mahismān the Haihaya, and giving it the name Mahismati, made it the capital of Anupa. The supremacy of Ayodhya soon waned and consequently the Haihayas of the middle Narbada valley rose to great eminence and power. Bhadraśhrenya, the son of Mahismān, ruling from the capital Mahismati, invaded eastern India and subdued the kingdom of Kashi in order to found an empire. The Bhrigus who were the masters of the lower Narbada valley in Western India were priests to the Haihayas. Sahasrārjuna, the greatest of the Imperial Haihayas, drove away the Bhrigus from the Narbada country. The Bhrigus then having fled to the north, consolidated subsequently their strength under a new leader Parashurama. Parashurama then declared war on the Haihayas, killed Sahasrārjuna the enemy, and smote his capital Māhismati. The Haihayas, however, after this temporary set-back recovered soon and again rose to even more power and overwhelmed the entire Northern India from the banks of the Tapti to the Himalayas. The great kingdom of Ayodhya was shattered to pieces and its ruler Bahu was expelled by the Haihayas. When Bahu's son Sagara came of age, he too, like Parashurama the Bhrigu, gathered forces against the Haihayas, declared war and crushed the enemy in his own territory, annihilated their empire and razed to the ground their imperial capital Mahismati, 93 generations before Chandragupta Maurya. From this time downwards Mahismati ceases to figure in the early Puranic records.

As early as 1818, Captain Dangerfield, in the course of his geological survey of Nimar, noticed at Maheshwar large earthern vessels, bricks, and other antiquities embedded deeper in the alluvial deposit of the Narbada. Dangerfield states that the natives of the area asserted that Maheshwar stands on the site of a very ancient city site, which they said was destroyed along with 80 other towns of Malwa and Bagur (area comprising the states of Banswara, Pratapgarh and Dungarpur) by a shower of earth (Memoirs of Central India, Sir John Malcolm, Vol. II, 1880, p. 264). P. N. Bose of the Geological Survey, while carrying out his mineralogical investigations in Nimar in 1882, came across this magnificent archaeological city site of Maheshwar. He found the site to contain earthern pots, bricks, bones of attle, bits of charcoal, terra-cotta ring wells and pebbles which he described as 'chipped off artificially'. He dug into a ring well and found it to be filled with earthen jars containing an endurated vesicular marl in which were lying embedded bones of birds and small mammals ; large number of ribs, probably of goats and sheep ; fragments of charcoal, etc. (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882, vol. 51, part I, pp. 226-229). In a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal an exhibition of Mr. P. N. Bose's archaeological collection from Maheshwar was held and a paper on them by

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Mr. Bose was read and discussed. Mr. Bose concluded his paper with the hypothesis that the earthen pots found in the ring well at Maheshwar were dedicated to the dead with cooked cereals and meat and the post-cremation ashes. In the discussion that followed Mr. Cockburn remarked that the stone implements from Maheshwar shown by Mr. Bose were river pebbles of quartzite which had been utilized as a rude chopper or hammer by man. Its chipped and battered edges were unequivocally of artificial origin. Specimens of the same type, stated Mr. Cockburn, had been found by himself in the Banda district in the United Provinces (Proc. Asiatic Soc. Beng., July 1882, p. 105). The collection of antiquities was deposited in the Archaeological Section at the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum, part II, 1883, p. 322). A year later Mr. Bose published an article in which he identified the ancient remains at Maheshwar with those of the Puranic Mahishmati (Proc. As. Soc. Beng., July-August 1883). Next in 1935, the site of Maheshwar was visited by Mr. V. R. Karandikar who undertook a survey of the Narbada valley particularly to discover the remains of the Puranic cultures under the auspices of the Indian Oriental Conference. "There was a very ancient settlement," states Mr. Karandikar about his observations, "near Maheshwar where in the northern bank were found earthen vessels and bricks evidently belonging to various periods, from the very primitive to coloured and glazed pottery and also bricks, specimens of which have been obtained. The place was a potters' settlement and further investigation will have to be made in order to discover the exact place where the old town was situated which was served by the potters" (Ancient India, Satara, Vol. I, part I, 1936, p.p. 1-4). The site was next visited by Mr. S. K. Dikshit. "No one perhaps dreamt of seeing," observes Mr. Dikshit, "how far the idea of a girdle can be applied to the vast ruins of the ancient Maheshvara which lie immediately to the west of the present town of Maheshvara. In fact, I too had no such dream, and, I confess, I was simply surprised when I saw the grandeur and beauty of the Reva (another name of the Narbada which is still current for the river in some parts of Gujarat) where she gracefully curves round the desolate upheaval of the innumerable brick-bats, potsherds, etc., which are now perhaps the sole vestiges visible on the surface of a once mighty city...The ruins of ancient Mahismati lie at Choli, which is 8-10 miles north of the modern town, according to the late Mr. V. S. Karandikar...but the site of Mahismati must be located somewhere near the river, as will be seen from the Matsya Purāṇa, Raghuvaṃśa, Bālā-Rāmāyaṇa, etc.....Mr. P. N. Bose identifies these (the remains of Mahishmati) with the ruins at the eastern extremity of the town ; but I think they are ruins at the western end, which are vaster in proportion." (Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. 1939, pp. 139, 145, 146).

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The writer first explored the remains at Maheshwar in July 1945 for a week. The next year in 1946, in June, in course of his revision survey of the middle valley of the Narbada, he further explored the site and a complete general survey of Maheshwar and its surroundings was made. As a result of this the writer found two ancient city sites now in remains : (1) the remains of a purely pre-historic city (Maheshwar-I) lying for a mile along the northern bank of the Narbada, west of the present town of Maheshwar ; (2) the vestiges of an early historic period city site (Maheshwar-II) stretching along the Narbada to the east of the southern portion of the present town, from the Mandālkho (according to local tradition Maṇḍana Miśra resided here) area of the present Marāṭha period fort to the junction of the stream Maheshwari with the Narbada, a distance of about a mile. The archaeological remains occurring in the present town of Maheshwar (Maheshwar-III) carries back its antiquity to the early Medieval period. Some localities of the present town are perched upon the pre-historic remains. The stream Maheshwar borders the early historic city site (Maheshwar-II) on its north and east and the Narbada flows to the south of the remains. When it rains heavily a water-course, issuing from the Maheshwari at the place where it touches the town on the north, flows to join the Narbada bordering the town on its west.

Mr. P. N. Bose made his diggings evidently at the early historic site of Maheshwar-II and not in the pre-historic area. Therefore the antiquities from Maheshwar deposited at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, belongs to the early historic city site. None of these antiquities belong to the type occurring at the pre-historic city site lying to the west of the town (figure 7). In the present paper the writer would confine his pen to his survey of the pre-historic city site of Maheshwar-I.

The site of the pre-historic urban remains rise conspicuously higher above the level of the surrounding plain and of the present town of Maheshwar (figure 8). The site consists of large and lofty mounds varying in height from 50 to about 125 feet above the plain. The ravines that have deeply entrenched the entire site seem to mark the site of streets of the pre-historic city. Each mound therefore appears to represent a locality of the urban settlement. The houses of the common class were built of rubble cemented with mud, as at other pre-historic settlements of the Narbada culture, and those of higher classes apparently of brick (12" x 6" x 2.75"). The beds of the ravines were filled up with an enormous amount of pebbles, brick, earthen vessels and potsherds, sub-fossilized animal bones, etc. The entire site as a rule abounded both upon the surface and below it, in microliths which, as at other sites of the Narbada culture, outnumber all other antiquities occurring at the site. The bangles of glass in various colours, lathe-turned stoneware, beads of glass and chalcedonies, bangles of chank shell and in cases of agate,

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etc., etc., were met with everywhere. This shows very well that the entire pre-historic city site belongs to the Narbada culture.

The most conspicuous part of the city remains is that which is presented by the Mound-D or the 'Acropolis mound' as the writer would like to call it (figure 9). This being the largest and the highest mound of all the mounds of Maheshwar.-I, rises abruptly to a sheer height of about 125 feet above the plain and seems to have enveloped some important pre-historic structure.

The earth that has wrapped up the entire city site to a level as high as the summit of the Acropolis mound forms a laminated layer of the fine flood silt of the Narbada. This shows that the entire city site was subjected to a very high flood or floods of the Narbada river. Now the waters of the highest flood of the Narbada do not rise even to the level of the ravines of the site which are at a level of about 75 feet below the summit of the Acropolis mound.

Now here we come across an important pointer which shows how drammatically, in the light of the Narbada valley explorations, the early traditional history of the Indian Aryans associates itself directly with the pre-historic archaeology of India.

We have already noticed that Mahismati was founded by Muchukunda, a prince whose father Mandhata and the elder brother Purukatstha figure in the Rigveda among the authors of the Vedic hymns. It is a fact that nobody whose mother tongue was other than an Indo-Aryan language, could ever compose in the Vedic dialect. This shows that the founder of Mahismati was no doubt an Aryan prince in the linguistic sense of the term. We have seen that the remains of prehistoric Mahismati belongs to the Narbada culture showing that the Aryans were present in India even at the time of the beginning of the Narbada culture, which event, as we have noticed, belongs to a period (3700=3800 B. C.) some centuries prior to the time of the Harappa culture of the Mohenjo-Daro remains. In the course of our further researches, if this becomes an established fact as seems likely, that the Aryans were present so early in India, then no doubt we would have to revise the entire early history of the Indo-Aryan race as well as in parts even that of the old world.

If the Narbada culture, which flourished on the agricultural economy, was the culture of the early Indo-Aryans then the entire Peninsular culture complex or civilization, found so widespread all over Peninsular India and the Narbada culture, which seems to be a regional form of it, may well have been a culture of the Indian Aryans, whose deeds are, in a form, found recorded in the early Puranas and other early Indian literature.

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A NOTE ON THE SAPTASATI OF HĀLA

BY

P. SESHADRI SASTRI, B.A., L.T.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Hāla, the celebrated Sātavāhana emperor, was the compiler of the famous Prākrit work named the Saptaśati. According to literary tradition Srīpālita was his court-poet. Hāla, who flourished in the first century A. D., was himself the author of several of the Gāthas included in this work. The Saptaśati has been referred to by eminent authors of subsequent times like Bhoja and Bāna. This work is of great historical value as it mentions a number of Prākrit poets besides containing references to many historical events. It throws plenty of light on contemporary conditions. The Saptaśati enjoyed particular popularity in Āndhradeśa obviously on account of its having been compiled by an Āndhra-Sātavāhana monarch. A very good knowledge of Prākrit was considered essential for a poet of Telugu and this shows that a celebrated work like the Saptaśati must have been very familiar to all Āndhra literary men. Srīnātha, a Telugu poet of the first half of the 15th century, translated the Saptaśati (Sālivāhana-saptaśati) into Telugu while his patron Pedakomaṭi Vema, the Reḍḍi king of Koṇḍaviḍu, wrote a commentary on the Prākrit original under the name of Saptaśatīsāraṭikā.

Among the names of authors mentioned in the Saptaśati occur names like Avantivarman, Mālavasena and Gāndhārarāja who must obviously have been rulers of Avanti, Mālava and Gāndhāra. Other kings like Bhoja, Vikramāditya, Mallasena, Āhavaśakti, Maṇirāja, Durgasvāmin, Viśveśvarasimha, Bhīmasvāmi, Govindasvāmin, Devarāja, Kavirājā, Kīrtirajā, Mahārāja, Ravirāja, Satyasena, Sassiraja etc. are also mentioned but no other details are available about them. Some other names like Makaranda, Vihaga, Ananga, Susila, and Bhramara seem to be pseudonyms. Names resembling those of famous poets of subsequent times like Bhoja, Sundara, Dhananjaya, Mahīndra, Indra, Chandra, Andhra, Sālika, Nandana, Nandivriddha, Arjuna etc. are also mentioned.

According to a literary tradition prevailing in the Āndhra country the compilation of the Saptaśati was the result of a seven days' rain of poetry at the command of Sarasvatī out of which came a *koti* or one crore of verses. Hāla is said to have selected seven hundred of them for inclusion in his work. Another tradition ascribes the composition of the work to a metempsychosis like that of Samkara, the so-called author of the Amaruśataka. The Saptaśati depicts customs, manners and religious beliefs of the time. The following are instances to the point :—

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Two lovers meeting in a ruined temple[1]; a good soldier[2]; a poor acrobat's wife[3]; a brave village headman[4]; a village headman's daughter[5]; the village banyan tree which was the popular rendezvous[6]; the cattle shed[7]; a paupér lover encouraged by a harlot's mother[8]; beginning a letter with the expression *Svasti*[9]; bhikshus wandering freely[10]; a rich man in love with a Chandāla woman[11].

This Prākrit work also mentions a number of Indian rivers like the Narmadā,[12] the Jumna and the Godāvary[13]. It also mentions the Vindhya mountains[14].

There are clear references to the religions prevalent at the time as shown by the mention of deities and their worship like Krishna and Rādhā[15]; Bali and Vāmana[16]; Gaṇapati[17]; the Kāpālikas[18]; Buddhist monks[19]; and Madanotsava[20]. The authors of many of the *Gathas* seem to have indulged in satires on religious practices obviously indicative of certain decadent forms of nobler cults. It is anyhow certain that Buddhism of a decadent type is also referred to in the work.

Some light is also thrown on the customs and luxuries of the time as is borne out by the mention of a clock[21], drums[22], sellers of flower garlands[23], sugar-cane mills,[24] fields of paddy and cotton,[25] festivals of caturdhi,[26] Magh,[27] a Phālguna[28] etc.; the midday shadow[29] duels[30] and different measures and weights of gold.[31]

There are a few verses in the Saptaśati which seem to refer to political events of previous times. Thus we hear of a Sālivāhana invading the Ābhīra country and his enemy's wife deserting the husband[32]. This may be taken to refer to the celebrated Sātavāhana king Sātakarni I, who is known to have conquered Mālava from the Sungas. Another reference to Sālivāhana[33] as the rescuer

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I have made use of the Nirnayasagara Press edition and sloka references are given herewith :

(1) 1-6 4-sl
(2) 1-31
(3) 7-85
(4) 7-28
(5) 6-92
(6) 6-56
(7) 6-60
(8) 3-82
(9) 3-44
(10) 6-53
(11) 3-26
(12) 6-47 ; 6-99
(13) 2-3 ; 2-7 ; 2-71 ; 2-89 ; 2-93 ; 1-58 ; 4-5
(14) 2-15 ; 6-77
(15) 1-89
(16) s5-3sl
(17) 4-72
(18) 5-8
(19) 4-7
(20) 6-44
(21) 3-53
(22) 5-90
(23) 6-96 ; 6-98
(24) 6-54
(25) 6-6[illegible]
(26) 4-46
(27) 3-58
(28) 4-69
(29) 1-49
(30) 7-84
(31) 2-91
(32) 6-95
(33) 5-37

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of people in danger may be taken to be a reference to Sātakarṇi, who figure in the Gargi-samhita as the rescuer of the people of Pāṭaliputra from the tyranny of the Sakas. There is also mention of a king Vikramāditya as the lavish bestower of lakhs of money on his subordinates. This must be a reference to a Sātavāhana-Vikramāditya the powerful enemy of the Sakas.

The Saptaśati mentions roads wide and well laid, towns built according to a good plan and other conveniences indicative of the good and efficient government of the time.

The Saptaśati is thus a mine of information on the political, social and religious conditions of the Satavahana period and deserves close and careful examination.

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EXPANSION OF THE ANDHRAS

BY

PROF. K. SITARAMAYYA, M.A.

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the location of the home of the Andhras. Various theories have been advanced so far and yet the question is not satisfactorily settled. The Andhras are found today in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces, the Telingana districts of the Nizam's Dominions, the coastal and north-western districts of the Madras Presidency and the eastern districts of Mysore State. The expansion of the Andhras into this wide area makes interesting study.

The earliest mention of the Andhras is in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa of the Rig Veda[1]. It is stated therein that Visvāmitra cursed his descendants to go and live outside the Aryan territories and that they thus came to live along with Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas. The Aitareyabrāhmaṇa is generally assigned by scholars to about 500 B. C. The incidents mentioned therein must have taken place obviously earlier. It follows then that the migration of the Andhras from their original habitation in Aryan territory took place before 500 B. C. This is one important landmark.

By which route did the Andhras move? According to one scholar[2] Aryan migration from the north to the south was along the Pāriyātra or the Burhanpur passes. It is stated that in Buddhist times there was a Brahman migration through western Dekkan into the far south and that these migrants were named

1. Aitareyabrahmana, VII, 3-18.
2. S. K. Aiyyangar—Ancient India, p. 215.

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the Bṛhatcāraṇas or those who came after a long journey. According to another scholar[3] these Bṛhatcāraṇas entered Avanti first, then passed through Vidarbha, Mulaka and Asmaka and then proceeded to the far south. There is no trace of these Bṛhatcāraṇas in Andhradesa and the instance of their migration will not therefore help us in determining the course of Andhra expansion. The order of the words mentioned in the Rig Veda text mentioned above has to be followed carefully. It appears therefrom that the Andhras were the first to move. The Kalingas who figure in the Purāṇas along with the Andhras are mentioned by Pāṇini and might have moved earlier than the Andhras[4]. They seem not to have crossed the Vindhyas but travelled in the eastern direction till they reached the coast. Megasthenes who flourished in the fourth century B. C., mentions the Kalingas and the Andhras as contiguous groups. His commentator states that the Meccokalingae, the Gangaridae and the Modokalingae are sub divisions of the widely distributed race which spread at one time from the delta of the Ganges all along the east coast of the peninsula though afterwards they confined themselves to modern Orissa[5]. Regarding the Andhras the commentator says that they were a great and powerful people between the middle parts of the courses of the rivers Godavary and Krishna who at the time of Magasthenes spread their sway towards the north as far as the upper courses of the Narmada and the lower districts of the Gangetic basin[6]. Obviously the Andhras did not take the eastern route as the Kalingas did but crossed the Vindhyas in the centre and gradually expanded to the coast along the lower courses of the two rivers.

The inscriptions of Asoka are another guide. The Mauryan emperor conquered the Kalingas but not the Andhras. Still, the Andhras seem to have acknowledged his suzerainty and the authority of his Viceroy at Suvarnagiri[7]. Mention is also made of the Ratthikas, Petenikas and Bhojakas who obviously were distinct from the Andhras. Maharastra of the Ratthikas, Paithan of the Petenikas and Berar of the Bhojakas came to be included in the Andhra-Sātavāhana empire. This indicates one phase of Andhra expansion from the east to the west.

The Buddhist Jātakas also throw some light on this problem. The Serivanija Jātaka states that two traders went from the city of Seriva to a town named Andhrapura situated on Telivāha, river[8]. Since 'pura' in Pali literature signifies a capital town Andhapura or Andhrapura must have been the headquarters of

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3. D. R. Bhandarkar—Carmichael Lectures, pp. 22-23.
4. R. G. Bhandarkar—Early History of the Dekkan, p. 12.
5. McCrindle—Ancient India, pp. 133-35.
6. *Ibid*, p. 138.
7. Ind. Ant. 1918, pp. 70-71, cb. Maski Edict.
8. *Ibid*, p. 71.

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an Andhra State. Telivāha may be identified with the modern Tel or Telingiri flowing near the borders of Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. This region is adjacent to and contiguous with Kalinga and must have the home of the Andhras in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

There is a Brahman sect among the Andhras named Mulikinatis or Mulakanatis. Mulaka is a well-known subdivision on the upper Godavary with Paithan for its capital[9]. The Mulakandu Brahmans are to be found in large numbers in the Cudapah and Bellary districts but their numbers are the largest in the Tamil country. The Suttanipata mentions[10] that a learned Brahman named Bavarin could not stand the undermining influence of Buddhism in his own country Mulaka, migrated to Asmaka and settled down there on the bank of the Godavary. Subsequently this Brahmin is also said to have sent some of his disciples to the Buddha. Probably this story of Baverin is a faint indication of the southern migration of the Andhras from Mulaka in the north and may be ascribed to the fifth century B.C.

There are two recensions of the Krishna-Yajurveda named the Drāvidapātha and the Andhrapātha. The latter is in vogue throughout the Andhra country and contains a larger number of words and anuvakas. The Andhrapatha is also in vogue in some parts of the extreme south, Maharastra and Guzerat. It is held that the Dravidas migrated from the north to the south at some remote time. According to the Ramayana and Mahabharata the sage Agastya was the first to cross the Vindhyas and go to the far south[11]. Others soon followed him and numerous colonies and hermitages were set up in the Dandaka forest. It is very likely that the Yajurveda which the first migrants brought with them underwent some changes as they moved on to the farther and farther south. Subsequently there was another wave of Aryan migration led probably by the Andhras which colonised central and eastern Dekkan. These colonists must have brought their own recension of the Yajurveda. In course of time the Andhras and the Dravidas came to live contiguous to each other but they had two different versions of the Yajurveda. The prevalence of the two pathas of the Veda also indicates a distinct migration of the Andhras and their diffusion.

In view of what has been stated above it may be concluded that the Andhras following in the wake of the Kalingas crossed the Vindhyas in the middle, reached the Central Godavary region and moved on till they reached the central Krishna region. They expanded up to the east coast and settled all round Kalinga. Subsequently one branch migrated to the south while another moved in the north-western direction.

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9 and 10. Carmichael Lectures, p. 4.
11. *Ibid*, p. 18.

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HOW, WHENCE AND WHEN MAHARASHTRA CAME INTO BEING ?

BY

SYT. SHAN. RA SHENDE,
Brihan-Maharashtriya Karyaldya, Bombay.

The author has marshalled literary, linguistic, geographical and astronomical evidence to show that Maharashtra sprang from a colony of the Vedic Aryans in Avanti or modern Malwa. The author has argued that geographically, culturally, linguistically and socially Malwa was a part of Maharashtra till the 12th cent. A. D. He concludes that " 5000 years from this day might have been the birth of Maharashtra Desha and of its dialect Maharashtri though the records tell us these can be traced only as late as the earlier century of the shekaera."

HOW TO DETERMINE GEOGRAPHICALLY THE NATIVE PLACES OF RUKMINI JAMBUVATI AND SATYABHAMA, THE THREE WELL-KNOWN WIVES OF KRISHNA,

BY

PROF. V. B. ATHAVALE.

The author has used the internal evidence of flora, fauna etc. and geographical evidence to establish that all the three chief wives of Kaishna, Rukmini, Jambuvati and Satyabhama came from modern Kathiawar, and that the events in connection with each of these took place in Kathiawar. The author concludes, " The story of Krishna and the Pandawas is thus consistent in time and space co-ordinates, which are the criteria to establish the historicity of a sequence of events."

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SECTION II

Ancient Period

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORE, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.), D.PHIL. (GIESSEN), B.E.S.

Professor of History and Economics, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very grateful to the Indian History Congress for having conferred on me the honour of presiding over one of its sections of its 10th Session held in this great city. It is, indeed, a privilege to be called upon to discharge the duties of this high position, especially when we remember that ours is the first session after the attainment of independence by our country. We have assembled in a city which has contributed in a very great measure to the advancement of historical knowledge. Bombay has been not only the greatest emporium of India but the forum of great historians as well. Since 1804 when Sir James Mackintosh converted the humble Bombay Literary Society into the B.B.R.A.S., along with a small but devoted band of workers among whom figures the historian William Erskine, till the present day, our great city has given to the country a galaxy of eminent historians—both Indian and foreign—whose work is an abiding source of inspiration to us. Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Bhagavanlal Indraji, Bhaudaji, Cols. J. W. Watson and L. G. Barton, John Faithful Fleet, James Macnabb Campbell, A. M. T. Jackson, Dr. J. Gerson DaCunha, Sir J. J. Modi, and a host of others, who helped to stabilize the study of ancient India, have laid us under a heavy debt of gratitude which can hardly be repaid in adequate terms. It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that we should refer to these mighty men, before we pass on to the nature and importance of the period which forms the subject of our discussion.

The five centuries extending from A. D. 711 till about A. D. 1206, which form the limits of the II Section of the Indian History Congress, were eventful from many points of view. Although it cannot be maintained with that excellent historian Vincent Arthur Smith that the year

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647, which witnessed the death of King Harṣhavardhana of Kanouj, brought behind it a veritable political cataclysm in India, yet we have to admit that that year was of great consequence to northern India, but of no consequence whatsoever to the Deccan and the southern peninsula. For, in northern India, the Tibetans had pushed their power across Nepal to the Ganjetic valley, while the declining kingdom of the once-powerful Guptas under the feeble Ādityasena made an unsuccessful bid for supremacy in the Magadha regions. What is interesting is not so much either the subjugation of Tirhut by the Tibetans or the attempt of the Guptas as the struggle that was waged by the Karkoṭakas of Kashmir, the Pālas of Bengal, the Gurjara-Pratihāras of western India, and the Rāṣtrakūṭas of the Deccan for the mastery of Kanouj which, from the time of king Harṣavardhana till the rise of the Muslims, was reckoned as the imperial capital of northern India. The struggle for the possession of Kanouj had been started by Karkoṭaka Lalitāditya in about A. D. 736; it ended with its capture by the Gurjara-Pratihāras sometime before A. D. 636. With this famous city in their hands, the Gurjara-Pratihāras laid the foundation of their vast empire, which included Karnāl in the Panjab, Kathiawar, a part of Sind, Bihar, as far as Paharpur in northern Bengal—in fact, the whole of northern India (excepting a large part of Sind), western Bengal, Kashmir, Nepal, Assam, and portions of northern Bengal, Central Provinces, and Orissa. This great empire, which has been called a petty state by some modern historians, lived till about A. D. 916 when it showed signs of disintegration. It was just then that the Crescent showed itself in two corners of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire—the north-west where the Turks peeped at the northern plains over the frontiers, and the south-west where the Arabs were attracted by the wealth of Sind. The Gurjara-Pratihāras stopped the onrush of the Arabs, but failed to prevent that of the Turks, whose horsemen carried everything before them. Thus it came to be that for about three hundred years (916-1206), northern India witnessed the gradual incursions of the Turks and the Afghans, who succeeded by 1197 in capturing the capitals of northern India. By 1206 the intrepid Sultan Mu' izz-u-d Din Muhammad ibn Sam (Ghuri) had completed the conquest of northern India as far as Bengal.

This long period, particularly from the be ginning of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, did not open a new age in the history of India. It no doubt

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saw the Turks and the Afghans gradually extending and consolidating their conquests; but beyond this, it is doubtful if anything marvellous happened in the country, where in the region called Rajputana the Rajput tribes stubbornly preserved Hindu ideals in their impregnable fortresses. Neither over these powerful Rajput States nor over those of the Deccan and the South, did the Turks cast any influence. Here in the Deccan and in the South, between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries, mighty royal families had sprung up, each handing over to its successor the great task of preserving the country's culture and independence. Of these the earliest from our point of view were the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi, whose three last rulers—Vijayāditya, Samastabhuvanāśraya (693-733), Vikramāditya II (733-746), and Kirttivarman II (746-757)—were busy in the south-east of their dominions subjugating their traditional enemies—the Pallavas of Kañchi—whom they finally crushed. We may incidentally note here that it was a scion of the Cālukya House, by name Avanijanāśraya-Pulikeśin, who in 739 inflicted a crushing defeat on the Tājikas or Arabs in Lāṭa, and thereby exploded the myth of Muslim invincibility.

The mantle of sovereignty of the Deccan after the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi fell on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who ruled over the Deccan and western India from about 754 till 973, when in the latter year (973), the Western Cālukyas after an eclipse of 220 years, regained their supremacy, and continued to hold aloft the banner of independence from Kalyāṇa until the reign of king Nūrmmaḍi Taila (1150-1182). It was in the days of this ruler that the Western Cālukyas hemmed in on three sides by the Kalacuriyas, the Hoysalas, and the Yādavas, collapsed never to rise again (1189). These royal families of renown as well as those of the Coḷas of the south and the western Cālukyas of the east, were responsible for the preservation of the political ideals of the Hindu people.

During these five centuries the people steadily advanced the cause of knowledge and religion without being frightened by the onrush of the Arabs in Sind and that of the Turks in the north. It was in the twelfth century (1181) that we have the clearest proof of the high ideals which the government of the day set before itself, when it directed its provincial viceroys to govern the country like a father, putting down the evil and upholding the good; and when these high officials reckoned the happiness

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of their dependents as their own happiness. This was the age of mighty Hindu and Jaina logicians and philosophers —like the Jaina gurus Akalanka (750) and Vadirāja (1025, the Hindu teachers like Rāmānuja (1116) and Basava (about 1162), the champions of the Lākulāgama sect and many others, too numerous to be mentioned here. It was the age when commerce on a vast scale was conducted by merchant-princes called *maha-vaddabyavahari*, who imported horses, elephants, and pearls from beyond the limits of the country in ships by sea, and sold them to kings outside the frontiers of the Deccan. The period under review was perhaps the greatest age in the history of Indian sculpture and architecture, when the exquisite rock-cut temples of Siva at Ellora were carved (753-775); when the colossal image of Gomaṭa at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa was installed (1028); when the best specimens of architecture in the shape of the famous Cennakeśava temple at Belur (1117), the Hoysaleśvara temple at Haḷebiḍ (about 1141), and the Brahmeśvara temple at Kikkeri (1171), were built; and when the Deccan boasted of artistic engravers (*ruvari*) who could entwine the forms of elephants, lions, parrots, and other animals and birds, so as to make them appear from the letters (1067). Turning to the field of Sanskrit literature, we find that some of the most remarkable men of letters lived in these times. Witness, for example, Vajñāneśvara, the author of the famous digest of civil law styled *Mitaksara* (733-746); the Western Cāḷukya king Someśvara, III, who wrote *Manasollasa* (1131); Aparārka, the commentator on Yājñavalkya's *Dharmasastra* (1187); Lakṣmīdhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician Bhāskarācārya, and a profound scholar in the Vedas, *Tarkasastra*, and *Mimansa* (1191); and his son Cāngadeva, who founded (in about 1210) a college for the study of his grandfather's famous work *Siddhantasiromani* at Pāṭnā in the Chāḷisgaon division of Khandesh. In the long range of Kannaḍa literature, we have a wonderful concourse of great authors beginning with Nripatunga (814-877), who would require a separate treatment by themselves.

No doubt this period which I have outlined above is full of difficult problems. But the historian's task is made more difficult because of some handicaps, one of which concerns the source-materials which are out of the reach of students of historical research, excepting in capital cities. Next it is an unfortunate fact that no adequate recognition of the work of the historian has been taken till now in our land. It is not generally recognized that

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an historian plays a very significant part in moulding the character of a nation. This may perhaps explain why, for instance, the historian finds no place in the manpower scheme of the National Government of India. Further, the impartial work of the historian is to some extent hampered by the activities of persons, who have brought in a good deal of communalism in their so-called historical studies. All unscientific work which is directed to ends other than those of historical accuracy, under whatever designation or authority it may be published, can only hinder the good cause of historical research and lower our achievements in the eyes of the scholarly world. It is precisely in these critical days of our national existence, when we are faced with dangers of all kinds, that the historian should refuse to play the ignoble part of the propagandist, and do his bit for the betterment of the land by his breadth of vision and his impartial judgment. The new political status which we have attained does not mean either the glorification of one community at the expense of another or the vilification of foreigners, some of whom might have unwittingly given expression to views which are of a controversial nature, or written statements which are against our sentiments. If the good and meritorious work of our predecessors in the field of historical research, some of whom I have mentioned in an earlier context, and who lived in this great city, is to bear fruit, I venture to suggest that we should take adequate steps to promote the cause of historical research. In this connection I cannot help suggesting that in one particular direction the Government of Bombay, which has always shown a liberal outlook on questions of public importance, might be pleased to aid the cause of historical learning. I am referring to the re-editing of the *Bombay Gazetteers*, which were an extension of the Statistical Accounts of the Districts undertaken by the Bombay Government so early as 1843. Since 1896 when the first part of the first volume of the *Bombay Gazetteers* was published, innumerable materials have been brought to light by the Archæological Departments of the Government of India as well as those of the Indian States. It is highly desirable that the admirable work of the pioneers is supplemented, and, in some instances, rectified, by the new data available in the numerous historical records discovered in the course of the last fifty years. It is the earnest request of the historians of this part of the country that the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister and Minister for Education,

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Government of Bombay,—who has always evinced the keenest interest in the promotion of national culture and education,—might be pleased to take up this question of re-editing the Gazetteers of the Bombay Province, so that this important work might be made more useful by the inclusion of up-to-date historical material. In this undertaking of an almost national character, Government could certainly count upon the co-operation of all those who have been engaged in the work of reconstructing the past history of this Province.

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Summary

CLAY ORNAMENTS FROM SISUPALGARH

BY

KALYANKUMAR GANGULI

Sisupalgarh is a small village situated near Bhuvanesvara in Orissa. Stray finds of various antiquities have been reported from a site extensively covered with ruins in this area. The celebrated Asokan edict of Dhauli is situated adjacent to this site.

Included among the finds of antiquities there are many interesting clay objects which seem to have been used as ornaments of personal use. Occasional finds of ornaments made of clay from archaeological sites are not rare in India. We know of beads made of clay to have been discovered from the Indus valley sites and various other sites of historical period. Fragments of bracelets and finger rings were found in Mohenjo-daro. The form and execution of the ornaments found from Sisupalgarh, however, make them of exceptional interest. The discular ear-studs, finger rings with neat execution of foliated decoration, ear-rings of various kinds and similar other things mark the variety of conception. The workmanship of the ornaments is of unquestionable value and it is quite apparent that the material used was of little concern to the craftsmen. Apart from giving a sense of the highly evolved conception of the craftsman's responsibility these ornaments offer a social problem of far-reaching social consequence.

Among these objects there are few tiny medallions having the shape of coins. These were probably used as necklace pendants. On the obverse of some there are neatly executed representations of such animals as the elephant and the bull. Three of such medallions now in the Asutosh Museum have on them representations of human faces which show un-Indian physiognomy. These have got striking similarity to Roman coins and medallions of about the 1st century A.D. A study of these shall, it appears, be useful for the ascertainment of the date of the site as well as finding some clue as to the maritime contact of Orissa with the western world.

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SYNOPSIS

ANCIENT INDIA AND THE OUTER WORLD

BY

DR. V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., F.R.C.S. (EDIN.)

There is reason to believe that close contact existed between ancient India and Egypt. Capt. John Speke who discovered the source of the Nile, says that he got the clue from a map written by Lt. Wilford from the Puranas of the ancient Hindus, who knew according to him about the hydrography of the region round about lake Victoria Nyanza. After seeing the temple at Dandera Mr. Salt came to the conclusion that there was striking similarity in the ancient religion of Egypt and the present one of India.

From the tablet discovered at Boghz Keui, and at Babylon, in which the names of the Hittite and Kassite kings are mentioned it is clear that these people were of Indo-Aryan origin, and according to Pargiter and Konow, they were a colony of Sanscrit speaking people from the Punjab.

There is a remarkable similarity between the occult sciences of the ancient Hindus and the cabalistic sciences of the Jews. According to the French scholar Louis Jacolliet in the periods of their captivity the elders of the Hebrews had been initiated by the Persian Magi into the old conceptions of the Brahmins.

When Alexander came to India he found that the Indians were taller and braver than any other nation in Asia, and that famine was unknown in the country. According to Enfield India acquired a high character for wisdom of its philosophers and it was visited by Pythagoras, Anaxarchus, and others who afterwards became eminent philosophers. In mathematics the Indians were far in advance of the Greeks.

According to Alberuni, the Arabs studied astronomy from the two books Brahma Siddhanta and Khanda Khadyaka written by Brahma Gupta which was taken to Arabia and translated into Arabic by Al Fazri and Yakub-ibn-tarik. Khalif Harun invited Hidu physicians like Atri, Kanaka, and others and had Sanscrit works on medicine translated into Arabic. According to Prof. MacDonell the Indians invented numerical figures used all over the world. During the eighth and ninth centuries the Indians became the teachers in Arithmetic and Algebra of the Arabs and through them of the nations of the West,

Mr. Leslie Mitchell in his travels through Central America found that the ancient Aztecs worshipped the Indian god Ganesha

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in some form whom he calls the Mayanized Ganesha. He thinks that this worship must have travelled to America from India, through Cambodia, Java, and other Pacific islands during the Gupta period.

From the study of ancient history one finds that cultural contact was very intimate between India and countries in the outside world which were separated from it by vast distances and India in ancient times never remained in an isolated position as it did after the ninth or tenth century A. D., which brought on the degeneration of the nation.

AMOGHAVARSA I AND KARTA SUVARNAVARSA OF LĀTA.

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
Madras.

The powerful Rāṣṭrakuṭa emperor Govinda III died about A. D. 815, leaving on the throne a young boy Sarva Amoghavarṣa I. Sarva is said to have been born in the rainy weather of 802 when Govinda was encamping after a successful campaign in Northern India in the city of Śrībhavana in the territory of his feudatory Māra-Sarva[1]. Thus Amoghavarṣa was only about 12 or 13 years of age at the time of his accession.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa history was prolific of disputed successions and feudal rebellions, and the tender years of Amoghavarṣa offered great temptation to the feudatories of the empire to raise the banner of revolt. At this juncture the wise policy that Govinda had followed towards his younger brother Indrarāja bore fruit, and the empire was saved. Govinda himself had to face at the death of his father and his own definitive accession to the throne a formidable rebellion headed by his elder brother Kambha in which a very large number of feudatories also took part. In that crisis Indrarāja stood by the side of Govinda, and the two brothers succeeded in suppressing the revolt, compelling Kambha to reconcile himself to his feudatory position as governor of Gangavāḍi, thus confirming the choice of Govinda III for succession to the throne by his father and predecessor Dhruva. For his loyal and distinguished service Govinda rewarded his brother by making him the ruler of Laṭa-maṇḍala (Southern Guzerat). Now in a similar crisis at the commencement of Amoghavarṣa's reign, Indra's son Karka Suvarṇavarṣa went to the aid of his suzerain in the same manner.

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1. Radhanpur plates v. 18 EI. VI, pp. 249 ff.
Sanjan plates v. 26 EI. XVIII, p, 246.

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This fact, that Amoghavarṣa owed his throne to the assistance he got from his cousin of the Lāṭa country has been recognised in a general way, by all historians, and it finds specific mention in a verse which occurs in the copperplate grants of the Guzerat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But the verse has not been correctly understood because it first came to light in late and rather corrupt readings. It is the object of this note to discuss the readings and contents of this verse and settle its precise import.

The history of the readings of this verse and the interpretations offered of it is represented sufficiently for our purpose by the following references :

1. The Bagumra plates A.D. 867 of Dhruva. v. 29. IA. XII p. 183 with translation by Buhler and Hultzsch at p. 188
2. Bagumra plates A.D. 888 of Krishṇa II of Ankuleśvar v. 18 Ed. Hultzsch, IA. XIII p. 67
3. The Baroda plates of Dhruva II, A.D. 835-6. Ed. Hultzsch v. 10 IA. XIV. p. 199. Translation at page 201.

In this inscription the earliest version of the verse till then known makes a very near approach to the true reading, and this did not escape the notice of Hultzsch who observed : "According to the undoubtedly correct reading of this new inscription and of the inscription No. iv Amoghavarṣa in stanza 10 must not be taken as a secondary name of Karka II, but must be understood as referring to his cousin and feudal lord Sarva Amoghavarṣa (S. 735-99), who belonged to the direct line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas". *Ibid.*, p. 197. By inscription No. iv Hultzsch means the Bagumra plates of 888 A.D. But in that record the reading of the last quarter of the verse was by no means as clear as in the Baroda plates, and it is no wonder that its full significance could not be made out by Hultzsch when he edited the Bagumra plates. The reading of the Bagumra plates is

Yo 'moghavarṣa-macirāśvapade vyadhatta,' whereas the Baroda plates give distinctly

YP' moghavarsam acirāt svapade vyadhatta.

It is only with the Baroda reading before us that it is possible to guess the true meaning of the Bagumra variant of it.

4. The Guzerat plates of Dantivarman A. D. 867[2] where the verse conforms with slight and insignificant variations to the other (Bagumra) plates of the same date, (1) above.

We are now fortunate in possessing the verse in its undoubtedly original form as it occurs in the Surat plates of Karka-rāja Suvarnavarṣa himself, A. D. 821. In this record[3] it occurs as verse 39 and reads as follows :

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2. Ed. By D. R. Bhandarkar, v. 29. EI. VI. p. 290.
3. EI. XXI, pp. 233 ff.

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svecchā-gṛhīta-viṣayān-dṛḍha-saṅghabhājaḥ
prodvṛtta-dṛpta tara-śaulkika-rāṣṭrakūṭān
utkhāta-khadga-nija-bāhu-balena-jitvā.

Yo—'moghavarsaṃ acirāt svapade vyadhatta

Prof. Altekar who edits this record in *Epigraphia Indica* and offers comments on this important verse, which are valuable so far as they go, is content to leave it without offering a fresh translation referring us to the translation of Hultzsch in Indian Antiquary XIV. Now, that translation reads :

"By the strength of his arm that wore the unsheathed sword, he vanquished the tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army ; and he speedily placed Amoghavarsa on the throne".

A comparison of the translation with the original of the verse shows that there is much scope for improvement here. We have already noted the distinct advance towards the true meaning of the verse made by the discovery of the correct reading of its last quarter in the Baroda plates. Where the later records read

Yo 'moghaversa iti rājya pade vyadhatta

the Baroda plates have

Yo 'moghavarṣam acirāt svapade vyadhatta.

This reading at once showed that Amoghavarṣa was not a title of Karka but the name of his cousin and suzerain, the Raṣṭrakuṭa emperor of Malkhed. This alone enabled Hultzsch to give a fairly intelligible translation of the verse and a *prima facie* reasonable interpretation of it. But that translation and interpretation are rendered obsolete by the form of the verse as we have it in the Surat plates.

We shall now take the operative phrases in it one by one, and discuss them to the extent necessary for elucidating their true meaning.

First 'Svecchāgṛhīta visṣyān' : The last member in this compound reads as 'vinayān' in the Baroda plates. Possibly impressed by the better reading of the last quarter of the verse in those plates, Hultzsch, accepted the reading 'vinayān' and interpreted it in what now seems to be a rather forced manner by translating "after they had voluntarily promised obedience."...But surely with 'viṣayān' put in the place of 'vinayān' the phrase would mean simply "who had captured the 'viṣyas' (territorial divisions) at their will."

Next "dṛḍhasaṅghabhājaḥ". Apparently this phrase is rendered by Hultzsch "with a powerful army", a meaning which indeed it is difficult to justify. The phrase is better interpreted as "forming a close alliance or confederacy among themselves."

The next phrase that calls for attention is "Saulkika Rāṣṭrakūṭān". This was understood by Hultzsch as "tributary Rāṣṭra-

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kūṭas"; and he explained that by the rebellious Rāṣṭrakūṭas we must understand Govind IV, Karka's younger brother and his followers. Now the evidence for assuming a rebellion on the part of Govinda IV is very meagre. It has been rightly pointed out[4] that Govinda issued the Kāvi plates,[5] A.D. 827, not as a usurper but perhaps simply as a deputy for Karka during Karka's absence in the campaigns he fought on behalf of Amoghavarṣa. The omission of Govinda from the later charters of the Guzerat branch is also satisfactorily explained by the fact that he never ruled in his own right but only deputised for his brother for some time. Now looking closely into the phrase 'Saulkika Rāṣṭrakūṭān' it is not easy to interpret it as 'tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas', for the word 'Sulka' means 'transit duties' and not 'tribute'. In the context I am inclined to interpret 'Saulkika Rāṣṭrakūṭān' as officers in charge of Sulka (transit duties) and administrative heads of the Rāṣṭras, the Rāṣṭrapatis who are regularly mentioned in all the donative records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line. We also know from inscriptions that the collection of Sulka was entrusted to high officials each in charge of a considerable district, like Vatsayya holding the Sulka of Belvola 300 in A,D. 904 (SII. XI. i. No. 24) If now we recall the force of the phrases that have gone before, it becomes clear that we have here the record of an extensive and organised rebellion on the part of the officials of the kingdom who seem to have entered into a conspiracy to defy the authority of the boy-emperor and declare themselves independent in their respective territorial divisions. This interpretation of the phrase "Saulkika Rāstrakūtān" finds strong support in verses 38-41 of the Sanjan plates which speak of Kali subverting the minds of the feudatories, the ministers, and the relatives of Amoghavarsa, of the prevalence of lawlessness and anarchy in the kingdom, of the setting of the sun of the Rattas, giving occasion to lesser luminaries to shine for a while, and of the subsequent rise once more of the Ratta sun with the aid of an Arya Pātālamalla (Karka).

It was indeed a great crisis through which the empire passed in the early years of Amoghavarsa's reign, and the trouble evidently lasted for several years, and Karka, the loyal feudatory of Lāta, played a great part in saving the empire from disruption and seating Amoghavarsa firmly once more on the throne. In the light of the foregoing observations the verse that has been the subject of our discussion may be rendered as follows: " By the strength of his arm that wore the unsheathed sword, he vanquished the rebellious and proud *Saulkikas* (officials of the octroi department) and *Rastrakutas* (rāstrapatis) who had siezed the *visayas* (districts) at their pleasure and formed a

4. Altekar : *Rashtrakutas*, pp. 80-81.

5. I.A. Vol. V. p. 144.

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close alliance among themselves; and he speedily placed Amoghavarsa on his throne."

It may be noted finally that the errors that crept into this verse and obscured its true meaning so long constitute a conspicuous example of the damage suffered by texts in being transcribed from generation to generation. The Baroda plates are hardly 15 years later than the Surat plates, and they had got to write "vinayān" for "visayān" in the opening compound of the verse, and about 30 years later the last quarter of the verse undergoes a serious modification which irretrievably obscures its real import.

THE DATE OF SOLADA-GANDA BADDEGA OF VEMULAVĀDA

BY

DR. N. VENKATARAMNYYA, M.A., PH.D.

Baddega or 'Solada-gaṇḍa' Baddega, to mention him with his well-known title, was an important member of the Vemulavāḍa branch of the Chāḷukya family, who held sway over north-western Telingāṇa from their capital, Lembulavāṭika (Vemulavāḍa) in the Karimnagar district of the present Hyderabad state. The date of this prince is not known, though it can be deduced with tolerable certainty from the data furnished by Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam and the inscriptions of the later Vemulavāḍa chiefs. Pampa, who flourished in the court of Arikesarin II (A. D. 930), states that Baddega, who was known as the Soladagaṇḍa, or the unvanquished hero, fought forty-two battles and captured Bhīma, as if he seized a crocodile in water.[1] The statement is repeated in the Parbhani plates of Arikesarin III dated Saka 888 (A. D. 966). Baddega, who was a hero of many battles, is said to have captured the famous warrior Bhīma in battle as if he seized a crocodile in water.[2] As Pampa, the earlier of the two authorities cited here, flourished in the court of Arikesarin II, a great-grandson of Baddega, about A. D. 930. Baddega must have lived sometime earlier, say, in the latter half of the 9th century A. D. It is, however, possible to determine more precisely the date of Baddega with the help of Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam and the inscriptions of the Chāḷukyas of Vemulavāḍa

1. Vikr. Vij. 1: 25-6.
2. Jain Sahitya aur Itihas, p. 85, Somadevasurika Nitivakyamrit by Nathuram Premi.

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and Vengi. According to Pampa, Arikesari I, who was a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Nirupamadeva *i.e.* Dhruva (A. D. 780-793), subjugated Vengi and Trikaḷinga on behalf of his master, and this is corroborated by the evidence of the Vemulavāḍa epigraph and the Parbhani Plates.[3] The conquest of Vengi referred to in these records must have been effected some time before A. D. 786, as Śīlamahādevī, the daughter of Sarvalokāśraya Śrī Vishṇuvardhana Viṭharasa of Vengi, was already married to Dhruva by that date,[4] and as this marriage could have taken place only after Arikesari's conquest of that country, it may be presumed from this that Arikesari I flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A. D., from A. D. 775 to 800; and that his son, Narasimha I and grandson Yuddhamalla II must have ruled from 800 to 825 and 825 to 850 respectively. This would give us 850 to 875 as the probable time, when Baddega flourished. Baddega's son was Yuddhamalla III; and his son, Narasimha II, was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king, Nityavarsha Indra III, who ruled from A.D. 915 to 930. As Narasimha II's son Arikesari II was already on his throne in or about 930 A. D., it is not unlikely that Narasimha's career came to an end about A. D. 925. Calculating backwards from this date we get the dates 900 to 925 for Narasimha II, and 875 to 900 for Yuddhamalla. Thus we get once again 850-875 as the probable period of Baddega's activity. An important reference to Baddega in the Eastern Chāḷukya copper plate grants clearly indicates that Baddega lived slightly later than the period suggested above. In the Kandayam plates of Dānārṇava dated Saka 892 A. D./1070-71, it is said that Guṇaga Vijayāditya killed Mangi, defeated Kannara (Krishṇa II) together with Sankila, and offered protection after defeat, of course, to Baddega.[5] The same statement is repeated in the Penneru and Pabhuparṛu grants and the Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman I.[6] Baddega, who according to these records, was offered protection by Guṇaga Vijayāditya, has been identified by the Government Epigraphist with Baddega of the Vemulavāḍa Chāḷukya family. "Baddega of this inscription", says he, "could not be identified with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha III Vaddiga whose reign, according to Dr. Keilhorn, began only about A. D. 937. It is possible that Baddega was the Western Chalukya prince Baddiga, the great-grandfather of Arikesarin who was the patron of the Kanarese poet Pampa who lived

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3. Vikr. Vij. 1 : 20, Bharat Itihas Samsodhakamandal Quarterly 13, 3. Jain Sahitya aur Itihas, Somadevasurika Nitivakyamrit by Nathuram Premi, p. 85, Telingana inscriptions. Other inscriptions, No. 21.
4. EI. XXII, pp. 98-109.
5. JAHRS. XI. p. 85.
6. Madras Govt. Or. Mss Library, 15-6-26, Vol. I, pp. 348-55, JTA. II, p. 407, Cp. 15 of 1917-18.

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about A. D. 940 (Bom. Gaz, II, i, p. 380). Allowing 25 years on the average for the reigns of Baddiga, his son Yuddhamalla, and his grandson Narasimha (elder brother of Arikesarin), Baddiga might be placed at about A. D. 860, and might have been a contemporary of Vijayāditya III (A. D. 844-888)."[7] Though the identification suggested by the Government Epigraphist may be accepted as correct, his statement stands in need of modification in certain respects. Arikesarin, the patron of Pampa, was not an younger brother of his predecessor Narasimha II, as the Government Epigraphist would have us believe, but his son. On this point the evidence of Pampa and the Parbhani plates is quite explicit.[8] Again, Baddiga's defeat at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya is placed in all the Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions alluding to the incident after the latter's victory over Kannara (Kṛishṇa II) and Sankila-Gunaga Vijayaditya did not come into conflict with Kṛishṇa II until after his accession in A. D. 880. As Gunaga's reign came to an end in A. D. 892, it is reasonable to suppose that victories over Kṛishṇa II and Sankila as well as Baddega must be assigned to the period between A. D. 880 and 892.

Both Pampa and the composer of the praśasti in the Parbhani plates refer to a contemporary warrior Bhīma whom Baddega is said to have captured in battle. There is nothing in the Vikramārjunavijayam or the Parbhani plates which disclose the identity of this chief. Dr. Fleet suggested long ago that this might be the Eastern Chāḷukya Bhīma, who, according to his chronology, ruled from A. D. 888 to 918.[9] Though the system of chronology formulated by Fleet is somewhat antiquated, the identification proposed by him is well worth consideration. The Eastern Chāḷukya records make it certain that Baddega came into conflict with Guṇaga Vijayāditya between A. D. 880 and 892. The only Bhīma who flourished about this time was Chāḷukya Bhīma I, who succeeded his uncle Guṇaga Vijayāditya in A. D. 892 as the king of Vengi. Beddega would have been naturally desirous of attacking Vengi to wipe off the disgrace of a defeat which he suffered at the hands of Guṇaga ; and it is not unlikely that on the death of his old enemy, he might have resolved to launch an attack upon his nephew. Moreover, Baddega whose estates lay on the north-western frontier of Vengi was a dependent of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kannara ; and he must have followed his master in his campaigns against Chāḷukya Bhīma I, in one of which he captured Bhīma, even as stated in the Vikramārjuna-vijayam and the Parbhani plates.

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7. ARE. 1918. II, p. 132.

8. Cf. Vikr. Vija. 1 : 39, 41-42, 'Tasy-asid-Arikesar-iti tanayah'—Jain Sahitya aur Itihas,—Nathu Ram Premi. Somadevasurika Niti-vakyamrit, p. 85.

9. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 381.

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The Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions of the time of Chāḷukya Bhīma I indicate that Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kannara, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa II invaded Vengi at least twice during the thirty years for which he ruled the kingdom. As soon as the news of the death of his old enemy Guṇaga Vijayāditya reached his court, Kṛishṇa II, having made common cause with the dāyādas *i.e.*, the agnates of Chāḷukya Bhīma I, appears to have made an attack upon Vengi even before Bhīma could perform the Paṭṭabandha ceremony and celebrate the festival of his coronation. According to the undated Koṛavi epigraph of Peddana, a subordinate of Kusumāyuddha of Raṇamardaka family, one of the loyal dependents of Chāḷukya Bhīma I, Kannara Ballaha invaded the kingdom of Vengi and took possession of the estates of the Ranamardaka family; but Kusumāyuddha soon reconquered from the Rāshṭrakūṭas his ancestral possessions, and having tied the necklace of royalty round Chāḷukya Bhīma's neck caused his coronation to be celebrated.[10] This is corroborated by the evidence of the Bezwada Plates issued on the occasion of the coronation of Chāḷukya Bhīma I in A. D. 892, in which Kusumāyuddha is spoken of in appreciative terms, and at whose instance the king granted to the Brahman, Potamayya, the village of Kūkiparṛu in the Uttarakanderu vishaya.[11] It follows from this that the first attack of Kannara Ballaha took place immediately after the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, even before Chāḷukya Bhīma I could arrange for the celebration of his coronation. The invasion, however, does not appear to have penetrated into Vengi; it seems to have affected only the frontier district in the west and was soon turned back by Kusumāyuddha and other chiefs of the western marches.

The Vēḍatalūru grant of Chāḷukya Bhīma I alludes to another invasion of Kṛishṇa II. The Rāshṭrakūṭa army which came under the command of a general called Guṇḍaya[12] was joined by the rebellious agnates of Bhīma, penetrated into the

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10. Telingana inscriptions: Others No.
11. Ep. Ind. V, p. 127.
12. The name of this general, according to the Government Epigraphist, is Dandena Gundaya (ARE. 1914 Part II, para 6, p. 84.). The verse in which the name of this general is mentioned in the Vedataluru grant runs as follows :--

Peruvangur-grama-rane Vallabha-dandena Gundayakhyam hatva
Nir-latya cha dayadan-avanim-aseshan-nirakulam-mahyam adat

The celebral 'na' in dandena is a scribal error for dental na, and it must be corrected accordingly. Vallabha dandena (vallabhasya dandena) means 'together with the army of the Vallabha. The line must be translated thus :—'having killed Gundaya together with the army of the Vallabha'.

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heart of Vengi, and caused much confusion in the kingdom. Two fierce battles, one at Niravadyapura (*i.e.* Nidadavole in the Kovvur taluk of the West Godavari district), and another at Peruvangūr, a village in the same neighbourhood, took place between Chāḷukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa armies. Though Chāḷukya Bhīma I took the field personally against the enemy, the real leader of the E. Chāḷukya forces was his heroic young son, known to us only by his biruda, Iṛimartagaṇḍa, who, though only a youth of sixteen years, displayed remarkable bravery, and saved the independence of his country at the risk of his own life.

Baddega must have accompanied the Rāshṭrakūṭa armies, and captured Chāḷukya Bhīma I in one of the two expeditions mentioned above. Though there is no definite evidence which enables us to decide in which of these two expeditions Chāḷukya Bhīma I was taken prisoner, a fact just indicated by a simile in the Vikramārjuna Vijayam and the Parbhani plates seems to point out that the incident must have happened during Kṛishṇa II's second expedition against Vengi. Baddega, it may be remembered, is said to have captured Bhīma, as if he seized a crocodile in water. Fleet's rendering of Pampa's statement 'mosaleyam pididantare nīroḷ-otti Bhīmanan-ati garvadam piḍiye' as 'as if seizing a crocodile, entered into water and proudly seized Bhīma' is supported by the language of the Parbhani Plates in which it is clearly hinted that Bhīma was captured in a battle fought in the water. 'Bhīmam Bhīma-parākram-aika-nilayam tam helaya-iv āgrahīd Ugram grāham-iv-antar-ambu-samare dor-vikramād-Baddegaḥ'. If Chāḷukya Bhīma I was really captured by Baddega in a battle fought in the water, that battle must have been fought in the Kolair lake in the midst of which stood on an island a well-known jala-durga, here the kings of Vengi used to take refuge in times of emergency. The first expedition of Kṛishṇa II against Vengi, it may be recollected was confined to the Raṇamardaka country along the Western frontier; and the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces were repelled before they could penetrate into the interior of the kingdom. It was only during the second expedition that they reached the Doab between the deltas of the Kṛishṇa and the Godāvari, where they fought at least two battles with the E. Chāḷukya forces in the neighbourhood of the Kolair lake. The ambu-samara or the battle in the water must have taken place on this occasion. As Kṛishṇa's first invasion came in A. D. 892, the second expedition during which the 'ambu-samara' was fought must be assigned to a later date, say, in or about A. D 895. Assuming that Baddega died soon after his victory over Chāḷukya Bhīma I, we may reasonably conclude that the period of his military activity lasted at least until that date, if not a little later.

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CHŌLA KING ADHIRĀJENDRA

BY

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Text books on South Indian History tell us that on the death of Vīrarājendra in 1070 A. D Adhirājendradeva succeeded to the throne, as the rightful heir. Literary accounts like *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Vikramasolanula*, the latter being in Tamil, and inscriptional evidence bear this out. The *Kalingattuparani* of Jayamkondar completely ignores the reign of Adhirājendra. It says that Kulottunga I was made crown prince by the then Chola king. We do not find any other evidence to show, not even in the *Kalingattuparani*, that the reigning king Virarājendra, who has been accepted to have ruled the Chola territory before Kulottunga I from 1063 A.D. to 1070 A.D., adopted Kulottunga as the crown prince. Luckily we know that Adhirājendra ruled for some time after Vīrarājendra. Some inscriptions of Kulottunga refer to Vīrarājendra as a Rājakesari while Adhirājendra is referred to as Parakesari.

Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramankadevacharita* says definitely that Adhirajendra was the son of Vīrarājendra and was the rightful heir to the throne. Adhirājendra took the title of Parakeśari in accordance with the Chola practice. We know from inscription (EI. VII p. 7, n. 5.) that Kulottunga began his reign in the Chola kingdom from about the 9th June A.D 1070. He was a Rājakeśari. The question now is when did Adhirājendra come to the throne? Virarājendra of course died in 1070 A.D. The inscriptions of Adhirājendra are dated in his third year. So scholars believe that Adhirājendra must have succeeded his father in 1070 A.D. and ruled only for a few months. But we believe that Adhirājendra came to the throne even in 1068. He must have ruled the empire for more than two years, when perhaps he fell into a fatal disease from which he never recovered. In A.D. 1068 Vīrarājendra must have anointed him as king as he had to go to Kadāram and other places in that year. Though we have no evidence to substantiate the brief reference to an expedition against Kadāram during Vīrarājendra's reign still we have to accept this chronological position from his records. The *Vikramankadevacharita* further throws light that Vikramāditya VI started for Kāñchī and Gangaikondapuram in order to secure the position of his wife's brother in the Chola territory (Chap. VI,

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vv. 6-25). This implies there was some confusion in the Chola kingdom and perhaps this confusion was due to Kulottungadeva's influence in the south. We do not believe in the story of the *Kalingattuparani* about Kulottunga's early life. Finding that his place in the Vengi country was not well established Kulottunga took to the life of an adventurer and became the lord of the country, on the death of Adhirājendra.

An inscription at Kuhur dated in the 3rd year of his reign A.D. 1070 registers the gift of land to a certain person for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* twice daily before the local god for what seems to be the recovery of the health of a king. This shows that Adhirājendra was not only a pious king but also that he suffered from disease. Though in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to say that Adhirājendra died a natural death still we cannot subscribe to the statement that he was killed by some one in the confusion that followed the Chola empire on the death of Vīrarajendra What we try to make out is that Adhirājendra succeeded to the throne in 1067-68, ruled peacefully and died a natural death. We have seen that both the literary records, *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Vikramasolan Ula* are definite that there was an intervening Chola king between Vīrarājendra and Kulottuṇga I. This was certainly Adhirājendra. Reference has already been made to the recognition by Kulottuṇga of Adhirājendra that he himself took upon the title of Rājakeśari ; but is the version in *Kalingattuparani* about Kulottuṇga's position in 1063-70 a pure myth ? We do not subscribe to the opinion that the views expressed in *Kalingattupparani* are entirely mythical. Kulottuṇga might have spent the best part of his time from 1063-70 in the Chola court and both Vīrarājendra and Adhirājendra liked him as a member of the family. It is reasonable to suppose that Adhirājendra's death followed soon after Vīrarājendra's and that there was no proper claimant to the Chola throne when Kulottuṇga pressed his claim and he was crowned king. The fact was that Kulottuṇga was no stranger either to the members of the Chola royal family or to the Chola people. Therefore his name was welcomed when it was known that Kulottuṇga had to succeed Adhirājendra. The version in the *Kalingattuparani* to the effect that he was made crown prince need not be pressed too far. For all practical purposes he was regarded as more than a crown prince by the ruling sovereigns. We do not think that there is much force in the argument that Kulottuṇga seized the Chola crown "through internal disturbances in the Chola kingdom which culminated in the death of the last Chola king." (Ind. Ant., Vol. 20, p. 282).

It was a fact that on the death of Adhirājendra there were certain internal troubles but we do not think that these troubles were all due to political causes. The causes of such disturbances were partly religious. No doubt Chola kings were votaries of

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Saiva creed but this does not mean that they were inimical to Vaiṣnavism. On the other hand there have been Choḷa rulers who had reverence for Vaiṣnavism. If we confine our attention to the biographies of Rāmānuja like the last chapters of *Divyasuricharitram* and *Yathirajavaibhavam* we have to maintain that one Krimikantha Choḷa was responsible for the persecution of Rāmānuja and his disciples. Whether this Krimikantha Choḷa was Vīrarājendra or Adhirājendra or Kulottuṇga is still a matter for dispute. Works like the *Koilolugu* seem to identify Kulottuṇga I with Krimikanthachoḷa but it is reasonable to identify this king with Adhirājendra. We do not know positively that either Vīrarājendra or Adhirajendra persecuted the Vaiṣnavas though one has to infer from the life of Rāmānuja as narrated in Vaisnava works. It is therefore to some extent possible on the strength of Vaisnava hagiology to say that Adhirājendra was responsible for the persecution, if at all, of Rāmānuja. But one thing is clear viz., that religion added to the confusion of the times but it was not the sole cause for the disturbance.

The real cause of Kulottuṇga coming to the throne seems to be the frequent dynastic inter-marriages between the Choḷa and Eastern Chālukya houses since the days of Rājarāja the Great. We need not enter into the details of these marriage alliances but suffice it to say that as a result of these dynastic alliances Kulottuṇga I had in his veins the blood of the members of the Lunar race (father's side) and of the members of the Solar race (mother's side). As such Kulottuṇga I was better fitted for the Choḷa throne. Besides there does not seem to be strong evidence to indicate that there was a disputed succession to the Choḷa throne. Apparently Adhirājendra was without an issue. This paved the way for the Rāja of Vengi to become the virtual lord of the Choḷa territory. Further if the *Vikramankadeva charita* of Bilhaṇa is to be believed Kulottuṇga had no quarrel with his uncle Vijayaditya VII at Vengi. In this way we have to reconcile the mass of contradictory legends that centre round the accession of Kulottuṇga I. We have no evidence to prove that Adhirājendra's 'mysterious disappearance' or complicity of Kulottuṇga in the rebellion culminated in the murder of Adhirājendra. In our opinion such statements are false. If they be true Kulottuṇga would not have succeeded to the throne in the easy manner he did. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to account for the rebellion in the Choḷa kingdom. Probably as suggested before, religion was to some extent responsible for it.

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AN UNIDENTIFIED EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF KING SIDDHARĀJA OF GUJARAT

BY

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One of the most celebrated rulers of Gujarat was Siddharāja Jayasingha around whom many legends have grown. In the Jaina work called *Kumarapalaprabandha* (KP), is related the following anecdote concerning King Siddharāja's magical powers. Two nymphs or *yoginis* came from the Himālayas, and asked the king what mystic powers he possessed which justified his title of *Siddha* (magic) *Raja* (lord). The king agreed to satisfy their curiosity in the open court; and with the aid of former minister called Haripāla, had a dagger prepared with its blade made of sugar, and its handle set with jewels. When the king appeared in the court to perform the promised wonder, a deputation of ambassadors from King Permadi of Kalyānakataka was announced.

"The deputation entered and presented the prepared dagger as a gift from their lord. The king kept the prepared dagger, and in its stead sent all round the court a real dagger which was greatly admired. After the real dagger had been seen and returned the king said: 'I will use this dagger to show my mystic powers', and in its place taking the false dagger ate its sugar blade. When the blade was eaten, the minister stopped the king, and said: 'Let the *yoginis* eat the handle'. The king agreed and as the *yoginis* failed to eat the handle which was iron the superiority of the king's magic was proved."[1]

Although the above story contains the usual Jaina inconsistencies, yet we may accept its main fact relating to the embassy from a king called Permadi of Kalyāṇakaṭaka. (The inconsistency is this: if the faked dagger with its blade made of sugar was the work of the minister called Haripāla and of the king Siddharāja, it cannot be understood how the strangers from another court—such as the ambassadors from Kalyānakataka essentially were !—could have presented it immediately on their arrival to King Siddharāja !) Our object is to identify, firstly, the king called merely Permadi; secondly, to identify the city called Kalyāṇakataka; and, thirdly, to fix the probable date of the

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, I., P. I. *History of Gujarat*, pp. 173-174.

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embassy from King Permadi. We may note before proceeding further that the above story is not met with in any other source.[2]

Let us see first the chronological limits of the great Siddharāja's reign. He ruled from A.D. 1094 till A.D. 1143.[3] Next we may examine the name Permadi. It is essentially a Dravidian word of the Kannada language. Its correct form is Permmadi (*permme-hemme*-greatness, ascendency ; *madi*=times, folds. Hence *Permmadi*="Greatness—many times"="a great ruler." In Sanskrit it is corrupted into Permmardi. The title *Permmadi* or *Permmanadi*) was borne by many Deccan monarchs. The earliest is the Ganga king Sripurusa, who ruled from A.D. 726 till 801.[4] King Nitimargga I, also of the same royal house, and who ruled from A.D. 900 onwards,[5] also bore the same title. The third Ganga king to bear the same name was Bhutugendra, Nanniga Ganga (A.D. 938-953).[6] These rulers are far too removed in time from that of King Siddharāja.

Rulers who bore that title and who chronologically are nearer to King Siddharāja, were the following :—the Mahāmandaleśvara Udayaditya Ganga Permmadi, who was a provincial governor under the Western Calukya king Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1112-13 ;[7] the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Permadi of the Jimutavāhana lineage and the Khacchara race, who was likewise a provincial governor under the same Western Calukya monarch in the year 1122-23 ;[8] the Mahamaṇḍaleśvara Permadi of the Kalacuriya family, who was also a provincial governor under the Western Calukya monarch Someśvara III, in A. D. 1128 ;[9] the Sinda prince Permadi I, the son of Achugi II, who in 1144, under the Western Calukya monarch Jagadekamalla II, Permma, won great fame for himself and for his royal master;[10] the Kadamba Mahamandalesvara Permmadi, who governed Goa under the Western Calukya king Taila III, in 1163 ;[11] and another Kadamba king called Sivacitta, who ruled from 1147 till 1187.[12]

With none of the above can we identify the Permadi of the

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2. The *Ras Mala* does not mention it. *Ras Mala*, I, pp. 165-173.
3. *Bom. Gaz.*, I., p. I, p. 171.
4. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 50.
5. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 300.
6. Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 284, n (4), 307, (n), 402, 444, n (4).
7. Fleet, *ibid*. p. 452.
8. Fleet, *ibid*. p. 452.
9. Fleet, *ibid*. p. 450.
10. Fleet, *D.K.D.* pp. 458-9, 679.
11. Fleet. *ibid*. p. 460. I presume that the Mahamandalesvara Permmadi was ga overnor under Taila III, but no adequate proof of this fact is forthcoming.
12. Fleet, *ibid*. p. 565.

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Jaina tradition, although Bhagavanlal Indraji maintained that that ruler might be identified either with the Sinda feudatory Permmadi or with the Goa Kadamba King Sivacitta, both of whom were contemporaries of King Siddharaja.[13] Indraji gave no reasons in support of his identification. But we cannot accept either of these identifications. Firstly, little is known of the Kadamba king Sivacitta. Secondly, his position in his own kingdom seems to have been insecure—a fact which explains why he ruled over the Palasige 12,000 and the Kadamba 900 provinces conjointly with his brother Vijayaditya II.[14] As regards the Sinda feudatory Permmadi, there is no doubt that he had an excellent military record to his credit. He had besieged Dorasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas, taken the fortress of Belupura, driven the redoubtable Visnuvardhana himself to the mountain pass of Vahadi[15] and put to flight the Kadamba king Jayakesin II.[16] But all this was done at the command of his royal master the Western Calukya king Vikramaditya VI. This intrepid Sinda feudatory, who was busy with the campaigns in the Hoysala centres, could have hardly had time to send embassies to the distant court of the Gujarat ruler; nor is it possible that he ever dared to associate himself with the city of Kalyana which was the royal abode of his great master.

We have, therefore, to refer the name Permadi to some one else. It applies admirably to the Sinda feudatory's royal master Vikramaditya VI himself, who ruled from A.D. 1076 till 1126.[17]This ruler had the distinctive biruda of *Permmadi.* Now we have to see whether there is any contemporary epigraphic proof to connect him with Gujarat ; and whether he could be connected with a royal city which had the name of Kalyana-kataka. This name is evidently the Jaina variant of Kalyana, the famous capital of the Western Calukya house.[18] Although King Vikramaditya VI was sometimes in other capitals,[19]yet from 1083 till 1122 he was in the royal city of Kalyana.[20]

We may now attempt to connect the history of the Western Calukya house under King Vikramaditya VI with Gujarat. The connection between the Western Calukyas and Gujarat, especially the southern part of the province, had begun about five centuries before the time of Vikramaditya VI. It was in *samvat*

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13. Indraji, *Bom. Gaz.* I., P. I. *op. cit.* p. 173, n. 5.
14. Fleet, *D.K.D.* pp. 569-570.
15. & 16. Fleet, *D.K.D.* pp. 497,579.
17. Rice, *op. cit.* p. 73.
18. Fleet, *D.K.D.* p. 445.
19. Fleet, *ibid.* pp. 449-450. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, P. I., pp. 131-133, where he is said to have been at Pottalakere.
20. *S.I.I.* IX. P. I., pp. 134, 154, 175, 198, 201. In the same year 1122 he was in Dayantipura, *ibid.* p. 203.

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421 (A.D. 671) that Jayasimhavarmma of the early Western Calukya family, had established the Gujarat branch of the Calukya house at Navasārikā.[21] The conquest of Lāta as well as of Gurjjara proper is attributed to the Rāstrakuta monarch Govinda III in A. D. 866.[22] But Lāta remained under the Western Calukyas, for the Western Calukya general Bārappa seized Lāta in 975, and from that time till 1051, it continued to be under his successors.[23] The Western Calukya monarchs always considered the province of Southern Gujarat as a sort of training ground for military fame. In an inscription discovered at Lakkundi, Dharwar district, and dated Saka 929 (A. D. 1007), we are informed that the Western Calukya king Ahavamalla conquered not only Lāta—or as the record graphically puts it, *Latana gantalam murid*, that is, "broke the neck of Lāta"—but subjugated the entire country of Gurjara (*sakala Gurjara vijayam*). The reference here is not to the Western Calukya king Iriva-bedenga Satyasraya (A. D. 997-1009), as maintained by the editors of the Lakkundi record, [24] but to Tailapa II, whose distinctive *biruda* was Ahavamalla. That this conquest of the Gurjara country was not a fiction is proved by the great Kannada poet Ranna, who in his famous poem *Gadayuddha*, informs us that Iriva-bedenga, at the command of his father Tailapa, defeated the elephants of the enemy Gurjjaras.[25] While no doubt the credit of leading the successful campaign goes undoubtedly to the young Iriva-bedenga, that of planning the entire Gujarat campaign certainly goes to King Tailapa II. For our purpose we may note that the political connection between Gujarat and Karnāṭaka was brought closer by the marriage of King Karṇa I of Aṇahilavāḍa (A. D. 1064-1094) with the princess Mayānalladevi, the daughter of the Kadamba king Jayakeśin[26]. The child of this marriage was the celebrated Siddharāja of our study.

But the contact between the two provinces did not end here. In A. D. 1090 a famous Brahman general named Raviga is said to have founded many charities on the banks of the Narmadā, the Ganges, and the Jumna[27]. What is of great importance for our purpose is the close connection between the famous Western

21. Indraji *Bom. Gaz.* I, P. I. p. 56. Fleet, *D. K. D.* p. 364.
22. Fleet, *D.K.D.* pp. 396, 397.
23. Fleet, *D.K.D*, pp. 430, 431.
24. *South Indian Inscriptions*, XI, P. T. *Bombay Karnataka Inscription* No. 52. pp. 39 ff.
25. *Karnata Kavicharite*, II. p. 68.
26. Fleet, *DKD.*, pp. 567—568. This princess isw rongly called Miyanalladevi in Gujarat history. Cf. Indraji, *Hist. of Guj.* in the *Bom. Gaz.*, I, P. I. p. 171.
27. *South Indian Inscriptions.*, *IX*, P. I. p. 140.

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Calukya monarch Vikramāditya VI himself and Gujrat. Between the years 1088 and 1089, this monarch is said to have crossed the Narmadā, and conquered kings on either side of that river[28]. A later record dated 1098 informs us that the same monarch was once more on the banks of the Narmadā[29]. That the object of these expeditions was political expansion, there can be no doubt, since in one of the two records cited above, and dated 1088-89, he is expressly stated to have conquered kings on either side of the Narmadā. As to the generals who were associated with him in these expeditions on the banks of the armadā, we have the interesting information in the stone inscription found at Sītekoḷa in the village of Beḷagame, Tālguṇḍa hobḷi, Shikarpur tāluka, Mysore State, and dated in A. D. 1114, that General Anaṅtapāla shattered the arm of the Gūrjjara in that year[30]. This great general, we may incidentally observe, had been placed over the provinces of Belvoḷa 300, the Puligere 300, and the Banavase 12,000 from A. D. 1100 till 1108. But between these years in 1103-4 he is described as managing (obviously collecting) a special tax called the *pannaya* of the whole of the Seven-and-a-half country. This large province comprised the *Setu-Narmada-madhyam-sarda-sapta-laksam-Daksinapatham*, *i.e.*, the whole country between the Narmada and Rāmeśvaram, excluding the Tamil and the Andhra territories[31]. Although we cannot give entire credence to the exaggerated claims thus put forward on behalf of General Anantapāla in this Eastern Calukya grant of the eleventh century, which gives the boundaries of the seven-and-a-half-lakh country, yet we may concede the fact that, as mentioned above, in 1114, he was somewhere in the province of Lāṭa, or perhaps in Gujarat itself, where he seems to have won a victory over the Gurjaras.

He was not the only general of Emperor Vikramāditya VI, who was associated closely with Gujarat. There was another, and perhaps a more famous, general under the same great monarch, whose prowess is sung in many contemporary records. This was the Ucchangi Pāṇḍya ruler, the Mahamaṇḍaleśvara Tribhuvanamalla Paṇḍyadeva. In 1121-22 this well-known feudatory was placed as governor over the large province of Noḷambavāḍi 32,000[32]. But in the same year (1121) we have a most interesting reference to the celebrated Siddharāja of Gujarat in a record discovered in the village of Anakoṇḍa, Dāvaṇagere tāluka, Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State. This inscription relates that General Pāṇḍyadeva alone could

28. Fleet, *DKD*, p. 452, and n. (2).
29. Fleet, *Ibid*, n. (3).
30. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Sk. 137, pp. 104—105.
31. Fleet, *DKD*, p. 341, and n. (2), 451.
32. Fleet, *Ibid*. p. 452.

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do a number of great things, among which was this—that he could trample on the renowned Gurjjara (*negalda Gurjjaranam tuliyalke Pandya-bhupalane salku*)[33]. The epithet *negalda* (renowned) applied to the king of Gujarat is significant. It is rarely that such an epithet is given to a Gujarat monarch in Kannaḍa records. The reference is obviously to a ruler whose fame had reached far beyond the limits of Gurjara proper. Such a monarch was undoubtedly Siddharāja Jayasingha. We may note that the inscription does not expressly state that General Tribuvanamalla Pāṇḍya actually trampled upon the Gurjara king, but merely says that he was capable of doing this feat (*tuliyalke...salku*). Therefore, under Emperor Vikramaditya VI was a general who seems to have been more than a match at least according to the Kannada people—to the famous Gujarat monarch Siddharaja Jayasinghadeva.

This does not settle our point—whether Emperor Vikramāditya VI ever conquered Gujarat, or even a part of it, before he could think of sending an embassy to the great Siddharāja. Fleet discounted the claims of Vikramāditya VI to Lāta.[34] But two stone inscriptions found in two different places confirm the statement, which is evident from the records already cited above, that Vikramāditya VI did conquer Lāta, while a third one but of a later date, only strengthens this fact. The first is the stone inscription found near the Kallesvara temple. Yarabalu, Harapanahalli tāluka, Bellary district, and dated in the Cālukya-Vikrama era 47 with other details, which corresponds to A.D. 1122, December 7th Thursday. It relates the following among other details: That Tribhuvanamalla Deva (*i.e.*, Vikramaditya VI) himself first conquered the ancient Ganga kingdom of the south, next the Colas also of the south, and then Lata, and next levied tribute from the Pancālas, and, finally, subdued the others[35]. The second is a stone inscription discovered in the travellers' bungalow at Dāvangere itself. It is dated A.D. 1124, and it gives a full account of all the countries conquered by Vikramāditya VI. Among these Lāta figures first, and next Gurjjara.[36] The third record discovered in the Nārāyana temple at Bhārangi, Sohrab tāluka, Mysore State, and dated in about A.D. 1178, relates that the great ruler Vikramāditya VI who is styled Permma, " terrifying and scaring Lata, Gurjjara, Jayaketu, and other kings," brought them under his orders.[37] There seems, therefore, no doubt that Lata

33. *Ep. Car.*, XI. Dg. 3, text, p. 59.
34. Fleet, *D.K.D.* p. 497.
35. *245 of 1918*; *S.I.I.* IX, P. I., n. 205, p. 205.
36. *Ep. Car.*, XI. Dg. 2, p. 23, text, pp. 57-58.
37. *Ep. Car.*, VIII. Sb. 325, p. 56.

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was conquered by Emperor Vikramāditya and that he did cause consternation to the king of Gujarat.

But we have to fix the probable date of the embassy which he sent to the court of the famous Siddharāja Jayasinga. There is nothing in the records which could enable us to fix it with certainty. We have, therefore, to assume the following: We know that Emperor Vikramaditya VI was in his capital of Kalyāna from 1083 till 1122; that in 1114 General Anantapāla had shaken the arm of Gurjjara; and that by 1121-2, the conquest of Lāta was effected. The statement "shattered the arm of Gurjjara" may be interpreted to mean nothing more than crippling the power of the Gurjjara king, obviously in the province of Lāta. We have hence to assume that the embassy sent to the court of King Siddharāja the Great may have been sent only after 1114 and before 1121. This would fit in with the uncommon epithet of *negalda* (renowned) given to the great Siddharāja in 1121 in the record cited above.

A NEW SEVUNA FAMILY*

BY

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In the records pertaining to these seigniors (*Manneyars*), their dynastic name appears as Seguṇa, Sevuṇa and Siguṇa. They claimed a connection with the *Ranamurkha-vamsa*. But there is nothing to indicate who this Raṇamūrkha was. A lineage from the *Adava-vamsa*, which was perhaps the original family name, is attributed to them in the Soraṭūr inscription dated A.D. 869.[1] In other records however (*i.e.*, inscriptions at Mevuṇḍi and Soraṭūr,

*I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab), O. B. E., Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, and Mr. N. Laksminarayan Rao, M.A., Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Ootacamund, for the transcripts of the unpublished Bombay-Karnatak inscriptions. These records have been indicated in the course of this paper by the mark (+). Inscriptions of the Sevuna family have been found in the following places : at Budihal, Dambal Kakkuru, Korlahalli, Mantrawadi, Mevundi, Shiggaon, Soratur and Tambragundi—in the Dharwar district of the Bombay province ; at Bidarkundi, Heggur, Koluru and Lotgeri—in the Bijapur district of the same province; at Hirewadawatti, near Lakshmeshwara, in the Miraj State ; at Hire Hadagalli Kuruvatti, Satturu and Ucchangidrug,—in the Bellary district of the Madras province ; and (an indirect reference in a record) at Sravana Belgola, in the Mysore State.

1. *Ep. Indica*, XIII, pp. 177, 182-3. Cf. Barnett, *ibid*, XV, p. 316 and references to my article 'The early career of Bhillama V' in the *Progs. of the Indian History Congress* (1945), IXth session, p. 102, note 2.

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dated respectively in A.D. 865 and 867-8,[2] and others of a later period) they are represented, like the Devagiri-Sevuṇas, as belonging to the *Yadu-vamsa* or *Yadav-anvaya*. These rulers (*arasas*) were entitled to the Five Great Sounds (*Panca-mahasabda*). Their banner bore the emblem of a golden eagle (*Suvarna-garuda-dhvaja*), their crest, a conch and wheel (*Sankha-cakra-lancchana*) and their hereditary title was 'Supreme lord of Dvārvati, the best of towns' (*Dvaravati-puravar-adhisvara*). Though their original home was Māsiyavāḍi 140, they were for some time also associated with the government of Puṛigere 300 and Kogaḷi 500. An undated record at Ḍambaḷ shows that this Māsiyavāḍi, 140 (also called in other inscriptions as Māsavāḍi, Māsavādinaḍu or Māsavāḍiviṣaya), was situated on the northern bank of the Dakṣiṇa Gaṅgā (Tungabhadra) in the Kuntalaviṣaya.

This Sevuṇa family acknowledged the Rāṣṭrakūṭa authority. An early ruler is found in the person of *Ahavaditya* Kuppeya (Kuppa I), a *Mahasamanta* of Amoghavarṣa I. He was governing Puṛigerenāḍu, from the provincial capital of Meliviḍu. Of his times the following inscriptions have been found—a record at Mantrawāḍi, dated in A.D. 865[3]; another at Mevuṇḍi, also of the same year[4]; another at Shiggāon, which is undated, but assigned to *circa* A.D. 866[5]; another at Soraṭur, dated A.D. 867-8[6]; and another, also at the same place, dated A.D. 869[7]. The ruler is merely called Kuppeya in the first record. But more elaborate titles are given to him in the other records; and among these is the epithet of *Ranamurkha-dhavala*. These records mention, as his subordinates and officials—a certain Raṭṭiyaṇṇa, at Melivīḍu, in A.D. 865; the *Nalgamunda* Maṇalera Gāḍiga, the *Urgamunda* Kargamuṇḍa and Peddama, the administrator of Kallavoḷḷa, in Mūrusaṛa, in *circa* A.D. 866; and the *Gamunda* Viḷikkara Nāgiyamma (of Soraṭur) in A.D. 869. Two more inscriptions may perhaps be attributed to the same ruler; and they are—an inscrip-

2. Bombay Karnatak Collection, No. 70 of 1927-1928 (+).

3. Ins. at the temple of Hanumanta; dated in the Parthiva *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 787 (*Ep. Indica*, VII, pp. 201-2; Panchamukhi, *Karnatak Inscriptions*, I, No. 13 of 1939-1940). This Rattiyanna vowed to commit *Kilgunte* if his master were not cured of a certain disease.

4. Ins. at the temple of Basavanna, dated in the Saka *samvatsara* 787 expired (*Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, I, pt. 1, No. 12, p. 8).

5. Ins. placed in the Mamlatdar's office (Panchamukhi, *op. cit.* No. 14 of 1939-1940). The passage *Karggamundara* (*r* ?) *Kallaman=urga-munda-geyye* has been incorrectly construed here as referring to "Kallama of Karggamundar".

6. Ins. at the temple of Venkatesa; dated in the Sarvajit *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 788 current (*Bombay Karn. Ins.*, I, pt. 1, No. 12, p. 8).

7. Ins. at the temple of Virabhadra; dated in the Virodhin *samvatsara* (*E. I.*, XIII, pp. 182-3).

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tion at Mevuṇḍi, dated A.D. 897; and another, also at the same place, dated irregularly, in A.D. 901-2[8]. Both records belong to the times of Raṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, and they reveal that *Mahasamanta* Kuppadeva (Kuppa I) was then administering the districts of Puṛigere 300, Kogaḷi 500 and Māsiyavāḍi 140, from his provincial capital of Melivīḍu. The first record (in addition to the epithet indicating the Yādava descent) mentions, among his various *birudas*, those of *Ranamurkha-dhavala*, *Ranamurkha-kesari* and *Kadan-aditya*; and the second record gives the titles of *Ranamurkha-dhavala* and *Kaligal-aditya*. Kuppa I therefore ruled from A.D. 865 to 901-2.

Details about the subsequent rulers are not forthcoming during A.D. 902-932. A feudatory of Indra III, named *Mahasamanta* Leṇḍeyarasa, was governing Puṛigere 300 in A.D. 916.[9] The districts of Kogali 500 and Māsiyavādi 140 were held in A.D. 922, by *Mahasamanta* Caḷukya Bijja, a feudatory of Indra III[10]; by Noḷamba Ayyappa, in A.D. 931-2, in the reign of Govinda IV;[11] and by two Cāḷukya *Mahasamantas*, Kaṭyera (Kirtivarma) and Roṭṭayya, in A.D. 944-5 and 956 respectively, in the reign of Kṛṣṇa III[12]. After this the Two Hundreds (i. e. Puṛigere 300 and Beḷvoḷa 300), Kogaḷi 500, and other districts of the Banavase 12,000, were administered by a certain Kannappa. His brother Sobhana succeeded and ruled, as a subordinate of Taila II, in A.D. 982.[13] As Kogali had its hereditary seigniors from *circa* A.D. 900 onwards,[14] it seems likely that about this time Māsiyavāḍi had its own rulers as well.

Soon after his accession Taila II undertook the subjugation of such of those Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories who had not yet submitted completely. There were some, like Silāhāra Aparājita (Aparāditya), who still cherished the memory "of the once flourishing

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8. Ins. at the temple of Venkatesa; dated in the Nala *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 818 (*Bombay Karn. Ins.* I, pt. 1, No. 22, pp. 13-14); also Ins. at the same temple; dated in the Raudri *samvatsara* (*Bombay Karn. Ins.* I, pt. 1, No. 30). In the first record the ruler's name is defaced and the preserved portion has been read, doubtless wrongly, as (Ke)..(ka)jjam. It may be noticed that the ruler is given the title of *Ripu-balajaladhi srikanta-kantam*, showing that he opposed some enemy. In the second record the ruler is stated to be Kuppadeva. Pending definite evidence revealing the existence of an intervening ruler named (Ke)...(ka)jjam, I am inclined to identify this person and Kuppadevarasa (of the second record) with Kuppa I. See also *Bombay Karn. Ins.* I, pt. 1, No. 33, pp. 19-20 for another reference to this Kuppadeva. Kuppeya, Kuppa and Kuppana are identical names (Cf. *E. I.* VIII, p. 213.)

9. *Ind. Antiquary*, XII, p. 224).
10. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, No. 57.
11. *Ibid.* No. 61.
12. *Ibid.* Nos. 64, 66.
13. *E. I.*, IV, pp. 206-7.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, VI, pp. 54-63.

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Raṭṭa rule."[15] Taila II then despatched his son *Yuvaraja* Satyāsraya to chastise this ruler.[16] In an attack, the *Yuvaraja* burnt his capital named Maṇḍalamśunagara and made this Aparāditya a tributary.[17] This achievement enabled Taila II to extend his dominion as far as the western ocean, whereupon he assumed the *biruda* of *Konkana-bhayankara.*[18] Aparāditya obtained, at various stages of this struggle, the aid of other rulers. It is related how he welcomed a ruler named Goma by various acts of kindness, that he made firm the rule of a certain Ayyapadeva, and that he protected Bhillama and another person named Ammaṇuva.[19] Of these rulers the identity of Ayyapadeva and Ammaṇuva is not yet known. But Bhillama of this account was the neighbouring Sevuṇa ruler Bhillama II. In the Baroda Museum plates of Silāhāra Aparājita, dated A.D. 993, it is stated that this ruler's territory extended from the borders of the Laṭadeśa and Bhillamiyadeśa (*i. e.*, Bhillama's or Sevuṇa country) towards Candrapura (modern Chandor in Goa), on the confines of the western ocean.[20] From these references it is plain that Bhillama II was in some distress, in which he obtained protection from Aparājita. It appears very likely that this event was occasioned by his recalcitrant attitude towards Taila II and the consequent effects of an expedition directed against him. As regards the other ruler Goma, he may be identified with Goma (Gomarasa) of the Seguṇa family. In A.D. 1041, according to a record now placed in the Bijapur Museum, a gift of land was made by Boḷḷabbe, a daughter of this Gomarasa, to Candraśekhara Bhaṭāra in order to conduct worship in the temple constructed by her.[21] This Gomarasa, who may be styled as Goma I, was thus on friendly terms with Silāhara Aparājita and may consequently be placed in A.D. 993-1016, which are also the known dates of Aparājita.

From A.D. 1010 Māsiyavāḍi 140 and a portion of it known as the "Five Towns" (*panca bada*), was in the jurisdiction of the

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15. *E. I.*, III, p. 267 ff.
16. Ranna, *Gadayuddha*, I, p. 15.
17. *Ibid.* I, vv. 23-28, pp. 4-5.
18. Cf. *ibid.* II, p. 15.
19. Prince of Wales Museum plates of Mummuniraja; dated A.D. 1049 (*E.I.*, XXV, p. 57); and Kharepatan plates of Anantapaladeva; dated A.D. 1095 (*I. A.*, IX, pp. 33, 34). The relevant verse runs as follows—*Yena=svagatam=agataya vihitam Gomaya-nanavidhim*
ven=aiv= Ayyapadeva-namni chalitam rajyam sthiram karit am,
Bhillammamanam-budha-ksitibhrtam dattam ca yen=abhayam.
tasya sri-birudanka-Ramanrpater=anyat kim=avarnyate
20. Baroda Museum plates (two sets); dated in the Vijaya *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 915 (Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, I*, Nos. 6 and 7, pp. 51, 60 :
a Latadesat-bhuvi Bhillom=iya.desam vidhay avadhim-atra yasya
a adher=atha Candra-purvam vidhrtya pralhuta prabhavah
21. Dated in the Vrsa *samvatsara* Saka *samvatsara*, 963 (Bombay Karnatak Collection, No. 140 of 1933-1934)

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Cāḷukya provincial governors.[22] The names of their Sevuṇa subordinates are mentioned more frequently in this period, but their exact relation, especially of some predecessors of Permaḍi, cannot at present be decided.

Goma I was succeeded by *Mahasamanta* Āytavarmā (Ādityavarmā), for whom a date is furnished by the Heggur inscription in A.D. 1024. Among his titles were *Ranamurkha-vamsodbhava* and *Singana banta*, the latter implying his subservience to Cāḷukya Jayasimha II.[23]

Another Yādava ruler was *Mahasamanta*, *Yyadava-Narayana* (i.e., *Yadava-Narayana*) Nāgavarmā, a feudatory of Jayasiṁha II. In A. D., 1032, according to a record at Bodarkuṇḍi, this Nāgavarmā, in conjunction with Vāvaṇayya Nāyaka, Kāvarāja and Recimayya, made a gift of land, with an oil-mill to the temple of Siva, and a *matha*, constructed by Devappayya's son Isarayya. It is not stated in the record that this Nāgavarmā was of the *Ranamurkha-vamsa*, but his distinctive title *Yyadava-Narayana*, shows that he was a Yādava scion.[24]

The next person in the line was a person named Kuppa (Kuppa II). In A. D. 1044, according to a record at Sattūru, Jagadekamalla Nanni Noḷamba Pallava Permānaḍi, a subordinate of Someśvara I, was ruling the Kogaḷi 500, Kadambaḷige 1,000, Ballakunde 300 and Kaṇiyakallu 300. At this time Sovimayya, the *Urodeya* of Sattiyūru, and Kupparasa, the *Manneya* of Nāsavāḍi 140, made a gift of land, placing it in the charge of Dharmaśiva, son of Devadāsiga. Kuppa II had the titles *Ranamurkha-Rama*, *Yadava-vamsodbhava*, *Srimat Masavadi nura-nalvattara Manneya*.[25]

Mahasamanta Ajja (Ajjarasa, Ajjarabhūpāla) was a subsequent ruler. He served as a subordinate of Akkādevī, an elder sister of Jayasiṁha II. In A. D. 1050, when Akkādevī was ruling the Kisukāḍu 70, Bāgaḍage 70, Toṛagala 60, Māsiyavāḍi 140, and other districts, she made a gift (specified) in the presence of Ajja.

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22 Iriva Nolambadhiraja, in 1010 (*E. I.*, XVI, p. 29); Udayaditya Pallava, in 1018 (*87 of 1904*); the same (Jagadekamalla Nanni Nolamba Pallava Permanadi), in 1030 (*518 of 1914*); Pallava Bommanayya (Brahmadhiraja) in 1040-1043 (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 333, 437). Trailokyamalla Nanni Nolamba Pallava Permanadi, in 1045 (*443-441 of 1914*); Akkadevi, in 1050 and 1054 (*E. I.*, XV, pp. 78-82); *Maha*-mandalesvara Gangarasa, the son of *Mahasamanta* Cavundarsa. in 1082-1083 (*526 of 1914*); Tribhuvanamalla Pandya, in 1128 (*128 of 1913*).

23 Ins. at the temple of Isvara; dated in the Raktaksi *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 946 (*B. K. I.*, Pt. 1. No. 66, p. 57)

24. Ins. at the temple of Isvara; dated in the Angirasa *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 964 (*B. K. I.* I, Pt. I.)

25. Ins. at the temple of Kallesvara; dated in the Tarana *samvatsara*, Saka *samvatsara* 966 (*S. I. I.*, IX, No. 99.)

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This person had many high sounding epithets, of which the following are noteworthy—(1) *aribhupalaram-ajeyo'u-taridu-kolv= Ekangavira*, which shows that he opposed and killed hostile kings, assuming doubtless the title of *Ekangavira;* (2) *urbhiyolu sri Ranamu(rkha?)-dayadya kal-anala*, which indicates that he was a fire of doom to the collateral members of the Raṇamūrkha family (who remain unspecified); (3) *lileya-Jayasinga-nrpana pesaram-kurttira=a. .tipalisikude*, which implies that he, with ease, firmly established the name (reputation) of Jayasiṁha II; (4) *Ranamurkha-Partha*, a veritable Arjuna among the Raṇamūrkhas; (5) *Pannavaleya-koteya dandina gova*, or the protector of the fort Pannāvale (modern Panhāl in the Kolhapur State), where Akkādevi had her camp in A. D. 1050; (6)[26] *vira Laksmi Kanta*, or beloved of the goddess of valour; (7) *Col-Andhra Magadha-Konkana-Malava-Pan ala-Latarum-bhuja-b ladim ka.. kondaldanu Yadu sauryam*, revealing that he came into contact with these rulers (which though somewhat exaggerating, is an amplification of his title in No. 1 above); and (8) *Calukyakula-tilakam arasum enisid Akkadeviyara divya pada-padm-o, ajivi*, which again shows that he was in the service of Akkādevi (who styled herself as a "king.")[27]

Ajja's successor was Mādhava (Macibhupa), a feudatory of Somesvara I. The epithet *Ajjaran-ankara*, or the champion of Ajjara, applied to this Mādhava, reveals that he was connected with Ajja, whose brother or son he may have been. He bore a good many titles—*vijaya Laksmi-kanta*, *Ranamurkha-Partha*, *Droha-manneyara disapatta*, or the disperser of hostile seigniors, and *Ahavadhira*, or a hero in war. These details are found in a record at Tāmbragundi, dated in A. D. 1054, which adds—that his gifts, to the poets, declaimers, dialecticians and orators, were more than Ravisuta, Bali, Sibi and Dadhici; that he was a wish-giving tree to the supplicants, (that he was a bee at the lotus-like feet of Bhava (*Bhava-padambuja-bhrnga*); that he was a fire of wrath, who burnt the wealth and cities of hostile kings; and that he was a Sun in the sky of the Yādava race (*Yadava vams-ambara-bhanu*). An official of his, named Dasimayya, was placed in Tāmbragundi[28]

This Mādhava is to be identified with his namesake figuring

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26. Cf. *E. I.* XV, p. 78. In the Sudi record, of the reign of Somesvara I, and dated in A. D. 1060, *Mineverggade, Dandanayaka* Nagadevayya, is called" a destroyer of the Segunas" (*Segunadhvamsaka*), *ibi* , pp. 88-89. But nothing is known of the Seguna adversary, whom he encountered.

27. Ins. found on the ruined dam across the Tungabhadra, at Korla halli; dated in the (Vikrta *samvatsara ?*), Saka *samvatsara* 972 (*B.K I.* I, pt. 1, no 86, pp 82-84)

28. Ins. at the temple of Isvara; dated in the Jaya *samvatsara*, Saka 976 (*B.K.I.* I, No. 92, p. 88).

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in an undated record, at Ucchangidrug, which describes him thus: *Ballahana Mahasavantam Yadava-vamsad-atam Madhava Rana*.....This doubtless shows that Mādhava was a feudatory of "Ballaha," or the western Cālukya monarch Somesvara I. About this time the Pallava feudatory, at Ucchangi, seems to have rebelled, and Mādhava was sent to attack him. The inscription under review relates that the fort of Ucchangi, which had been vainly besieged by Kāduvetti for twelve long years, was stormed by Mādhava after a gallant fight. This fort appears to have been carried by escalade, for Mādhava is represented as having attacked the stronghold (*koteya bhedisi ...datam koteya...kikkidode*), and plunged into the fight, like a lion amidst a herd of elephants (*matanga-samuhavam subhatara-turag-otkaravam-sa...kesari payvavol oppi haydudu*). Unfortunately the record is too worn out for obtaining a complete account of this encounter, but it seems to indicate that this Mādhava pierced and slew his foes (*ariyam mah ogra-rupadim iridam*), but himself ultimately fell in the fight. The record also appears to refer to the Yādavas as a famous race (*murr-e (i?) reyolam prakhyatar Yadavar*.[29]

In the reign of Calukya Vikramāditya VI, his *Mahasamanta* Yādavā Somadeva, bearing the title of *Dvaravati-pura-var adhisvara*, in conjunction with the 42 *Mahajanas* of the locality, made a gift of 300 *mattars* of land to the god Svayambhu Mulasthāna Kalideva of Koluru, and put it in the charge of some one (name lost). This is related in a record at Koluru, dated A. D. 1082.[30]

The name of another ruler, Mahendra of the Yadu family, is mentioned during the same reign. In A. D. 1091, this Mahen-

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29. Ins. at Ucchangidrug (284 of 1918+)

30. At the temple of Hanumanta; dated in the year Dundubhi (*B.K.C.* no 35 of 1929-1930+). An inscription found at Kandgall, in the temple of Virabhadra, informs that the *Sarvadhikari* of *Mahamandalesvara* Somadevanasa, Pergade Aciyanna, with some one of Kantale (name defaced) and a certain Kesiraja, made a gift of land for the worship of the god Murtesvaradeva. The record is dated in the Calukya Jagadekamalla year 1 (9?) [Yu] va *Samvatsara*, Vaisakha Purnima, Vyatipata. (*B K.C.* no. 36 of 1928-1929+). According to the Madras Government Epigraphist this date, calculated by the *title*, corresponds to A. D. 1155, April 19th, Tuesday *Ep. Rep. for 1928-29, App. E. p. 63*) But this is inadmissible, since this date will take us to the reign of (Nurmudi). Taila III. But the Kandgall record mentions the C. J. year 19, which shows that this record is to be attributed to Jagadekamalla I (1018-1042) or Jagadekalla II (1138-1149). The date probably stands for the 1 (1) th year of the latter, coinciding with the [Prabha] va *samvatsara*, in which case the date of this record, will be A. D. 1147. But, as in the Kangall record this *Mahamandalesvara* is called *Kataka* Somadevarasa, he cannot be identified with Yadava Somadevarasa figuring above.

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dra made a gift of land to the temple of Mulasthānadeva at Hosa-Vadangile.[31]

There is probably a reference to another ruler named Goma in two records, at Handargaḷ and Kandgall, which belong to the reign of Jagadekamalla II. The former record is undated, but the latter belongs to A. D. 1147. These records give the titles of *Gomana-Hermmadi*, or Hermāḍi connected with Goma,[32] and *Gomana-singa*, or a lion to Goma,[33] to the Seuṇa ruler Permāḍi, who will be noticed presently. These titles appear to indicate that Permāḍi had rendered some service to a ruler named Goma, who may be styled as Goma II.

Permāḍi, also known as Permadeva, Permabhūpāla, Hermāḍi and Hemmāḍideva, was the most conspicuous member of this family. He was perhaps the son of Goma II. There are seven inscriptions pertaining to him—a record at Kakkūru, dated in A. D. 1113;[34] another at Loṭgeri, dated A. D. 1121; [35] a third at Dambaḷ, dated[36] A. D. 1126—all of the reign of Vikramāditya VI. Four more inscriptions, of the reign of Jagadekamalla II are—an undated record at Handargaḷ; [37] another, also at the same place and likewise undated;[38] another at Hagariṭige, dated[39] in A. D. 1144; another at Kandgall, dated A. D. 1147[40]. These records mention as his titles and epithets—*Dvaravati-puravaradhisvara; Yadava-vamsodbhava*; *Seguna-Bhima*, or a Bhīma among the Seguṇas: *Janguli-manneya-betekara*, or that he was a hunter (or enemy) of the seigniors belonging to the wild tribes; and *Marttandadevanankakara* or the champion of a certain Mārttaṇḍadeva; all these, with many other titles are mentioned A. D. 1113; He is called *ugra-ripu-Bhima*, in A. D. 1126, in the Dambaḷ record which states, with some exaggeration, that in his court were heard the announcements relating to the ransoms sent by the rulers of Mālava in the form of jewels, of Cāḷika (Coḷikā or

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31. Ins. at the temple of Virabhadra; dated wrongly in the Saka year 772, Prajapati *samvatsara*, in "characters which are very late for the Saka year quoted" says the Madras Government Epigraphist (497 of 1914).

32. See below note 37.

33. See below note 40.

34. At the temple of Maruti: dated in the C. V. year 38, *Vijayasamvatsara* (B. K. C., No. 45 of 1927-1928+)

35. Mutilated ins. on a stone near the tank; dated irregularly in the Plava *samvatsara* (B K. C., No. 41 of 1929-1930+)

36. On the back of the image of the god Maruti, in the same temple; dated in the C. V. year 49, Krodhin *samvatsara* (B. K. C., No. 69 of 1927-1928+).

37. At the temple of Sangamesvara: undated (B. K. C., No. 20 of 1929-30+).

38. *Ibid*, (B K. C., No. 21 of 1929-1930).

39. B. K. C., No. 7 of 1929-30.

40. B. K. C., No. 56 of 1928-1929(+).

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Cola ?) in the form of horses ; and of Pāñcāla in the form of horses. In the undated Handargal record he is called the *Kattidalagu* (a sharpened sword edge ?) (aide-de camp ?) of Jagadekamalla and *Gomana-Hermadi*, or Hermāḍi connected with (or related to) Goma. His titles in A. D. 1147 (in the Kandgall record) are—*Mandalika-sadhaka* ; *Yadava-kumudini-nisakara* ; *Amoghavakya* ; *Sevuna-anvaya-prasuta* ; or one born in the lineage of the Sevuṇas ; *Bhuja-bala-Bhima*; and *Gomana-singa*, (or a lion to Goma as well as other titles). These records enumerate as his subordinates and officials *Gavunda* Kāli and *Pergade* Jogiseṭṭi, at Kakkuru, in A. D. 1113 ; the *Dandanayaks* Desura Bamma Nāyaka, in the neighbourhood of Loṭgeri, in A. D. 1121 ; Ajjimayya Nāyaka, the son of Rebba-rasa, at Dambal, in A. D. 1126 ; *Tantrapala* Toṇḍarasa and his younger brother Barmmarasa, in the neighbourhood of Handargal, and Toṇḍarasa's son Cikka Bammeya, also in the same region, during the reign of Jagadekamalla II ; and a certain *Mahaman-dalesvara, Kataka* Somadeva, his *Sarvadhikari, Pergade* Āciyanna, some one from Kaṇṭale (name lost) and Keśirāja, in the vicinity of Kandgall, in A. D. 1147. Permāḍi is represented in the majority of these records as governing his hereditary district of Māsavāḍi 140, but, according to a record at Hagariṭige, in A. D. 1144 he was ruling the Hagaraṭṭage 300 as well.

This Permaḍi's queen was Acaladevi. The Sravaṇa Belgoḷa record dated A. D. 1181, states that she was "of great good fortune, resplendent with a fame bright like the river Gangā, the moon Kailāsa, a pearl necklace and the autumnal cloud", and that she "acquired celebrity in all the world". She was dear to the heart of that mine of virtues, Hemmāḍideva, the world renowned ruler of Māsavāḍi (*dhareyol rudhiya-Masavadiyarasam Hemmadi-devan gun-akaran a bhupana cittavallabhe*).[41] The assertion regarding this Permāḍi's popularity also finds confirmation in an undated record at Dambaḷ which says : *priyadim cakriya mecce vikramade peppetta rudhiya Masavadiya Permadi*.[42]

The Haḷebīḍ inscription, dated A. D. 1117, includes Māsavāḍi as one of the districts captured by Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana.[43] But a more formidable disturbance appears to have occurred in the

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41. Ins. at the Akkanabasti. (*Ep. Carnatica*, II, Sb. 327 (124), p. 137). The genealogy of Acaladevi is given thus—Vira Ballala II's feudatory, Sivaya Nayaka his wife Candavve ; and their children—Bammadeva Heggade, Baveya Nayaka, Kalavve, Acaladevi (I), who married Permadi, and Sovana. Sovana's wife Bacavve and their son Bammeya Nayaka (I). His wife Docavve and their five children—Bammeya Nayaka (II), Mara, Acaladevi (II), Candavve and Kama. This second Acaladevi was married to the Hoysala Minister-General Candramauli. This record is dated A. D. 1181 and on the basis of this date Acaladevi (I) may be assigned to A. D. 1125.

42. B. K. C. No. 70 of 1927-1928 (+).

43. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213 ; Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 232.

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reign of Jagadekamalla II. In the undated Handargal record mention is made of Permāḍi's success in 108 battles (*nur entu samaradol Jayamam bittarisidam*). But little is known about this claim. Again one of his officers named *Tantrapala Kattidalagu* Toṇḍarasa, is said to have been the foremost in firmly establishing the rule of Hermāḍi (*Mandalika-Narayanam Gomana-Hermmadi-devana sthapana vijaya-rajyakke.....modalenisi*).[44] In another undated record, also at Handargal, Cikka Bammayya, the son of *Tantrapala* Toṇḍayya, is described as having defeated a certain Somayya Toṇḍayya in a fight and "saved the Sevuṇa rājya".[45] From these references it seems evident that the reign of Permāḍi was eclipsed by some local trouble, or invasion, in which he obtained the help of the officers noticed above.

The names of Permāḍi's successors are mentioned in the undated Dambaḷ record. His younger brother Harihara (I); Permāḍi's son Kuppa (III); his sons Harihara (II) and Mallideva.[46] This Kuppa (III) married Remmādevi, and had by her a son named Ballāḷa for whom a date is supplied by the Hīrewaḍawaṭṭi record in the reign of Simhaṇa II[47]. In A. D. 1147, according to the Būdihāḷ record, two officials of this Kuppa (III), the chief of Kalkere *Gavunda* Holli, and his brother Soma, are mentioned in connection with a grant.[48]

A ruler named Goma is seen acknowledging Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa II's authority. He made a gift of 36 *mattars* of land to the north of Haṛuhe, in the Beṇṇeyūru 12, for the service of the god Āhavamalleśvara, placing it in the custody of Lokābharana. Among the various titles assumed by this Goma were *Dvaravati-pura-var-adhisvara; Mandalika-Narayana; Yadava-kula-kumudinnisakara;* and *Sinda-Sigun anvaya-prasuta*. This last mentioned epithet doubtless shows that he was a Sevuṇa scion born to a Sinda princess.[49] As the *muni* Lokābharaṇa is also mentioned in two Hoysaḷa records dated A. D. 1181 and 1195,[50] Goma may also be assigned to the same period. This Sevuṇa ruler may be called Goma (III).

Two princesses of this Sevuṇa family were married to Vīra Ballala II. In A. D. 1179, says a record at Kauḷūru, *Mahamandalesvara* Vīra Ballāḷa II, with his queen *Piriyarasi* Remmādevi, made a grant to the local deity Hariharesvara. The Māsiyavaḍi

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44. B. K. C. No. 20 of 1929-1930 (+).
45. B. K. C. No 21 of 1929-1930.
46. At the temple of Kalamesvara; undated (B. K. C. No. 70 of 1927-1928+)
47. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 506, note 2.
48. At the temple of Isvara; dated in the Prabhava *samvatsara* (B. K. C. No. 53 of 1927-1928).
49. At the temple of Mallikarjunasvami; undated (*S. I. I*, IX, pt. 1, No. 337, p. 357).
50. *Ibid*, Nos. 389-390.

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district, wherein Kauḷūru was situated, is described as Remmā-devī's own native district.[51] She may have been a sister of Kuppa (III). A record at Aḷawanḍi speaks of Vīra Ballaḷa's queen *Piriyarasi, Patta-Mahadevi*, Ketaladevī and her son Billayya. This queen, in A. D. 1203, made an allotment of some dues from the *heijunka* taxes of the Māsavāḍi district to a local god.[52] She was probably also a Sevuṇa princess. In a record at Hire Mud-danūru, dated A. D. 1142, the title of *Patta-Mahadeviyar-anuga* is applied to a certain *Mahamandalesvara* Ka (u?) ppadeva.[53] The reference is evidently to Kuppa (III) and to the queen Ketaladevī. But this meagre information is insufficient to decide their precise relation.

The ruler Ballāḷa, son of Kuppa (III) was married to Laṣksmī-devī (also called Lakmādevī, Lakhumādevī and Lakṣmaladevī) and their sons were Soyideva (Someśvara) and Virūpākṣa. In A. D. 1218, during the reign of the Devagiri-Sevuṇa monarch Simhaṇa II, the *Mahamandalesvara* Ballāḷadeva, his *Piriyarasi* Lakmādevī and their son Somesvara made (different) grants to the gods Ballāḷesvara, Remmeśvara and Keśavadeva of the village of Voḍavaṭṭi, situated in the Māsiyavādi 140 (*visaya*).[54]

THE FALL OF THE VALABHI KINGDOM

BY

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The edict of King Siladitya VII, dated "year 447" (766 A.D.) is the last known inscription of the Maitrakas, and the Valabhi Kingdom cannot be traced any longer. The Devali grant[1] of Govinda III, dated "year 500" of the Valabhī era, shows that Surāṣṭra passed under the Rāṣṭrakuṭa power before 820 A.D. The Maitrakas held their sway over Surāṣṭra at least upto 766 A.D. So the Maitraka power at Valabhī must have been exterminated during the interregnum 766-820 A.D. There is no epigraphic

51. Fleet *op. cit*, pp. 501-2.
52. *Ibid*, p. 502.
53. *Ibid*, p. 457, note 7.
54. At the temple of Somesvara, at Hirewadawatti; dated in the Bahudhanya *samvatsara*, citing that year wrongly as the 19th, instead of the 20th (Fleet, *Ibid*, p. 506, note 2).

1. The contents of this recently discovered grant are published in Bhavanagar Samachar, Vol. V, p. 24.

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source to ascertain who overthrew the Maitraka power and under what circumstances. The fall of the Valabhi kingdom still remains to be the most difficult question to decide. According to the tradition preserved in the Jain Prabandhas[2] the fall of the Valabhi kingdom, which was also followed by the destruction of the City of Valabhi, is attributed to the disastrous invasion of the Mleccha army which destroyed Valabhi and slew Silāditya in war. The Mleccha army was brought to destory Valabhi by a merchant-prince named Ranka (who got infamy destroying the country), simply in order to take revenge on the king, who had offended him by snatching off the golden comb (Kankatika) inlaid with gems, for the sake of his own daughter—even against the reluctance of its owner.

The event of the destruction of Valabhi is differently dated either (1) the year 375 of the Vikrama era or year 845 of the Vira era,[3] or (2) the year 845 of the Vikrama era.[4] The first date which corresponds to 318-19 A.D. is absurd according to the established chronology of the Valabhi kingdom;[5] the second date which is equivalent to 788-89 A.D. may well apply to the probable period of Silāditya's reign, which commenced in c. 760 A.D. The variants in the dates given in the different Prabandhas may be harmonised by assuming that the tradition confused the Vira era with the Vikrama era and then by readjusting the given years to their correct eras. The Vikrama year 845 seems to have been wrongly referred to the Vira era and then the Vira year 845 was equated to the Vikrama year 375, as the epoch of the Vira era falls 470 years earlier than that of the Vikrama era. In fact the event should be dated in the Vikrama year 845, which must be equated to the year 1315 of the Vira era.

The vague references to the Mleccha army and the Mleccha territory give no concrete idea of the invaders' kingdom, since the

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2 Prabandha-Cintamani, Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa, Prabandha-Kosa, and Puratana-Prabandha-Sangraha.

3. पणसदरी वासाइं तिन्निसदाइं अइक्कमेऊण।
विक्कमकालाउ तओ बलही भंगो समुप्पन्नो ॥ [प्र० चिं०; पु० प्र० सं०]
विक्रमादित्य भूपाला त्पञ्चर्षि त्रिक वत्सरे।
जासोऽयं वलभीभङ्गो ज्ञानिनः प्रथमंछदुः ॥ [प्र० को०]
श्री वर्द्धमानसंवत्सरतो वत्सर शताष्टकेऽतिगते।
पञ्चादिकचत्वा रिंशदधिके समजनि वलभ्याः ॥
भङ्गस्तुरुष्कविहित.....[विजयसिंह सूरि प्रबंध, पृ० ७४]

4. तेण य सिन्नेण विक्कमाओ अट्ठहिं सएहिं पणपालेहिं परिसाणं गएहिं वलहिं मंजिऊण सो सदा मारिओ। [वि० सी० क०]

5 The inscriptions of the Valabhi Kingdom are dated "year 183" to "year 447", which correspond to 502 A.D. to 766 A.D.

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term 'Mleccha' denotes barbarians in general and Muslims in particular. The Mleccha lord of the Jaina tradition is identified by Alberuni (1030 A. D.) with the lord of Al-mansura, who is said to have made a naval attack and destroyed Valabhi in compliance with the desire of Ranka. Mansura was the Arab capital in Sindh, which was conquered by Muhammad, the son of Kasim in 711 A. D. The Arab historians record another Arab expedition against the coast of Valabhi, led by Abdul Malik in A. H. 160 (776 A. D.) in the reign of Khalif Al-mahdi (775-785 A. D.)[6]. In the beginning the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, but sickness swept away a great portion of the troops and the rest had to return hurriedly. It made the Khalif deter from any further attempts upon India. Generally this Arab invasion is supposed to be instrumental in the overthrow of Valabhi[7] but the invasion of 776 A. D. cannot be the cause of the Valabhi-Bhanga, which is dated 789 A. D.[8] In A. H. 170 (786 A. D.) Harun Rasid was declared the Khalif; he appointed Salim Yunusi the Governor of Sindh; Salim remained in charge of the Indian province for four years (*i. e.* upto 790 A. D.). As the Valabhi-Bhanga took place during his governorship, the Mleccha lord of Al-mansura should be identified with this Governor of Sindh. It is true that this event is not recorded by the Arab historians except Alberuni who drew his information from the Hindu account, but their silence about this exploit may be due to the disgraceful impulse of the Arab Governor, who destroyed a glorious kingdom simply for the rich bribe received from a moneyed merchant intent on taking personal revenge on his king. Thus the fall of the Valabhi kingdom may be dated 789 A. D. and ascribed to the Arab army of Sindh.

The Jaina tradition also states that when the Valabhi-Bhanga was imminent, the Jainas left the city and emigrated to Modhera and that the Jaina images were shifted to other places of safety. The image of Candraprabha, along with the images of Amba, Ksetrapāla and others shifted to Devapattana or Sivapattana; the image of Vira shifted to Srimāla, that of Adideva (Ṛsabhadeva) to Kāśadrha, that of Pārśvanātha to Hārija and that of Valabhi-nātha to Satrunjaya. Devapattana is the same as modern Somnath Patan on the Southern coast of Kathiawad. At this place there is a temple of Candraprabha even to-day, and the image appears to be of an old age. The temple of Pārsvanātha contains an image of Ambika, which bears an inscription recording that the image belonged to the Caitya of Candraprabha and was repaired at Devapattana in V. 1365. Srimala is the same as Bhillamala represented by modern Bhinmal in Rajputana. There are four Jaina temples in the present town; the town also

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6. Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 444; Vol. II, p. 246.
7. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 94 ff and p. 506.
8. Puratana-Prabandha-Sangraha, p. 83.

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represents the original place of the Srimali Vanias; most of whom are Jainas. Kāśadraha was situated in the Khetaka territory and is represented by modern Kasandra near Ahmedabad. The name Kāśadraha-gaccha signifies that it was a centre of Jainism. There is no image of Ṛṣabhadeva in the present Jaina temple at Kasandra; but there is an old temple of Ṛṣabhadeva in the adjoining village Bhat, which might have been included in the extensive site of the old big town. Hārija is the same as modern Harij in the Mehsana district of the Baroda State. That it was a centre of Jainism is evident from the name Hārija-gaccha. It is reported that some years ago there was an old temple of Pārśvanātha there and that some of the images of the place were shifted to Radhanpura. Satrunjaya is the modern Shetrunjo Hill near Palitana, the most important Jaina Tirtha in Gujrat.

As regards the subsequent history of the Valabhi Kingdom, the Jaina tradition states that the Yavana forces were destroyed by Ranka after the destruction of Valabhi. The epigraphic records of this period imply that the Valabhi Kingdom was divided between the Rāṣṭrakutas of the South and the Pratiharas of the North, and that therein the realm of Surastra was divided between the Cāpas (c. 914 A. D.)[9] and the Capotkatas (c. 734-919 A. D.)[10] in the North, the Cālukyas (c. 800-900 A. D.) in the South and the Saindhavas (c. 734-919 A. D.)[11] in the West while the Eastern part was occupied by the Vālās (c. 800 1260 A. D.)[12] Most probably the Maitrakas of Valabhi are represented by these Vālās, who are named so after 'Valabhi', which corrupted into Vala, through its Prakrit form Valahi. The site of Valabhi, however, seems to have been left deserted for long. Now it is occupied by Vala which is recently renamed Valabhipur.

SATYASRAYA CHALUKYA

(A FRESH ESTIMATE)

BY

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Fleet says: "Taila II was succeeded, in 997 A. D., by his eldest son Satyāśraya II. Of his time we have seven inscriptions (details follow)...The exact termination of his reign is not known. But we may adopt Sir Walter Elliot's opinion that it ended in

9. Nawab, Bharatanan Jaina Tirtho, Fig. 87 and p. 13.
10. Bombay Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 451 and 463.
11. Puratana-Prabandha-Sangraha, p. 83.
12. Bom. Gaz., *Ibid.*, p. 672.

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about 1008—9 A. D." (D. K. D., p. 42-3). Bhandarkar's account of Satyāśraya in his *Early History of the Deccan* (p. 59) is equally bald: "Satyasraya succeeded his father in 997 A. D. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions." Since these two eminent scholars wrote, inscriptions and a study of ancient Kannada literature have not only increased our knowledge about this ruler, but have also raised him in our estimation.

Ranna is one of the greatest poets in ancient Kannada literature. He flourished in the reigns of Tailapa and Satyāśraya. The purpose of his *Gadayuddha*, his *Krtiratna* or 'masterpiece', as he calls it, frankly stated to be the glorification of the prince Satyāśraya. The work, as the name implies, describes the famous episode in the *Mahabharata*, of the fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana. Ranna's work is written on the model of another famous Kannada poet Pampa's *Vikramarjunavijaya*. Pampa compares his patron Arikesari to the Pandava hero Arjuna. Ranna compares his patron Satyāśraya to another Pandava hero Bhīma. When Bhīma's genealogy is to be described in the poem, Ranna describes the genealogy of Satyāśraya. Where the achievements of Bhīma are to be narrated we find the narration of Satyāśraya's achievements. Thus we are told that he defeated the Gūrjara king with his host of elephants. (*Gadayuddha*, I—12). Satyāśraya made a vow that he would kill the enemy (Chola ?) who had killed his brother Dasavarma and then bathe. Consistently with this he killed the enemy and took his bath (ibid., I—19). The Silahāra king Aparāditya, seized with fear, fled and entered the sea. Satyāśraya desisted from slaying him, since it was inconsistent with true valour to kill men who entered water. But he burnt Amsunagara in Aparāditya's country (ibid., I—22). Altogether, as the editor of *Gadayuddha* Mr. M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar, says : "Ranna has spun a magnificent new garment out of the old web of the Indian legend." (ibid. Introd. p. 13).

Mr. Ramanuja Iyengar has fixed the date of this poem to be 982 A. D. on the strength of the colophon verse *Gadayuddha*. This date falls in the reign of Tailappa (973-998 A. D.). Hence the editor says that Gadayuddha contains only the achievements of Satyāśraya as a crown prince. But there are very strong grounds to show that Ranna wrote this poem not when Satyāśraya was crown prince, but when he was king.

(1) First the author explicitly says that King Satyāśraya (*Prthivallabha* Satyāśraya) is the hero of the poem (ibid., I—31). The author in a number of places refers to Satyāśraya as a king by various terms such as 'Sarvabhauma' (I—38), and 'Chakravarti' (I—32). The editor's argument that all these verses were later on introduced after Satyāśraya ascended the throne is not convincing.

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2. Secondly, another name of Ranna's *Gadayuddha* is *Sahasa-Bhima-vijaya*. That Satyāśraya is compared in this poem to Bhīma is well known. But it is not so well known that his foremost adversary Rājarāja Chola is compared to Duryodhana in this poem. In more than one place Duryodhana is called Rājarāja (V. 41, prose after V. 44). Ranna does not do any injustice to Rājarāja Chola by comparing him to Duryodhana. "The whole character of Duryodhana has been cast in an altogether new mould by Ranna. In the original story, Duryodhana appears as a wicked being, who in the fitness of things, reaped the fruits of his wickedness. Here, he is a heroic personage, not unblessed with the gentler virtues of life, but unfortunate according to the inscrutable decrees of destiny." (Gadāyuddha, Introd. p. 13). The fight between the Cholas under Rājarāja and the Chālukyas under Satyāśraya took place from about 1003 A.D. to 1007 A D. In this fight, at first, the Cholas had the advantage, but ultimately they were completely driven out of the Chalukya territory. (E. I., XVI, p. 73). It appears that Ranna was an eye-witness to this epic fight and that he celebrated the victory of his patron by composing this poem. If this surmise is correct, then the date of the poem would be not earlier than 1007-8 A. D.

3. Thirdly, when the date of *Gadayuddha* was first discussed and fixed, it was not known that 'Ahavamalla' was a title of Satyāśraya also. It was thought, that it was a title of Tailapa only. This was one of the reasons why the work was referred to Tailapa's reign. Now we have two records which prove that this title was borne by Satyāśraya also. (B. K. Inscriptions, No. 50).

For all these reasons we have to conclude that the poem was written in Satyāśraya's reign and after his victory over the Cholas. Mr. R. Narasimhachar in his "Lives of Kannada Poets" says that the colophon verse of *Gadayuddha* is incomplete and difficult to interpret. Hence it is difficult to believe that Ranna wrote the colophon verse.

What *Gadayuddha* indirectly hints at, namely the fierce struggle between the Chālukyas and the Cholas and the ultimate victory of the Chālukyas, is fully described by inscriptions. According to the Hottur inscription (E. I. XVI, p. 74), the Cholas "advanced as far as Donur (in the Bijapur District) with an army of 900,000 troops, plundered the whole country, killed women, children, and Brahmins, caught hold of girls and destroyed their caste." The same record proceeds further to say that Satyāśraya 'the slayer of the Tamil' (Tigula-mari), thereupon forced the Chola to turn back, captured his paraphernalia (Vastu-vāhana) and thus conquered the southern quarter.' An inscription (B. K. No. 50) dated 1005 A. D. found at Yalesirur (Dharwar district) says that at the time of the grant recorded there, Satyāśraya was in Sriparvata or Srisailam in the Kurnool district. This may

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have been in connection with the campaign against the Cholas. Another inscription at Cebrolu in the Guntur district (145 of 1897), of a feudatory of Satyāśraya dated Saka 928 (1006 A.D.) makes it clear that he enlisted the help of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi in his war against the Cholas. Sewell comments as follows on this inscription : "The Chola claim of the conquest of the whole Rattapadi is disposed off by this inscription. (Historical Inscriptions of S. India, entry under 1006 A,D.).

An inscription found at Lakkundi throws additional light on Satyāśraya's military ability. It refers to one Attimabbe taking the permission of Satyāśraya for making a grant soon after the king's return from a successful military campaign in Gujarat. (Sakalagūrjaravijayānantara B K. Inscriptions, No. 52). As a crown prince Satyāśraya was sent by his father to wage war against the Gurjaras. The *Gadayuddha*, as has been mentioned before, says that it was on account of his elephants that Satyāśraya was able to defeat the Gurjaras, evidently under their King Mūlaraja. Later on Mūlaraja defeated and killed Bārappa who is supposed to have been a general of Tailapa. (Rāsmāla, pp. 51-2). After he ascended the throne, Satyāśraya appears to have taken vengeance on Mūlaraja's successor, Chāmundarāja. The date of this Gujarat expedition is 1007 A.D., which means that by this time Satyāśraya was entirely free from the fight with the Cholas.

Though Satyāśraya was an orthodox Saiva, he encouraged Jainism in many ways. Ranna speaks highly of this tolerant nature of his patron. (*Gadayuddha,* I-21). He was a strict Saivite. He performed the thread ceremony of his son Vikramanka and gave Muttage village as a gift to one Vishnu Bhatta, his great preceptor, who was well-versed in the three Vedas and was called a second Vasishta. (No. 3 Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur State).

As a crown prince, Satyāśraya defeated the Silaharas and the Gurjaras and extended the borders of the Chālukya kingdom to the sea. (Gadāyudda, I-10-30.) As a king he rescued the infant Chālukya kingdom from utter destruction at the hands of the Cholas. Thus he was a worthy successor to his father Tailapa.

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TWO UNPUBLISHED DATED PĀLA BRONZES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

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PH.D. (*Cantab*).

In course of a visit to the King Edward VII Gallery of the British Museum I accidentally came across two bronze images which bore the following labels :—(1) Bronze figure of five Hindu deities ; Gaṇeśa, Brāhmīr Kumāra, Vaiṣṇava and Kuvera. Dedicated in the 48th year of Mahīpāla, king of Bengal ; (1040 A.D.). Pāla, 11th century. Bought 1881. (2) Bronze group of three Hindu deities ; Balarāma, Lakshmī and Vāsudeva. Dedicated in the 48th year of Mahīpāla, king of Bengal ; (1040 A.D.). Bought 1881. On my return to Cambridge I consulted the relevant literature and it appeared to me that these two bronze images as well as the inscriptions engraved on them had not yet been published. To be more sure of my surmise I wrote a letter to Mr. Basil Gray, the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum and he replied, "The two inscribed Pāla bronze groups at present exhibited in the King Edward VII Gallery here were purchased by the Museum, with two others, from J. C. Lincke in October, 1881. He had earlier in the same year exhibited them at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and described their finding by himself in a mound at Imadpur, Muzaffarpur District. See Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881, p. 98 : the date is given as 48th year of Mahīpāla. So far as I know these bronzes have not been subsequently published, though the find is mentioned by R. D. Banerji in his Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture (1933), p. 133. I think they have always been exhibited in the public galleries of the Museum and certainly during my time have been clearly labelled with their provenance. The inscriptions are on the back of the two larger images[1]."

We find the first mention of them in a note published by Lincke[2]. In it he gives an account of the excavation of a mound called Jowhri Di near the village of Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district in Bihar. Here it is remarked, "Two brass figures of Vishṇu and Gaṇeśa were also sent to be exhibited. They had

1. I am highly indebted to Mr. Gray for kindly furnishing me with photographs of these two images and also impressions of these two inscriptions.
2. Proc. Asiat. Soc., Bengal, 1881, p. 98.

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been obtained by Mr. Lincke from a villager, who said he had dug them up in a field near the mound. The figures bear, at the foot, short inscriptions, the forms of the letters of which show that they are comparatively modern. The inscription on the figure of Krishna reads হরি নিবে দে ধর্ম্ম abbreviated for হরি নিবেদন দেয় ধর্ম্ম *i.e.*, a religious gift dedicated to Hari"[3]. As will be evident from later remarks in this article, the above remarks are rather not only very superficial but also, to some extent, incorrect. In a paper entitled "The Pālas of Bengal" Hoernle has referred to these two inscriptions. He has observed, "As to Mahīpāla, he is reported in Tārānāth's History to have reigned 52 years—a statement which is borne out by two inscriptions found by Mr. J. C. Lincke at Imadpur (in the Muzaffarpur district) and dated in the 48th year of his reign."[4] In a foot-note to this statement he has again observed, "See Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Proceedings for 1881, p. 98. The inscriptions which are identical are engraved below two groups of bronze figures, and the date runs as follows :— *Sriman Mahipaladevarajasa samatt 48 jeshta dina sukala paksha 2*;"[5] but it will be evident from the later remarks in this article that the reading proposed by Hoernle is not correct and is also incomplete.

Regarding this record Banerji has remarked, "The fourth record was found on an image of brass discovered at Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, which was dedicated in the 48th year of his reign, but which, unfortunately, can no longer be traced."[6] He has further remarked, "Art revived as a result of the material prosperity of the people of Gauḍa, which we can see in the images discovered at Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur District of Tirhut or Northern Bihar. These images were dedicated in the 48th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I and cannot be traced at present. Probably they form a part of some private collection outside India. Crude lithographs were published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but even from these reproductions we can judge that art, so far as metal casting was concerned, had revived to the same degree as stone carving."[7] He has further remarked, "With the reign of Mahīpāla we reach surer ground. The drawings of the Imadpur images are extremely useful. We find from them that there is a renaissance in metal casting exactly similar to that in sculpture, but here the absence of metal specimens prevents us from finding out whether the renaissance began with the revival of the political power of the Pālas or not."[8] In the above statements Banerji opined that

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3. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1881, p. 98.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 165, 1885.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 165, foot-note 17, 1885.
6. Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, p. 37, 1933.
7. Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, p. 133, 1933.
8. *Ibid*, p. 138, 1933.

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crude lithographs of these images were published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881, p. 98; but I could not find them in the copy of the said journal. So I think that Banerji's statement is not correct.

Regarding these two images Roy has observed, "Imadpur image inscription.—In the course of excavations of a mound called Jowhri Di, near the village of Imadpur in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar, two groups of inscribed brass figures were dug out. The inscriptions, which were identical, ran as follows : Srīman Mahīpāladeva-rājasa Samatt 48 jeṣṭa dina sukala paksa 2"[9] In a foot-note to this remark he has further observed, "These inscriptions have not yet been edited. They are noticed by Hoernle in fn. 17 of his article on the Pālas of Bengal in IA, 1885, vol. XIV p. 165. The excavations are noticed in a small article in RASB, 1881, vol. L, p. 98"[10].

Let us now describe these two images one by one.

The measurement of the first image is 10¾ in. in length. 11½ in. in width and 3½ in. in breadth. It weighs 4248-95 grammes. It is in a splendid state of preservation except the upper portion of the haloes of the head of Balarāma and Lakṣmī. There are two remarkable groups of decorative animal figures on the right as well as on the left. This design consists in a floral cord held by an unidentifiable animal (possibly bird), the head of an elephant, the protruding figure of a horse and the front portion of another unidentifiable figure, starting from the uppermost part. Starting from the left to the right we find the figure of Balarāma with the canopy of the hooded snake and with four hands. It holds in its upper right hand *sankha*, lower right-hand *musala*, upper left hand *cakra* and lower left hand, *hala*. The middle figure is that of two-handed Lakṣmī holding possibly a lotus in the right and possibly a mirror in the left. The third figure is that of four-handed Vasudeva. In its upper right hand is *padma*, in lower right hand *gada*, in upper left hand *sankha* and in lower left hand *cakra*.

Below the pedestal on the extreme left is the figure of a kneeling man with folded hands.

Behind the sculpture there is an inscription written from the extreme end of the left side to the extreme end of the right side which runs as follows :— Srīman Mahipāla deva rāja samaṭta 48 jeṣṭha dine sukala paksa 2, laoo...oo.....deyadharmo.

It bears the museum No. $\frac{81}{\frac{10-10}{1}}$ (Figs. 1 and 2).

The measurement of the second image is 9¾ in. in length, 4½

9. Dynastic History of Northern India, vol. I, p. 314, 1931.
10. Dynastic History of Northern India, vol. I, p. 314, foot-note 2, 1931.

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in. in width and 2 in. in breadth. It weighs 1094-95 grammes. It is in a splendid state of preservation. It represents a group of five seated images. All the images have halo behind their heads. From left to right we find the seated figure of four-handed Ganeśa. It holds in the upper right hand some unidentifiable object, lower right hand *modaka*, upper left hand *parasu* and lower left hand unidentifiable object. The right foot is rested on the *vahana*, *musika*. Then we find the seated figure of Brāhmi with two hands; she holds something in her right hand and a small child-like figure is seated on the left lap. Her right leg rests on the swan which is her *vahana*. The third figure is that of Kumārī. It is a two-handed figure holding something in the right hand and also some other thing in the left hand. Her right foot rests on the head of the peacock which is her *vahana*. The fourth figure is that of Vaiṣnavī having four hands. She holds in the upper right hand *gada*, lower right hand *padma*, upper left hand *cakra* and lower left hand *saṅkha*. Her right foot rests on *garuda*, the *vahana* of Viṣnu. The fifth figure is Kuvera having two hands holding in the right hand some unidentifiable thing and in the left hand, the purse of wealth.

Below the pedestal on the right side we find three pitchers (*kumbha*) and some other thing to their right.

Below the pedestal on the left side we find the representation of a kneeling figure with folded hands.

Behind the sculpture there is the inscription which stretches from one end to the other and which runs as follows :—2 Śrīman Mahipāladevarāja samatta 48 jeṣṭha dine sukala paksa 2. laoo... oo.....deya.

It bears the museum No. $\frac{81}{\frac{10—10}{2}}$ (Figs. 3 and 4).

So far as these two images are concerned, their date is to be considered here. According to the opinion of Roy whose view may be considered as the most acceptable one of the 48th regnal year of Mahīpāla (I) is to be ascribed to c. 1026 A.D.[11] So there is possibly no doubt that these two bronzes are to be ascribed to c. 11th century A. D.

11. Dynastic History of Northern India, vol. I, p. 280, 1931.

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SIHADEVA, A FORGOTTEN KING OF NEPAL

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An illustrated manuscript of the *Pancharaksha*, recently acquired by the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University, has proved to be of immense value for the history and chronology of Nepal. The manuscript consists of 60 folios and the text, written in Newari, deals with the worship of the five goddesses of the *Pancharaksha mandala*. There are ten illuminations in the manuscript including two on the two wooden covers, and these represent, besides the five goddesses, five other principal divinities of the Buddhist pantheon. The manuscript was copied in (Nepal) Samvat 225 (1104 A. D.), expressed both in words and letter numerals, by Jinendrabuddhi, a monk residing in the Kīrttipūṇya Mahāvihāra, during the victorious reign of *Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Paramabhattaraka Paramasaugata* Sīhadeva. The imperial titles of the ruler, as above, clearly indicate his full paramount position. Strangely, however, none of the *Vamsavalis* or chronicles, on which the history and chronology of the kings of Nepal are mainly based, mentions Sīhadeva as a reigning sovereign.

The name, Sīhadeva, however, was not quite unknown to the chroniclers. Bendall refers to a *Vamsavali*, which mentions a certain Sīhadeva, who was the father of at least three kings, namely, Mahendradeva, Ānandadeva and Amṛitadeva, who ruled Nepal in the 12th century A. D. But neither any *Vamsavali*, nor any manuscript colophon, hitherto known, has any mention of a reigning king of the name of Sīhadeva. It is hence that the name of Sīhadeva in Bendall's *Vamsavali* has been differently accounted for, and in the history of Nepal, written up till now, it has been omitted from the list of Nepal kings.

Bendall's *Vamsavali*, on one occasion, mentions Sīhadeva as *Paramesvara*, a title commonly used with reference to reigning sovereigns, and this may lead to the presumption that he did actually reign. Because of the silence of the chronicles regarding the rule of Sīhadeva Bendall thinks that the name of Sīhadeva, father of Mahendradeva, is "apparently an error" for Sivadeva, a king whose known dates range from N. S. 239 to 243 (1118 to 1143 A. D.). In 239 during the reign of this king Mahendradeva is mentioned as the heir-apparent (*jauraja*, i.e., *yuvaraja*), and this, coupled with the omission of the name of Sīhadeva from the list of reigning kings of Nepal, has no doubt led Bendall to

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regard Sīhadeva of the *Vamsavali* text as a mistake for Sīvadeva. In the second instance, *i.e.*, where Sīhadeva appears as the father of Ānandadeva, Bendall thinks that Sīhadeva possibly stands for Narasimha or Narendra, whose known dates are N S. 254 and 261 (1134 and 1141 A. D.). It will thus be found that Bendall on two occasions explains one particular name in two different ways, and thus possibly his ingenuity is exhausted and he has no comment to offer when the name of Sīhadeva occurs for the third time as the father of Amritadeva.

In the *Vamsavali* the name of Sīhadeva appears thrice, clearly and unequivocally, in connection with his sons. It is difficult hence to explain thename as a scribe's mistake or as a substitute for another name. Mahendradeva, Ānandadeva and Amṛitadeva, sons of Sīhadeva, according to the *Vamsavali*, were born in N. S. 199, 219 and 233 (1079, 1099 and 1113 A. D.), and there is no inherent impossibility hence to regard them as sons of the same father. The names of Sivadeva and Sīhadeva appear at least in one instance in one page closely following each other and it is difficult to believe in a scribe's mistake when the two names have been clearly and unequivocally distinguished in the text. The name of Narendradeva also appears in the text in sharp distinction to that of Sīhadeva, and it would be rather a stretch of imagination to identify the two, particularly when we know that king Narendradeva has never been known as Narasimha in that particular chronicle. Bendall's chronicle is clear and unequivocal with regard to the father of kings Mahendradeva, Ānandadeva and Amṛitadeva, and he is Sihadeva, who is certainly to be taken as a person quite distinct from Sivadeva and Narendradeva.

There are numerous instances when we find the chronicles omitting from the list the names of kings who are definitely known to have reigned and such a mere omission need not be any ground hence to explain away the reference to Sīhadeva by mere inferences. As already observed, the use of the title of *Paramesvara* with the name of Sīhadeva raises the presumption that he did actually reign and this presumption is now known to be an indubitable fact on the basis of the statement in the colophon of the manuscript, recently acquired, in which Sihadeva is mentioned as reigning in full regalia in N. S. 225, *i.e.*, 1104 A. D. This date is completely in agreement with the dates of his sons as known from the *Vamsavali* and manuscript colophons. The respective dates of their births have been given above. The eldest Mahendradeva is known to have reigned in N. S. 249 (1129 A. D.), the second, Ānandadeva between N. S. 267 and 288 (1147 and 1168 A. D.) and the third, Amṛitadeva in N. S. 296 (A. D. 1176).

The circumstances through which Sīhadeva came to the throne are obscure and his parentage too is not known. The history of Nepal during the closing years of the 11th century

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A. D. is, to some extent, vague. With the rather scanty data at our disposal it appears that the kingdom was in turmoil on account of internal feuds between two princely families, namely, the Thākuris of Nayakot and the Thākuris of Patan. The Nayakot Thākuris established their hegemony in Nepal, in all probability, under Bhāskaradeva, whose earliest known date is N. S. 164 (1044 A. D.). His family continued to rule Nepal till the time of Saṅkaradeva whose last known date is N. S. 198 (1077 A. D.). In N. S. 200 (1080 A D.) we have a king of the name of Vāmadeva, a scion of the Thākuri family of Patan, who, according to the evidence of the available chronicles, drove away the Thākuris of Nayakot and captured the sovereign power in Nepal. Vāmadeva closely follows Saṅkaradeva of the Nayakot line in date and it is not impossible that he dispossessed the latter of the sovereignty of Nepal. But Vāmadeva could not long enjoy the fruits of his success. In the chronicles he is given a short reign of 2 or 3 years. A king of the name of Harshadeva is known to have been his successor and his reign probably came to an end in N. S. 219 (1098 A. D.). The next known date, before the acquisition of the present manuscript, was N. S. 239 (1118 A. D.) in the *Vamsavali* of Bendall when the reigning king was Sivadeva, a son of Saṅkaradeva, presumably the last king of the Thākuri family of Nayakot before the usurpation of power by the Thākuris of Patan. On that date Mahendradeva, son of Sīhadeva, was the heir-apparent. The Thākuris of Nayakot are thus found to have regained their power before N. S. 239 *i.e.* 1118 A. D.

From the available evidence it appears that the short regime of the Patan Thākuri family did not pass undisturbed and the princes of the Nayakot family were evidently trying to restore their lost supremacy. Vāmadeva, the founder of the supremacy of the Patan family, had a short reign, which must have come to an end by N. S. 203 (1083 A. D., if we take the year 200 to be the first year of his reign). A manuscript of the *Sishyalekha Dharmakavya*, now in the Cambridge Library refers to a date, N. S. 204 (1084 A. D.), but does not mention the name of the king. This omission is perhaps not without some significance and it is probable that after the short reign of Vāmadeva the fortunes of the Patan Thākuris were put to a serious test presumably on account of the strenuous efforts of the Thākuris of Nayakot to recover their power. The accession of Harshadeva (known dates —N. S. 210, 213, 217, 219 corresponding to 1090, 1093, 1097, 1099 A.D.) saved the situation for some time. But the end of the hegemony of Patan family was not long to come.

Between N. S. 219, the last year of Harshadeva, and N. S. 239, the earliest known date of Sivadeva, there is an interval of 20 years during which period the recovery of power by the Nayakot family must have taken place. The conditions and circumstances leading to this restoration of power by the Nayakot Thākuris are, however, not known. It is held that the revival

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of the Nayakot Thākuris was made possible by the invasion of Nanyadeva, the Karnāṭaka king of Tirhut, which put an end to the power of the Patan family. This is not beyond the range of impossibility.

In N. S. 239 (1118 A. D.) during the reign of Sivadeva we find Mahendradeva, son of Sīhadeva, as the heir-apparent. This may indicate a close relationship existing between Sīhadeva and Sivadeva. The suggestion that they were two brothers may not appear to be quite unreasonable. Sivadeva was a son of Saṅkaradeva and was born in N. S. 177 (1056 A. D.), and if the above suggestion is accepted Sīhadeva might have been an elder brother of Sivadeva. It is possible that as an elder son of the dispossessed monarch Saṅkaradeva the recovery of the lost patrimony naturally devolved upon Sīhadeva and that it was he who regained the hegemony of the Thākuris of Nayakot from the hands of the usurpers. He had, however, a short reign and Sivadeva, his brother succeeded him. None of the *Vamsavalis* refers to any son of Sivadeva, and during his reign Mahendradeva, son of Sīhadeva, continued in the office of the heir-apparent. The succession of Sivadeva after Sīhadeva, in preference to the latter's son, might have been necessitated by reasons of policy in the interest of the newly regained power. The matter appears to

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References:

1. A note on these illuminations by my pupil, Sri Monotosh Mookerjee, is being published in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta.

2. *Maharajadhiraja-Paramesvara-Paramabhattaraka-Paramasaugata Srimachchhri Sihadeva-pravardhamanavijayarajye. Panchavimsadhika-dvisata samvatsare abhilikhyamana yatrankenapi 200, 20, 5. Asadhakrishnachaturdasyamangaradine. Srimachchhri-Kirttipunyamahavihare dhivasina Jinendrabuddhina likhitevam. . . . .*

Foll. 59b-60a.

3. Bendall, Historical Introduction to *A Catalogue of Palm leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.* p. 23, fn. 3, 4, 5.

4. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 23, fn. 3, Cf. Pl. at the end of the *Catalogue*, fig. 9, line 3.

5. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 23, fn. 3.
6. Do. do. p. 7; Cf. Pl. fig. 4, line 2.
7. Do. do. p. 23, fn. 4.
8. Do. do. p. 23, fn. 5.
9. Do. do. p. 23, fn. 3, 4, 5.
10. Sastri, *Catalogue*, Pl. at end, fig. 9, lines 1 & 3.
11. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
12. Do. do. p. 23.
13. Do. do. p. 23.
14. Sastri, *Catalogue*, II, p. 9.
15. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
16. Do. do. p. 22.
17. Do. do. pp. 6, 22.
18. Do. do. p. 23, fn. 2.

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have been amicably settled and Mahendradeva ascended the throne of his father after the death of Sivadeva.

BASIC INDUSTRIES IN NORTHERN INDIA ON THE EVE OF TURKO-AFGHAN CONQUESTS

BY

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On the analogy of European history it was presumed that the period between the eighth and the twelfth century was a dark age in India. Valuable researches into the dynastic history of the North and the South have filled up the blank in the political history of India left by earlier historians of India from the death of Harshavardhan to the invasion of Muhammad ibn Sām. But mere details of the wars and conquests of the rival princes ruling simultaneously in the different parts of the country cannot dispel the idea of the general backwardness of India during the aforesaid period. It is presumed that India was mainly an agricultural country with a feudal type of socio-political organisation. This idea, however, is proved to be erroneous when we make a close study of the technical literature produced during the age. Two outstanding works on such technical literature are Bhoja's Yuktikalpataru and Vagbhata's Rasaratnasamuchchaya. The former was written in the 10th century and the latter is believed to be a compilation of the 13th century. Like Vatsāyana's Kāmasutra and Kauṭilya's Arthaśastra, these two are a compendium of the knowledge gathered by previous writers in the field of the technique of production of industrial goods. They reveal a surprising state of manifold activities in the production of producer's goods. These works also supply valuable data on the production of consumer's goods. The techni-

19. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, pp. 31-32.

20. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 22; for the date 217 see Sastri, *Catalogue*. II, p. 113.

21. The curious way in which Bendall's *Vamsavali* refers to the date 219 as falling in the 14th year of Harshadeva with the significant word *parivarttamanam* may probably have some reference to the changing fortunes of Harshadeva.

22. Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

23. Do. do. p. 23, fn. 2.

24. A MS. of *Kalyanakamadhenuvivaranam* in the Durbar Library, Nepal (Sastri, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 37-38) has the date 224 (1103 A. D.); but no mention of the name of the king. If this omission has some significance Sihadeva had not yet begun to reign. He was probably alive in 233 (1113 A. D.) when Amritadeva, his third son, was born, but probably not much after that.

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cal processes described by these works could not have been possibly undertaken by small-scale farms. Minute subdivision of labour is presupposed in the production of many of those commodities, especially of the metallurgical goods. Many men must have been required to work under a common management, if not, under the same roof. We cannot, however, expect production in middle ages on a scale similar to that prevailing to-day because of the lack of power resources. Still the production of many goods by the complex roundabout processes, described in these works, must evoke both admiration and astonishment, when we remember that it was not before the middle of the 18th century that England showed the way in the production of machine-made goods to the West.

(*a*) Metallic :

Iron came to be used on a pretty large scale, and for a greater variety of purposes. Utbi in his Tarikh i-Yamini[1] informs us that on both sides of the city of Mathurā "there were a thousand houses, to which ideal temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron". But Indian blacksmiths did not manufacture pegs and rivets only. They are known to have produced beams also. About 239 beams ranging up to 17ft. long and up to 6" by 4" or 5 by 6 inches section have been counted in the Gunduchabari at Puri. This Puri temple was built c. A. D. 1174. Graves[2] gives a detailed record of those beams :—95 beams at lintels of doors, and 114 below the temple. He has also measured the length, breadth and height of the beams at the lintels of doors in outer compound wall, inner and outer doors of the temple, and pillar plates. Iron beams are to be seen in the Bhuvaneswar temple which was constructed in th 7th century A.D. and also in the Konarka temple.[3] In the Konarka temple Stirling[4] in 1824 counted 9 beams and Graves 29 beams. Dr. R. L. Mitra noted that the length of beams 21 ft. with average cross-section 8 inches by 10 inches. But Graves found the largest beam being 35ft. long and 7 to 7½ inches square weighing 6000 lbs .

It may be mentioned in this connection that even to-day when India has made considerable progress in metallurgical skill, large beams are not being produced in sufficient quantity to meet even the most urgent needs of the government and educational institutions. The finds of these beams are not the only evidence of acquaintance of the North Indians with iron and steel, but literary works like Rasendrasārasamgraha, a Tantric work of the 13th or 14th century, the Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja, the Rasaratnasamuchchaya refer to the varieties of iron. The Rasen-

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1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, p. 44.
2. Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute, 1912 Vol. LXXXV No. 1, pp. 200-202.
3. Konarka—the black pagoda of Orissa.
4. Asiatic Researches, XV, p. 330.

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drasārasamgraha quotes a passage from the Yuktikalpataru. Bhoj relates relative qualities of iron. Crouncha iron is twice better than Sāmanya iron, Kalinga iron 8 times better than Crouncha iron, Bhadra iron hundred times better than Kalinga iron, Bajra iron one thousand times better than Bhadra, Pāndi iron again hundred times better than Bajra, Niranga iron ten times better than Pāndi and Kāntha iron million times better than Niranga iron." These gradations of iron distinctly refer to the pig, cast and wrought iron. But the author of the Rasaratnasamuchchaya is more precise in describing the characteristics of each quality of iron. Munda[5] or cast iron has been classified thus: Mrdu or easily malleable but unbreakable and glossy, Kuntha[6] which expands very little after hammering, and Kadāra[7] which is breakable. Tīksna or steel has been classified into six varieties— Khara, Sāra, Hrinnāla, Tarabhatta, Vājira, and Kālalauha. Kanta[8] has also different varieties : Bhrāmaka or iron which moves all other iron, Chumbaka and Karṣaka *i.e.* magnetic iron, Drāvaka or iron which at once melts, Romakāntā *i.e.* iron which when broken shoots forth hair-like filaments. So these characteristics of iron and steel significantly point out that the manufacture of iron reached a high stage of development and the workers were acquainted with the science of metallurgy. Sir P. C. Ray[9] brought in several evidences from Sanskrit books regarding the process of killing iron. The Kashmir Manuscript of Vrinda prescribes that iron is to be lighted first and then "macerated in the juice of the emblic myrobalan and trewia nudiflora and exposed to the sun, and again to be macerated in the juice of certain other plants and then to be rubbed in a mortar[9a]" Cakrapāni of the 11th century A. D. prescribes a better method. After the bar of iron is rubbed with impalpable powder, as described by Vrinda, and then heated to fusion point and plunged into the decoction of the myrobalans and roasted repeatedly in a crucible. The Rasaratnasamuchchaya[10] informs us that if a piece of iron is rubbed with cinnabar weighing one-twentieth of the weight of that iron, lemon juice and sour gruel, and roasted in a covered crucible forty times, Kāntam, Tīkṣnam and Mundam are killed. Tikṣna iron can also be powdered if it is repeatedly heated and plunged into water.[11] The medieval blacksmiths were so expert in melting iron, that fine powdered iron could pass through linen.[12]

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5. Rasaratnasamuchchaya, Bk. V, Slokas 71-72.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid*, Sl.84-89.
9. History of Hindu Chemistry.
9a. *Ibid.* pp. 59-60.
10. Rasaratnasamuchchaya Bk. V, Sl. 113-14.
11. *Ibid.* Sl. 107-08.
12. *Ibid.* Sl. 134-37.

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Crucibles, swords and water-vessels were manufactured from iron. The making of the Jāranāya Yantram has been mentioned in the Rasārnava[13] and Rasaratnasamuchchaya.[14] Iron crucibles were twelve digits long. Regarding the ingredients for crucibles, Vagbhata[15] recommends: "Earth which is heavy and of a pale colour, sugar or earth from an ant-hill or earth which has been mixed with the burnt husks of paddy, fibres of hemp plant, charcoal and horse-dung pounded in an iron mortar and also rust of iron, are to be recommended for crucible-making." The Edilpur plate[16] of Keśavasena mentions "water-vessels of iron."

Weapons of war such as arrow-heads, spear-heads and swords have been mentioned by a host of medieval Muslim historians. Manufacture of swords is an old industry of India. Utbi[17] says that the soldiers of Brahmanpal, the son of Andpal used white swords, blue spears and yellow coats of mail. White swords evidently mean that the best steel[18] was used in the manufacture of sword, which when swung appeared to be only a flash of light, a radiant whiteness. Nizami in his Taj-ul Ma-nasir[19] has given a more vivid picture of Indian swords used by the soldiers of Gwalior. "That sword was coloured of caerulean blue, which from its blazing lustre resembled a hundred thousand Venuses and Pleiades, and it was a well tempered horse-shoe of fire, which with its wound exhibited the peculiarity of lightning and thunder; and in the perfect weapon the extreme of sharpness lay hid, like (poison in) the fangs of a serpent, and (the water of the blade) looked like ants creeping on the surface of a diamond." This is not a mere poetic hyperbole. The elaborate description of the processes of manufacturing arms and weapons found in Sanskrit technical literature, proves the truth of the statement made by Nizami. It is a well-known fact that industrial skill is developed and perfected by the localisation of industries. Certain localities specialised only in the making of swords. Thus Yuktikalpataru[20] states that Benares, Magadha, Nepal, Saurastra and Kalinga had a reputation for producing swords. According to Sārangadhara[21] who flourished in the 13th or 14th century, Khati-Khattara, Rishi, Vanga, Surpāraka, Videha, Madhyamagrāma, Vedidesha, Sahagrāma, and Kālinjar were the centres for manufacture of swords. The best swords were of Benares, Saurastra, Rishika and Anga and the

13. Rasarnava, Bk. IV. 7.
14. Rasaratnasamuchchaya, Bk. X, 5-6.
15. IB 128.
16. Agni P. 245, 21.
17. Elliot and Dowson II, p. 33.
18. Yuktikalpataru, Sl. 24.
19. Elliot and Dowson II, p. 227.
20. Yuktikalpataru, p. 170, sl. 24-29 (Cal. Ed.) 1917.
21. Sarangadharapaddhati (Ed. Peterson 1888) sl. 4672-4679.

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swords of Kalinjar could stand the test of time. A comparative study of the works of different periods show that some localities developed their skill in course of time, while others fell into decay. Thus according to the Yuktikalpataru,[22] the swords of Anga were light, dirty and blunt-edged, but in course of next three hundred years *i.e.*, by the 13th century when Sārangadhara[23] is supposed to have written his work, the Anga swords became famous for their sharpness, strength and excellent handle. The decadence of Magadha in the medieval age is well known and a reference to the bad type of swords produced here, by Bhoja[24] in the 10th century illustrates the decay of an once famous industrial city. Bhoja in the chapter on Khaḍgapariksha dealt on the method of distinguishing between bad and good swords by the sound produced by swords. Sārangadhara[25] devotes nine slokas on swords of good quality and nine on bad quality. That sword which "আহতে যত্র মধুরোধ্বেনি ঃ সমুপজাতে। পুজ্যঃ স খঙ্গো নৃপতেঃ শত্রুসঙ্ঘয়নাশন ঃ" is worshipped by Kings and that which is "তির্য্যাগযস্য ভবেচ্ছিহ্নমপি সর্ব্বাঙ্গগোচরম্। খঙ্গাধমং তং নৃপতির্দূরাদেব বিবর্জয়েৎ" should be thrown away by the King. Other weapons[26] of war were bows and arrows, ardha-chandra, nārācha and parashu.

Copper.—India is deficient even to-day in copper but the people in middle ages made the best possible use of this precious metal. They had presumably no knowledge of the copper ores of Chotanagpur, but they utilised the resources of Nepal and also imported it from foreign countries. That is why Vagbhata says that copper could be had from mines and also from extraction of other minerals. The best copper ore was that of Nepal[27] and other mines were located in the Mlechcha countries.

Sulphide and sulphate are two compounds of copper. Vrinda says that Parpatitāmram or sulphide could be prepared artificially. "Sulphur, copper and pyrites are to be pounded together with mercury and subjected to roasting in a closed crucible".[28] But in the 11th century we learn from Chakrapāni that the compound could be prepared in a pure state. He writes : "Take a thin leaf of Nepalese copper and embed it in powdered sulphur. The substances are to be placed inside saucer-shaped earthenware vessels and covered with another. The rims are luted with sugar or powdered rice-paste. The apparatus is heated in a sand-bath for three hours. The copper thus prepared is pounded".[29]

Copper could be extracted from blue vitriol by heating with organic substances and borax in closed crucible. Rasārnava and

22. Yuktikalpataru, p. 170, sl. 27.
23. Sarangadharapaddhati, sl. 4676.
24. Yuktikalpataru.
25. Op. cit. sl. 4658, 4666.
26. Yuktikalpataru, Athastrayukti, sl. 28-29.
27. Book V, sl. 44.
28. Ray, op. cit. I. p. 58.
29. *Ibid.* p. 62.

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Rasaratnasamuchchaya[30] prescribe the following formula : "Take blue vitriol one fourth of its weight of borax and soak the mixture in the oil expressed, from seeds of pongamia glabra, one day only and then place it in a covered crucible and heat in the charcoal fire—by this process an essence is obtained from it of the beautiful appearance of coccinella insect."

Copper could also be extracted from Makshika which has been identified with pyrites and vimala. In Rasarnava[31] the following formula is prescribed for extraction from Makshika. "Makshika repeatedly steeped in honey, oil from ricinus communis, urine of cow, clarified butter and extract of bulbous root of musa sapientum when gently roasted in a crucible yields an essence in the shape of copper." The formula for the extraction of copper from Vimala has been given in Rasaratnakara Rasārnava and the Rasaratnasamuchchaya.[32] "Vimala digested with alum, green vitriol, borax and watery liquid extracted from moringapter, musa sapientum and finally roasted in a covered crucible in combination with the ashes of schrebera-swiet, yields an essence in the shape of Chandraka."

Just as copper could be prepared artificially from pyrites, blue vitriol or borax so other substances like bell-metal, vartaloham could be prepared from mixture of copper and tin and zinc. Rasaratnasamuchchaya[33] prescribes eight parts of copper and two parts of tin for making Kāmsa. Vartaloham[33a] could be produced from mixture of Kāmsya, copper, pittala, iron and lead.

Mica.—Besides iron and copper other metals were also pressed into service. Mica in which India has got almost a world monopoly was utilised for medicinal purposes. A close study of the Rasaratnasamuchchaya[34] reveals three varieties of mica, namely, pinākam, nāgamandukam and vajram. Their colours were either white or red, yellow or black. That mica whose layers could be easily detached were preferred. The speciality of mica as known to them was that mica did not combine with mercury. But that which could take up mercury was used with other metals and administered in medicine.

Mirrors.—The artistic excellence and ingenuity of Indian workers in metals is nowhere better illustrated than by their production of mirrors, from brass. The polish on the brass was so brilliant

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30. Ras. II, 133-34.
31. Rasarnava VII, Sl. 12-13 ; Rasaratnasamuchchaya II, 89-90.
32. Rasarnava, Rasaratnasamuchchaya II, 103-04, Rasaratnakara II, 35-36.
33. V. 205.
33a. *Ibid.* V, Sl. 212-16.
34. II. 5-14.

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that faces could be reflected on it. There is no definite mention of glass mirrors in medieval literature. But it can be gathered from the slokas that mirrors were manufactured from eight minerals.[35] Mirrors were known by different names—Bhavya,[36] Vijaya[37] and Paurusha.[38] According to Vīramitrodaya mirrors were made of bell-metal. There were two current varieties—Sapāda, which has stand at the back of it; and Sanāla which has stand on the lower side of it.

(*b*) **Transport :**

Transport facilities are essential for the industrial development of a country. The medieval Indians could not indeed invent railways or steamships, but they did not depend entirely on the slow and costly method of transporting goods by roads on the back of animals. Large-scale production necessitated transporting of heavy goods by rivers on boats. Boat-making, therefore, was much more important for industry and commerce of the country than to-day.

Boats were usually classified into four categories[39], *e. g.* light, soft and pieceable wood belong to Brahmanic class; light and yet strong and not easily pieceable belong to the Kshatriya class, which is soft and yet heavy belong to Vaiśya class and which is strong and heavy are Sūdra. For boats Bhoja recommends the Kshatriya wood. Bhoja mentions about twenty types of boats according to size—ordinary ones are Bhimā, Kṣhudrā, Madhyamā, Chapalā, Patalā, Bhayā, Dirghā, Patraputā, Garbharā and Mantharā[40] which is not sea-going and special ones are Dirghikā, Tarini, Lolā, Gatvarā, Gāmini, Tarī, Janghāla, Plāvini, Dhariśī, Vegini[41]. Of these Bhimā, Bhayā, Garbharā Lolā, Gāmini, Plāvini were troublesome[42]. Elaborate descriptions of painted rooms have been given by him[43]. There were also boats meant for fighting on seas. Such sea-going vessels have also been referred to by Medhātithi and also in a copper plate inscription of Dharmapāla[44].

Besides these basic industries numerous references are found regarding the existence of textile, wooden, jewellery and other consumers' goods. These are too well known to be described in this brief article. The conclusion which forces itself on the mind of a

35. Yuktikalpataru अथ वितानलक्षणम् sl. 10.
36. *Ibid*, sl. 6.
37. *Ibid*, sl. 8.
38. *Ibid*, sl. 8.
39. Yuktikalpataru, अथ निष्पदयानोद्देशः 83-86.
40. *Ibid*, sl. 92.
41. *Ibid*, sl. 97.
42. *Ibid*, sl. 94, 100.
43. *Ibid*, sl. 9, 19, 20-23.
44. Gauda-lekhamala, p. 14.

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student of socio-economic organisation of this period is that the wealth of India was derived as much from industrial production as from the agricultural one. The vast wealth which attracted the invaders from beyond the Hindukush could not have been produced by a mere agricultural community. History abounds in instances of a highly developed industrialised community being overthrown by rude, sturdy and unsophisticated invaders from abroad. As the Western Roman Empire fell into the hands of the Visigoths and Lombards, the Byzantine Empire was overthrown by the Turks and the Gupta Empire by the Hunas, so also the principalities in mediaeval India succumbed to the attacks of the less civilised Turko-Afghans. But the conquest of India by the Turko-Afghans could not be completed in course of a century or two. The explanation for this long-drawn conflict lies in the vast industrial resources of the country. These enabled the fighting classes of India to give a stiff, though isolated, resistance for centuries to the invaders.

THE LATTER DAYS OF BHOJA 'THE GREAT'

BY

SRI V. VENKATARAYA SASTRI.

The name of King Bhoja is enough to conjure with in Sanskrit Literature. He flourished during the first half of the 11th century and was the contemporary of Karna of Dāhaḷa, Bhīma of Anhilwad and three great South Indian kings, Trailokyamalla-Āhavamalla of the Karnāṭaka, Rājādhirāja of the Coḷa and Rājarājanarendra of the Āndhra. But the connections of this monarch with these kings is still to be worked out. Though the northern sources are meagre South Indian Epigraphy coupled with the literature of the North seems to throw some light on the latter days of this talented ruler.

The evening of Bhoja's life was far from being peaceful. His existence and the fortunes of his realm were threatened by enemies on all sides. There are several divergent stories about the troubles and subsequent death of Bhoja. Merutunga in his Prabandha-cintāmaṇi says that Bhīma of Anhilwad being unable to attack Bhoja until the latter incurred the hostility of the Dāhaḷa king Karna, joined Karna in an attack on Bhoja and agreed to share the war spoils on equal terms. Karna, it is said, was assisted by one hundred and thirty-six princes. After the conquest of Mālwa, the poem continues, there was disagreement between the two allied kings as Karna took the entire spoils without caring for Bhīma. Thereupon the clever agent of Bhīma

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imprisoned Karna when he was asleep and extracted from the latter a golden shrine and the image of Siva. The poem further states that King Bhoja being attacked by these two kings, lost his pride, as a snake overcome by a charm loses its poison, and then being overtaken by a corporeal malady died. The Vadnagar prasasti of the Caḷukya Kumārapāla states that 'his (Bhima's) horses, supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called Dhārā) quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the Emperor of Malwa' (E. I Vol. I, p. 297, v. 9). The Kīrtikaumudi says that Bhīma vanquished Bhoja, king of Dhar but spared his life. (Sarga II, vv. 16—18). Similarly the Sukṛtasankīrtana states that Bhoja was defeated by Bhīma (Sarga II, vv. 17—20). The Kumārapālacarita of Jayasimhadeva poetically states that before the greatness of Bhīma the arm of Bhoja faded away like a lotus. (v. 34) Hemacandra mentions nothing of the battle between Bhīma and Bhoja but says that Karna defeated Bhoja but being hardpressed by Bhīma's agent Dāmodara surrendered Mandapikā to Bhīma. (Dvyasraya-kāvya, Sarga IX, v. 57, p. 692).

More clear and authentic information is found in the Cāḷukyan records and the king of the Deccan seems to have given the *coup-de-grace* to the last scene of Bhoja. The statement of Bilhana (Vikramānkadevacarita, Canto I, vv. 91—94) that Someśvara deprived Dhārā of Bhoja (Bhojakṣmāpāla vimukta Dhārā) and swallowed it like a morsel of food (Dhārām...kavalīcakāra) seems to mean more directly that Bhoja perished in his wars with the Karnātakas. The details of the Cāḷukyan invasion of Malwa are given in the Hoysala records very vividly. It is stated that when the fortresses of the Malwa king were impregnable baffling all the efforts of the Cāḷukyas, Yereyanga, the Hoysala chief took great pains and leading a campaign conquered Māḷava in the very presence of his lord, the Cāḷukyan king. (E. C. V, A. K. 117). Another record states that at the orders of the Caḷukyan Emperor, Yereyanga led an expedition to Mālava and married the damsel of victory through Dhārā with Agni for witness, meaning thereby that he conquered Dhārā and burnt the palace. There is a pun here on the words Dhāra and Agni as a Hindu marriage is done by the bride being offered and given away along with a watery libation and the oaths being taken at the altar of fire (E. C. V. A K. 102 A. V.) The Belur record of 1117 A. D. gives greater details about the burning of Dhārā. 'Dhārā, the well-known (city) the resort of all the valorous Māḷava kings, enlarged by Bhoja the powerful who had conquered all his enemies, she became the first sip of water (Āpośana) for Ereyanga in eating up the royal foes at the time of his conquest of the direction of Kubera (the north); how about describing such a warrior.' Obstructing the sight (encasing with smoke) and making the white tusks of the elephants of the corners of the world look dark and making the entire cloudless space between the earth and the heaven look full of clouds by the smoke. Hoysala

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whose valour is like a big fire, set fire to the principal (or border) fortresses of Bhoja: Who is more valiant than this (Valiant =Dhīra) who erected a column of smoke as if it were the victory column of his emperor (Trailokyamalla-Āhavamalla), causing the beginning of the destruction of Bhoja, full of 'rāga' (red colour due to flames and love due to his loyalty) by killing the enemies and burning them (and their property) while, on his march, the hills of the four (quarters) by their uproar and being screened by the cloud-like dust caused by his army looked as if they were covered by real thundering clouds? (The translation of Mr. Rice is incomplete and faulty. This is a fresh and true translation). The principal fortresses burnt by Yereyanga are named in another record. (E.C. V, AK. 102-A). The unobstructed fire of valour of Hoysala ate Khaṇḍava and covered it completely, burnt Mandava on the slopes of the Vindhya Mountains and took Udhapuram (Rice's translation is once again faulty. This is a fresh one). Of these three places Mandava is clearly Mandwa fourteen miles from Dhār itself and it was one of the important fortresses of the Paramaras. Khandava is decidedly a place in the Malwa country as there is no allusion to the Mahābhārata story in the verse. Udhapuram is no doubt Udaipur of the Paramāras and the findspot of many of their records.

Yereyanga was not all alone in this triumph and besides him there were several others, officers and subordinates of Āhavamalla, who took part in this expedition against Bhoja. Gundamayya one of the Daṇḍanāyakas of Someśvara states that he was like a royal swan strolling on both the banks of the Narmadā, an evil comet to the Mālava people, the capturer of the fort of Mandava and was held in honour in the city of Dhārā. (A.R. of Mysore 1939 pp. 68-69). The Kākatīya prince Beta II states that he was a lion to the maddened elephants, the Coḷa and Māḷava. (Khazipet Insn. Hy. Arch. Series 13-7) The Brahman Daṇḍanāyaka Bācharasa, the second son of Kāḷidāsa Dandanātha, is praised in the Nagai record of 1058 A. D., as having subdued the Mālava and several others. (H.A.S.8). His brother Madhusudana is also credited with a victory over Dhārā and is said to have expelled Bhoja from that city. (Ibid) Nagadeva the Mahāsāmantādhipati and the Mahāpracanda Daṇḍanāyaka is called in 1061 A.D. as Coḷa Kālāntaka, Bhoja-bhujaṅga-ahidviṣa, Gūrjara Madaharaṇa (L. R. Vol. 25, p. 156). Jemarasa another feudatory is described as a 'flame of doom to Bhoja' (The Hottur record of 1067 A.D. E. I. XVI, p. 86).

Besides these references Āhavamalla, the Cāḷukyan emperor credits himself with the conquest of Dhārā and burning of Mandava. Western Cāḷukyan history seems to help in not only fixing the date of the fall of Bhoja but in arranging the course of events also. The last known date of Bhoja is 1047 A.D. which is found in the Tilakwada copper plate. The next ruler of Malwa is known as a certain Paramara Jayasimha from his first record in 1055

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A.D. (The Mandhata Plates, E.I. III, p. 46). It is not known whether this Jayasimha, who succeeded Bhoja immediately, was the son of Bhoja or was of a collateral branch of the Paramaras. He simply states that he is a 'pādānudhyāta' of (meditator on the feet of) Bhoja. The long gap between the two dates is enough to confirm the above story and make the historian think that there was confusion and anarchy in the realm of Bhoja for some time. The events in the Deccan were as follows: In 1048 A. D. Āhavamalla was fighting with the Colas (S. I. I. Vol. IV, 329). In 1049 A. D. he was staying at Vagghāpura in the Karahāṭanādu after his 'pallava-digvijaya' (B. K. I-I, 83). Whether this expedition was to punish Bhoja or not it is clear that it was aimed at some rulers of Konkan as we find Cāḷukyan generals fighting there. In 1047 Akkādevi, the aunt of Someśvara I, was active around the fortress of Gokak near Belgaum. (B. K. I-I, 80). She is seen staying in Konkana even three years later restoring peace in the land as she was 'restoring the corporate constitution of eight Settis and eighty householders which had broken down in the stress of the war with the Colas.' (B. K. I-I, 87). In the same year a little later she is found sending a certain commander, Ajjarasa, on some enemy in the neighbourhood (B. K. I-I, 86). Hence it is clear that there was trouble in Konkana before 1047 A. D. and while Akkadevi was keeping the enemy at bay Ahavamalla also came to her help after defeating the Colas in 1048 A. D. That this rebellion in the Konkana was due to the Cola diplomacy is also clear from the above records of Akkādevi.

Besides Āhavamalla Someśvara there were some of his able generals fighting the Konkanigas. A record of 1053 A. D. mentions this enemy of the Cālukyas as the Silāhāra chief Mummuri who was having his seat of government at Thāne. The Ratta chief Kārtavirya bears the title 'Mummuri-konkaniga-jaladhi-baḍabanalam' (The submarine fire to the Ocean Mummuri of Konkana) and 'Thāneya-kautuhalam' (an interesting object to Thāne) (L. R. 25, p. 217 ; E. I. XII p. 268). The Mahāmandaleśvara Mummuni, Mummuri or Māmvani is one of the Silāhāra chiefs for whom we have a date in Saka 983 (A. D. 1059-60) recording that a palace of Chittarāja was restored for his use (D. K. D. of Dr. Fleet p. 543). He appears as the second younger brother of Chittarāja of Thāne (D. K. D. p. 539). Besides Kārtavirya there was another general called Pulakesi who attacked Mummuri. The Bhārangi record of the time of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, dated 1118 A. D. (E. C. VIII, Sb. 325) gives the following praise of Āhavamalla and Pulakesi....marching upon Thāne, twisting the neck of Mummuri and putting in his place an agent under his own orders. Pulakesi without any difficulty burnt Kanci ; it being said that the Cola burnt Kalyāna. 'taking a single elephant the King Āhavamalla with invincible courage slew the warlike Cola.' Though the record belongs to a later date, there

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is no doubt that these events happened before the great battle of Koppam in which the Coḷa king, Rajādhiraja, died in 1054 A. D.

The Coḷa was the natural enemy of the Karnātaka King and there were regular invasions of the dominions of the latter by the former from 1044 A.D. to 1054 A. D. There must be very strong reasons for Somesvara to punish the Konkana chief in between two Coḷa wars. The Konkanigas were under the influence of the Coḷas and Āhavamalla appears to have felt them a source of danger at his rear while fighting with the Coḷas. Similar was the position of Bhoja and there is strong reason to believe that he was in league with the Coḷas. The enmity of the Caḷukyas with the Paramaras having had its beginning under Tailapa and Munja was continuing and there are instances where the Paramaras had gone directly to the Colas to get help against the western Caḷukyas. The records of the 33rd year of Rājādhirāja (1050-51) mentions another of the Coḷa wars with Āhavamalla and states that the Cola king offered protection to the descendants of the Gūrjara Uppalan, slain formerly by Tailapa and restored (to them) the crown of the former seized and attached by the latter to his war-drum and thus subjugated the Rattapādi-seven-and-a-half-lākh country. (E. C. IX, Dv. 76). Besides this we find Āhavamalla almost simultaneously engaged in fighting with the Coḷa on the south and Bhoja and Konkana on the north.

Turning to the events of the period there is good reason to state that Āhavamalla went to Malwa from Karahād in 1049 A.D. leaving Polakeśi and others to deal with the Konkaṇa for the Bhārangi record states that Polakeśi after punishing Mummuri set fire to Kānci after which the Coḷas in retaliation burnt Kalyāṇa and Āhavamalla hearing of it hastily reached home. A record from Nagai dated 1058 A.D. vividly describes that Āhavamalla hastened home from Māndu and gives the order of the events. (Hy. Arch. Series No. 8 B). "The king Trailokyamalla, having on that side (that is the North Indian) entered and burnt Dhārā with determination, having on this (side, the southern) penetrated and set on fire (the city of) Kānci by the strength of arm which had already (or just before 'Munnum') captured Maṇḍava and killed the Coḷa in anger brought his (Cola's) fresh decapitated head. Having raided on and burnt the city of Ujjain (noted for its) ramparts (alurkke) (he) there bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his arm" (V. 17)

The order of the events is this: (*a*) burning of Dhārā and capture of Maṇḍava, (*b*) burning of Kānci and (*c*) the killing of the Coḷa. The order of events according to Bhārangi record is as follows: (*a*) punishment of Mummuri, (*b*) the burning of Kānci by Polakeśi, (*c*) the burning of Kalyāṇa by the Coḷas, (*d*) the death of the Coḷa, and (*e*) another expedition to Dhārā. The burning of Dhārā and the punishment of Mummuri appear to have been

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simultaneous events. Kāñci was next burnt by Polakeśi and the Coḷas gave a similar treatment to Kalyāṇa in retaliation. Then Āhavamalla having heard of it returned home and met the Cola in battle.

It is now clear that the exploits of Yereyanga in Malwa were either identical with those of Āhavamalla or that he distinguished himself during the expedition of the latter. The death of the Cola is no doubt the death of Rājādhirāja in the field at Koppam in 1053-54 A.D. The earlier event, the burning of Kalyāna is first mentioned in the Coḷa record of the 33rd year of Rājādhirāja A.D. 1051 (S.1.1. VII, 1046). Corroborating the statement that Āhavamalla returned home after he heard of the burning of Kalyāna we find a record showing him staying at Kalyāṇa itself in December 1052 A.D. (S.1.1. IX—I, 111). Hence if Kalyāṇa was burnt a little before 1051 A.D., that of Kāñci decidedly preceded it, most probably when the Coḷas were leading a campaign against the Cāḷukyas that same year. It is now quite clear that Āhavamalla's attack on Bhoja and that of Poḷakeśi on Mummuri should have taken place about 1050 A.D. as Āhavamalla was in Karahāta in 1049 A.D. and the Coḷas received at Etagiri and Pūṇḍur in 1051 A.D. an embassy from the descendants of Uppala Gūrjara to help them against the Western Cāḷukyas.

The following events also prove that Bhoja was dead by 1050 A.D. It cannot be said definitely that it was Bhoja who sent an embassy to the Coḷas as he is the nephew of Muñja and not his son. The Coḷa record of 1051 mentions the refugees as the descendants, in the plural and it is likely that Bhoja having died some time before there were rival claimants to the throne of Malwa and some of them approached the Coḷas. The Nagai record quoted above mentions an expedition to Dhārā after the death of the Coḷa on the field. This should have happened definitely after the Koppam battle. To confirm this there were the following events : In the year 1055 A.D. the Paramara king Jayasimha is found as the ruler of Malwa in Dhārā (E. I. III, p. 46). The date of his accession is not known but it is likely that he ascended the throne sometime earlier. Though it is not known whether he was the son of Bhoja or 'a descendant of Uppalan' there is a later tradition preserved in the Ain-i-Akbari as follows: "Muñja gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhoja...and appointed him as his successor. When his son Jayachand's reign ended none of the Ponwar caste was found worthy to succeed." Dr. Ganguli believes that Jayachand is Jayasimha. If this is to be accepted he was either the descendant of Uppalan' or his rival to the Malwa throne. The rule of Jayasimha lasted only till the end of 1059 A. D. (Panhera Insn. A. S. I. 1916-17, p. 19). Almost the same year we find Udayāditya Paramara ruling over Malwa. (D. H. N. I. II pp. 875). Udayāditya, in the Nagpur-prasasti (E. I. II, pp. 192-195; v. 32) is said to have taken his ancestral throne by driving away the combined

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forces of the Karnātas and the Cedis. It follows: 'When he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation, Udayāditya, became king. Uplifting the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnātas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy Boar.' If Udayāditya was a 'relation' of Bhoja and not his son and if he defeated Jayasimha, which is most probable as he was the previous ruler, and took the kingdom from him after ousting the combined forces of the Karnatas and Karna it follows that Udayāditya was most probably the 'descendant of Uppalan' of the Coḷa records and Jayasimha was a friend of the Karnātas and the Cedis. To confirm this as it were the Vikramānkadeva-caritam states that Vikramāditya restored to Malwa a prince of the royal family who took shelter under him (Sarga III, v. 67).

Putting the above facts together: (1) The probable death of Bhoja in about 1050 A. D., (2) The embassy received by Rājādhiraja at Etagiri from the 'descendants' of Uppalan before 1054 A D., (3) The Cāḷukyan invasion of Malwa soon after the Koppam battle or a little later, (4) The accession of Jayasimha sometime before 1055 A. D. to Malwa, and finally (5) his overthrow by Udayāditya after defeating the Karnātas and the Cedis before 1059 A. D.—it is quite plain that Bhoja died in the Cāḷukyan war in 1050 A. D. and there were rival claimants to the Malwa throne. One of them approached the Colas while the other, the Cāḷukyas. Most probably Jayasimha was installed by the Cāḷukyas and the honour of superintending the work was given to Vikramāditya in 1050 A. D. itself. The Coḷas encouraged their candidate by giving constant trouble to the Cāḷukyas thereby disabling them from helping their candidate in Malwa. The Cāḷukyas however went to the succour of Jayasimha in about 1059 A. D., after defeating the Coḷas at Koppam in 1054, but unfortunately were defeated along with their ally, Karna of Cedi.

The Cedi King Karna seems to have broken with the Cāḷukyas soon after for Bilhana states in his usual poetic way (sarga I. V. 102) that Āhavamalla made the damsel of the fortune of Dāhalā (of the Cedis) bereft of 'Karna' (also ear) for picking up a quarrel with him and on account of that (loss of Karna) she (Dāhalā) is still not able to wear the ear-ornaments of fame which are white like camphor. It is not known how this quarrel arose but the Nagpur-prasasti seems to indicate that Karna was the chief man in fighting with Udayāditya and the Karnāta Āhavamalla joined him. (Milat Karnāta Varna prabhum—note the singular 'prabhum'). It is likely that the Karnāta allies of Karna failed his expectation in defending Jayasimha in 1059-60 though they joined him against Udayāditya and hence the quarrel. As this expedition is attributed to Āhavamalla and not Vikramāditya

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the date falls in about 1059 as the latter's triumphal march was undertaken towards the end of Āhavamalla's reign.

There seems to be some substratum of truth in the statements of Merutunga though he does not mention the part played by the Karnātakas and gives a somewhat confused account. His account may be accepted with some alterations in the light of epigraphy as follows. As he says Bhīma was unable to defeat Bhoja till 1047 without help and the defeat of the Gūrjara by Surāditya the general of Bhoja might well corroborate the above statement as the rulers of Anhilwad were also the lords of Gujerat. (Tilakwada plates.) Then there was an alliance between Bhīma and Karna and Somesvara joined them in about 1049. The 136 princes who attacked Bhoja in the company of Karna could have been none else than the feudatories of Bhīma, Karna and Someśvara of Karnātaka. Most probably the Karnataka feudatories were large in number as we find the Hoysalas and the Kākatiyas of princely rank among the allies. That Bhoja was free and defeated some of his enemies before this huge coalition of his enemies attacked him is also clear from the Hoysala record which states that 'Dhārā, the well-known (city) the resort of all the valorous Māḷava Kings was enlarged by Bhoja the powerful who had conquered all his enemies, she became the first sip of water for Yereyanga in eating up the royal foes at the time of his conquest of the direction of Kubera (the north)'. There is no doubt that Somesvara was a member of the opposition in this connection as the record of Udayāditya testifies to it.

The story of the quarrel between the allies also seems to be true. In the spoils of Dhāra Ahavamalla also had his share for he is said to have taken 'a ball of silver at Dhār' which is otherwise inexplicable. ("Belliya-gundu gondan adatam". Nagai record). It is not known whether Bhīma and Karna disagreed soon after Bhoja's death but Karna and Someśvara were on good terms until Udayāditya defeated them in 1059, and Someśvara and Bhīma fell out sometime before 1053, more probably after 1050 as we find Someśvara II given the title 'Bhīma-karimada-nivāranam' in a record dated 1053 A. D. (L. R. 25, p. 135). There is a possibility of this term 'Bhīmakari' being interpreted as 'a fierce elephant' and hence a more authentic and unambiguous evidence is required. A record of A. D. 1057 (S. I. I. IX-I, 118) after enumerating the conquests, of Āhavamalla, over Magadha, Gaula, Lāḷa, Anga, Vanga, Vangāla, Varāla, and Maḷava states that his son Gangapermādi (Vikramāditya) vanquished the Coḷa, Gauḷa, Barbara, Āndhra, Māḷava and the Gūrjara. Nāgadeva, the Brahman general is called the Gūrjara Madaharaṇa in 1061 A. D. (L. R. 25 p. 156). It is clear that Someśvara fell out with Bhīma of Anhilwad earlier than with Karna of Dāhaḷa and hence it is quite likely that there was some quarrel between Bhīma and Karna first and after Bhīma's exit from the coalition the other two fell out after 1059.

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It is also possible that Bhoja was not killed in action but being overwhelmed by numbers and fighting a hard battle was overtaken by some malady and thus died full of years after a glorious career of more than half a century. Someśvara whose records repeatedly state that he took the head of the Cola nowhere states so clearly that he killed Bhoja. All the references are ambiguous poetic expressions and hence it is likely that this great hero was after all not conquered on the field.

CHERAMAN PERUMAL II ALIAS KULASEKAṚA, ALWAR ALIAS KULASEKARA PERUMAL III

(Born 730 A. D.—Ascended the throne 754 A. D.—Left the throne 798 A. D.—Died 800 A. D.)

BY

ṢRI A. CHIDAMBARAM

(*A*) *Birth.*

Cheraman Perumal II was born in Thiruvanchi-Kalam[1] in the year 730 A. D. in the month of Masi (Feb-March) on a Friday, when the star Punarpusam was in the ascendancy in the Royal Family of Cheras. His father's name is Drada-Vratha[2].

Cheraman Perumal I @ Kazharitarivar ruled Chera country from 667 A. D. to 712 A. D., and his son Thambiran Thozhar Perumal ruled from 712 A. D. to 754 A. D.

It is not known, exactly, at present, what is the relationship between Thambiran Thozhar and Cheraman Perumal II. But it is certain that they belong to the same family.

Inasmuch as Cheraman Perumal II succeeded Thambiran Thozhar, it is presumed that Thambiran Thozhar died childless in the year 754 A. D.

(*B*) *Period*

"It is somewhere about the time of Pandyan Nedum-Sadayan Parantakan I (765-790 A. D.) that we shall have to locate the Alwar Kulasekara, a ruler of Chera country, who has established something like a hegemony over the Tamil Land", thus says Dr. S. K. Ayyangar[3].

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1. Tamil Elakiya Varalam, p. 350, by K. S. Pillai.
2. Nalayira Prabandam.
3. Seran Vanchi, pp. 96-97.

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P. T. Srinivasa Ayangar, a well-known historian, says that Kulasekara Alwar was ruling in Chera Nadu, when Pandyan Parantakan I was ruling in Madura and Nandi-Varman Pallava Malla II was ruling in Conjeevaram between 717 and 775 A. D.[4]

K. Subramania Pillai, M.A. M.L., an erudite Tamil Research scholar of Annamalai University, says that Cheraman Perumal II ruled Chera country sometime after Cheraman Perumal I who ruled Chera Nadu between 667 and 712 A. D.[5]

So we can safely conclude that Cheraman Perumal II lived in the later part of the eighth century A. D.

(*C*) *Religion*

Though Chera kings were Saivites from time immemorial, Cheraman Perumal II was a staunch Vaishnavite. One redeeming feature was that his contemporary brother kings *viz* :—Pandyan Parantakan I and Nandy Varma Pallava Malla II were also Vaishnavites.

Peria Alwar was Pandyan's religious Guru and he is a native of Srivilliputhur, a small beautiful town in Pandya Nadu. Peria Alwar was one of the twelve saints of Vaishnavism. He has sung about Pandyan Parantakan I in his stanzas. Andal is the daughter of Peria Alwar. Andal also is one of the twelve saints of Vaishnavism. The saintly pure life of these two Alwars attracted the attention of the three kings and they all adopted Vaishnavism as their religion.

(*D*) *Reign.*

As Cheraman Perumal II was born in the royal family of Cheras he was brought up in the royal fashion and was educated accordingly. He was given training in the Military Academy at Vanchi and he became efficient in the use of arms.

At the age of 24 in the year 754 A. D. when Thambiran Thozhar died issueless, Cheraman Perumal II ascended the throne. He was ruling his country properly and was friendly with Pandya and Pallava kings. At that time, Chola Nadu was under Pallavas. Travancore, a portion of Chera Nadu, was then, under a chieftain called Vel-Aay.

As the country was peaceful, Cheraman Perumal II spent most of his time in puja and meditation. As he was a scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit he was studying Valmiki Ramayana and Kamba Ramayana. He composed stanzas both in Tamil and Sanskrit. His chief work in Sanskrit is Mukunta Mala. His Tamil poems

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4. Pallava History, p. 25.
5. Tamil Elakiya Varalam by K. S. Pillai.

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are included in Nalayira Prabandam[6]. He was always in company with the Vaishnava saints attending Kalakshepams.

Nandivarman Pallava Mallan II.

Nandivarman Pallava Mallan II reigned over Pallava and Chola countries from 717 to 775 A. D. He performed Aswametha Yagam in 738 A.D.[7] This shows that he was lord in his country and was a friend to other neighbouring kings. He was a powerful and peace-loving king. He encouraged Tamil and Sanskrit Pandits. Pallava Mallan died in 775 A. D. His son Danti Varman @ Vairamegan succeeded him. Vairamegan was a very weak king. Chera king waged war against him, defeated him, and annexed Chola country and southern portion of Thondai Nadu. Hitherto Chera king was calling himself as king of Vanchi or Kollinagar. After this conquest, he styled himself as king of Kozhi (Woriyur—the modern Trichy)[8].

Pandyan Nedumjadayan Parantakan I.

Velvikudi and Seevaramangalam copper-plates reveal that Pandyan Parantakan I was a very strong king, he conquered Pallavas in the battle of Pennagadam, that he waged war with Vel-Aay of Ven-Nadu (the modern Travancore), killed him in the battle and destroyed his fort Vilignam, and annexed Travancore to Pandya Nadu. Nedumjadayan next fought with Athigaman of Thagadur in Aiyira-Veli, Ayirur and Pugaliur, conquered Kongu country, took the king as a prisoner and sent him to Madura. Then he went to Perur near Coimbatore and built a big temple for Vishnu. Parantakan I died in 790 A. D. His son Raja Simha Pandyan II ascended the throne. He was a very weak king. During his reign Cheraman Perumal II waged war against him, defeated him and annexed Pandya and Kongu countries and assumed the title "Kudalar Kone" and "Kongar Kone"[9].

Thus Cheraman II became lord of three countries *viz*:— Chera, Chola, and Pandya after 790 A. D. Cheraman II assumed the title of Perumal also, as he was ruling over 64 villages of Nambudries for whom they were ceded by *Cheral-Athan* of Ramayana Period.

(*E*) *Last Days of Kulasekara.*

After the conquest of Chola Pandya Pallava and Kongu countries Cheramal Perumal II devoted much of his time in

6. Nalayira Prabandham.
7. Udayendram plates.
8. Pallava History—Part III, pp. 25 to 27.
9. Nalayira Prabandham—Kulasekara's Puthiyams, pp. 113 to 115.

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meditation and puja. On account of constant meditation and strict religious life, Kulasekara @ Cheraman II felt disgusted with the rule of his kingdom. He wanted to visit all Vaishnava shrines as a free man. So in 798 A. D. he gave up his kingdom to his son and started with his friends to several Kshetrams. He visited Sri-Rangam, Kannapuram, Thillai, Thiruvengadam, Congeevaram, and Thiru-Narayanapuram and sang songs. There are references in his stanzas about Ayodhi and Thiru-Patkadal of Northern India. But it is not known whether he personally visited those shrines or sang songs from Southern India. In his last days, he stayed in Veera-Narayanapuram and was worshipping the deity there.

In 803 A. D., when he attained the age of 73, he left his earthly body at a place called Mannavar-Kovil and reached Vaiguntam.

FAMILY OF CHERAS

Branch I

Uthiyan Family

1. Cheralan. (6000 B. C. Ramayana Period).

2. Perum-Chotru-Uthiyan-Cheralathan (3105 B. C. Mahabharata period).

3. Kottambalathu Thunjiya Cheral Athan (3105 B. C. Mahabharata period).

4. Kerala Puthran (Asoka Edicts).

5. Mudangi kidantha Nedum Cheral Athan (Aham. 30).

6. Elam Kuttuvan (Aham. 153).

7. Perum Cheral Athan @ Perum Thol Athan (4-5 B. C. to 12 A. D.)

8. Uthiyan Cheral (12 to 54 A. D).

9. Emayavaramban Nedum Cheral Athan (54 to 112 A. D). 10. Palyanai Selkelu Kuttuvan.

11. Kalangaikanni Narmudicheral. 12. Senguttuvan (112 to 167 A. D). 13. Elango. 14. Adukot-pattu Cheral Athan.

15. Kuttuvan Cheral @ Cheraman Mavenko (167 to 192 A. D).

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16. Cheraman Ezhini Athan (192 to 230 A. D.)

17. Chengal @ Veeraragavaperumal (230 to 285 A. D.)

(Between 285 and 667 A. D. the country was ruled by Porayan Family of Cheras.)

18. Cheraman Perumal I (667—712 A. D.)

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19. Thambiran Thzhar Perumal (712 to 754 A. D.)

20. Cheraman Perumal II @ Kulasekara Perumal III (754-798 A. D.)

21. Cheraman Perumal III (798-834 A. D.)
@ Bhaskara Ravivarman.

FAMILY OF CHERAS

Branch II.

Porayan Family

1. Anthuan Cheral Erumborai I (Founder of the Family.)
2. Palai Padiya Perum Kadunko (Aham-5-99-111.)
3. Marutham Padiya Elam Kadumko (Aham—90-176.)
4. Kanaikal Erumborai (contemporary of Ko-Chengannan.)
5. Mantharan (Paththrupathu-90).
6. Karuvvr Eriya Olval Ko-Perum Cheral Erumborai @ Attan Athi (son-in-law of Karikal Cholan I.)
7. Anthuan Cheral Erumborai II.
8. Selva Kadumko Azhi Athan (Paththrupathu 7th ten.)
9. Thagadur Erintha Perumcheral Erumborai (Paththrupathu 8th ten.)
10. Elancheral Erumborai (Paththrupathu 9th ten.)
11. Yanai-kan-say Manthram Cheral Erumborai (Paththrupathu 10th ten.)
12. Mantharam Porayan Kadumko (Aham 142.)
13. Mantharam Chera Raja (350 A. D. Defeated by Samudra Gupta.)
14. Sengol Porayan (648-667 A. D.)

(He has no issue. Porayan Family ended with this king.)

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EXTENT OF MAHARASHTRA AS DESCRIBED BY THE MAHANUBHAVAS.

BY

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The extent of Maharashtra was traceable, for the first time from the description in the 'IHOLE' inscription of the conquests Pulakesi II (in the 6th century of the Shaka era) made.[1] Here I am attempting to describe the same as described by the Mahanubhavas.

Mahanubhava is a religious sect that came into being in Vidarbha in XII century of the Shaka era. Cakradhara was its founder. He was the first to advocate mother tongue for scriptural writings in place of Sanskrit and forbade the use of Sanskrit. Though he hails from Gujarat, he preferred Maharashtrian culture to that of Telangana and Karnataka and he advised his disciples to stay in Maharashtra and not elsewhere. The reason he put forth was that the residents there were given to luxuries.[2]

One of his (सूत्रे) orders to his followers was महाराष्ट्री असावे *i.e.*, that they should live in Maharashtra and it was felt necessary to tell them the geographical extent of it. One commentator (of the 13th century) of this Sutra gives[3] the divisions of Maharashtra according to the dialectal changes of the langunges of Maharashtra then existing. The divisions he gives are : (1) The first division is given to be फलटण the southern extremity of which, he tells, extended up to the place up to where Maharashtra language was being spoken. Its northern limit, he gives, is बालाघार ranges to the south of Buldhana District. (2) The second division is said to be the region covered by both banks of Godavari river. (3) The third division is shown to be मेघंकर घाट in the Satapuda ranges. (4) The fourth division mentioned is अवधे वराड *i.e.*, the whole of Berar. These four divisions cover the whole of Maharashtra.

॥ विध्याद्री पासोनि दक्षिणेसी । कृष्णा नदी पासोनि उत्तरेसी ।
झाडीमंड लापासोनि पश्चिमेसी ! समुद्रपर्यंत ॥ ॥
महाराष्ट्र बोलिजे चक्रधर ॥ ॥

Another commentator describes Maharashtra as intended by Cakradhar, *i.e.*, from Vindhya mountain to Krisna river to the

1. Pp. 494 to 509, Vol. XXIII, Annals of B.O.R.I. Poona.
2. (*a*) चक्रधर सिद्धांत सूत्रे (नेनेवभवालकर) उपोद्घात page 1.
   (*b*) आचार सूत्रे (नेने) page 57.
3. महानुभावीय मराठी वाङ्मय (देशपांडे) page 90.

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South and from jungle tracts of the Eastern Ghats to the sea in the West.

The third commentator says पश्चिमे त्र्यंवकू पूर्वें समुद्र बेरी *i. e.*, that the western boundary was त्र्यंवक near Nasik and the eastern meets the sea.

These three descriptions make it clear that the extent of Maharashtra since the 12th century is the same as that of to-day in addition to the eastern districts of C. P. and those of the Nizam's Dominion, which have been in the later centuries deprived of Maharashtra. One Jain commentator of Kamasutra of Vatsyayana of the 12th century describes Maharashtra as नर्मदा कर्नाटकयोर्मध्ये महाराष्ट्र विषय : goes to ascertain to a little extent the Mahanubhava descriptions.

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SECTION IIII

Medieval India 1206–1526 A.D.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

PROF. GURTY VENKET RAO, M.A., LL.B.,
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Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset I wish to express my gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Congress for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of this Section which deals with the Early Medieval History of India. All the previous presidents have been eminent historians. Hence I cannot but be conscious of the great honour in being placed in their distinguished company. I am fully aware that it is beyond my deserts. Yet I have accepted the invitation because I regard it as a friendly gesture to one of the youngest Universities in India—the Andhra University—on whose teaching staff I have the privilege to serve.

This is the 10th session of our Conference and sixth of our particular Section. It has been customary on such an occasion to make a broad survey of the period, to review the quality and quantity of researches so far carried out, and to point out the outstanding problems that demand solution. All that can be said on these lines has already been well said by the previous occupants of this Chair. If I traverse the same ground, I would be guilty of insulting your intelligence. Moreover, I cannot presume to sit on judgment on works of my learned colleagues in the fields. Mere reference to latest publications without evaluation would be an unnecessary catalogue of works and sheer waste of your precious time. Of course, I may add a few more to the list of problems given out year after year from this platform but it would not carry us far.

To start with, I may be permitted to say a few words about the demarcation of our period. Its beginning and ending have no practical significance to the history of the Dekkan and South India. These territories remained unaffected by the establishment of the Turkish Sultanate at Delhi in 1206 A.D. Ala-ud-Din Khilji who forced open the doors of the Dekkan appears on the scene in 1294 A.D.

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Hindu dynasties—the Yadavas, Kakatiyas, Pandyas and Hoysalas—were masters of the Cis-Vindhyan lands for over a century after the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate. Similarly the enthronement of the Mughal Padshah at Delhi in 1526 A.D., had least effect on the Local Dynasties and the lives of the people of the Dekkan for nearly three quarters of a century. Yet 1206 and 1526 are the years of grave significance in medieval Indian history because in these years new political powers made themselves felt in the Indian politics and in due course of time engulfed the entire sub-continent of India. All the same, this demarcation has been responsible to a certain extent to focus the attention of the members of our Section considerably on the events of Northern India to the prejudice of the study of the historical movements in the Dekkan South India.

However, we are meeting to-day under the sombre shadows of a great tragedy that is being enacted in some parts of northern India. It had made our task doubly difficult. On the one hand, it has denied to scholars the calm atmosphere and detached outlook that are the *sine qua non* for any substantial work, with the result that we have to-day very few papers for discussion. Our Section has been particularly hit because the scholars who took keen interest in the history of the medieval period hailed mostly from northern India. Secondly, the ever rising tide of communal strife with all its horrors is tending to give an *oblique* turn to historical perspective. It is openly asked. "If the Hindus and Muslims of India in these days of rationalism and scientific progress could be so barbarous as to indulge in mutual slaughter, could it not have been still worse when *foreign* Muslim adventurers carried fire and sword into this country, and there was no public opinion worth the name to check them?" Of late there has been a tendency to treat medieval Indian History in a partisan spirit. Two schools, unnatural to historical studies, have been manifesting themselves—one condemning the Sultans of Delhi and their religion for their acts of commission and omission towards the non-Muslims; and the other extolling the conduct of every Sultan that occupied the throne of Delhi and brooking no criticism of Islam. Thus historical research is in imminent danger of being sacrificed at the altar of communal sympathy and power politics, and becoming an instrument of religious disputes and social dissensions. Present-day communal bickerings are likely to accentuate these morbid tendencies. Hitherto, history was regarded as a guide to the understanding of the

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present, but the question posed above reversed the order and demanded an interpretation of the past in the light of the immediate present. Pressed too much, either criterion is likely to blur the true perspective. If distance lends charm to the past events, the immediate environment, with all its humours and passions, no less distorts the present vision. Hence I propose to examine the sources of error which are likely to give a wrong picture of the early Turkish dominion in India, and to review the difficulties we have to face in reconstructing the history of that period. Such an examination is of utmost importance because there is a great urge in different quarters to rewrite the history of our land. Our own Indian History Congress, the Bharata Itihasa Parishad of Benares, the Indian Historical Research Institute of Aligarh, and the Shibli Academy of Azamgarh—all these have plans for producing a comprehensive and authoritative history of India. The Nizam's government has also sanctioned a scheme for the publication of a comprehensive history of the Dekkan.

The greatest source of error lies in the study of history without making due allowance for the frailties of human nature and the spirit of the times. There will be hardly any scope for misunderstanding if we face facts and interpret history in terms of time spirit and human nature as unfolded by the historical movements of bygone days. Everywhere and at all times, with very rare exceptions, it has been seen that a conqueror wishes to achieve his goal with least sacrifice. To him religion, patriotism and loyalty are so many avenues to exploit for accomplishing his main purpose. Hence the nature of a religion should not be judged by the questionable behaviour of its followers. Christianity will stand condemned if one assessed its value in the light of the two world wars. Indeed the wars waged by the Turks in India were not crusades but secular enterprises for the acquisition of wealth and territory. Muhammad Ghori's early campaigns in India were against the Muslim rulers of Multan and Lahore. Timur *who had no scruples to overthrow Muslim rulers of Western Asia*, cited the sanction of Quran to overcome the hesitation of his followers to invade India. He declared: "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead a campaign against the infidels, to convert them to the True Faith according to the command of the Prophet." The fact is that most of the Turkish or Afghan adventurers, who entered India, were callow converts to Islam and had little or no regard for

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the Prophet's exhortation that no compulsion in religion should be practised. They did not fully imbibe the true spirit of the Quran, nor did they conquer and rule territories strictly in accordance with principles laid down in their Holy Book. They were a handful of new comers to India and during the course of their wars they did resort to methods of terrorism to snatch easy and quick victory as the Americans did very recently at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Their hands fell heavily upon temples and royal coffers because these were storehouses of immense treasures. Plunder, rapine, destruction of Buddhist monasteries and Hindu shrines and the enslavement and forced conversion of the children of the soil were the normal features of their *warfare* in India. Their ruthless treatment of the inhabitants, whether combatants or non-combatants, violated all Islamic laws. It constituted a part of their war-technique and cannot be defended on any ground except that of expediency amidst an overwhelming alien and hostile population.

In peaceful times things were, however, different. The task of the Turkish Sultans, and the rulers of other dynasties who followed them on the throne of Delhi was by no means easy. The advent of Islam in India brought in its wake a new problem of unprecedented complexity. Its simple doctrines, rational institutions, democratic outlook, and above all its proselytizing platform constituted a challenge to the accepted socio-religious heritage of the Hindus, their theories of Karma and metempsychosis, and their institutions of Varnasrama and Dharma and image worship. In the words of Al-Beruni : "We (Muslims) believe in nothing which they (Hindus] believe." Added to this there was the political antagonism of the victors and the vanquished. Moreover the greatest leaders of Islam sanctioned invidious treatment of the non-Muslims, which, if literally put into practice, could hardly ensure peace. In such an atmosphere the Turkish adventurers made India their home and tried to bring the entire region between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin under their sceptre. Their efforts to protect the lands from further foreign inroads like those of the Mongols indicate their inadvertent Indianisation. They came to realise that their interest lay in maintaining peace and pacifying the non-Muslims rather than in persecuting them. Except Firuz Shah Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi no other Sultan deliberately ill-treated the non-Muslims. Ala-ud-Din refused to accept the advice of Qazi Mughis-ud-Din to crush the

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Hindus on account of their religion. His severity towards them was not due to religious obscurantism but to political opportunism. Mohammad bin Tughlaq did not hesitate to defy ecclesiastical dogmatism. Nor did all canonists hold reactionary views like those of Qazi Mughis-ud-Din, Mian Abdulla Ajodhi countered the blind fanaticism of Sultan Sikandar Lodi by furnishing true interpretation of the Quran.

This does not mean that the Hindus did not suffer any hardship during the period of the Sultanate. Of course, the imposition of Jeziya need not be cited as an example of persecution so long as it brought with it an exemption from military service to which every Muslim was theoretically liable. Alien rule is never palatable to subject peoples howsoever sugar-coated it may be. It was doubly poignant to the Hindus when it not only involved a transfer of political allegiance but also demanded the change of religion as the price of *full* citizenship in their own land. It would have been unnatural if it had been otherwise. Many privileges, ordinarily denied to the Hindus were open to the converts. Even here a distinction was made. A Hindu convert to Islam like Imad-ud-Din Raihan might rise to a position of eminence in the state ; but to retain that position in the face of Turkish aristocracy led by persons like Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban was an impossible task. The rivalry and antagonism between the foreign Mussalmans and Indian converts to Islam were tragically demonstrated in the history of the Bahmani Kingdom. Again there is nothing unnatural about it. The policy of the Turkish ruling class was similar to that of the British in excluding the children of the soil from responsible posts in the state till their authority was firmly established in the land.

Still it is not correct to assume that the Muslim rulers and their Hindu subjects constituted two warring camps. Indeed during the early medieval period, the former suffered more at the hands of their own co-religionists than at the hands of the Hindus. The five successive Muslim dynasties which filled the throne of Delhi, the provincial Muslim states that were carved out at the expense of the Delhi Sultanate, and the pentarchy that supplanted the Bahmani Kingdom in the Dekkan emphatically illustrate this point. Gujrat, Malwa, Khandesh, Jaunpur, Bengal and the Dekkan had independent Muslim rule for a longer period than they had the direct sway of the Delhi Sultans. The rulers of these states, cut off from their central moorings, had to

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identify themselves with the local population and tradition so that greater harmony came to be established between the two communities, and their composite culture assumed an individuality which is writ large on their monuments, language and literature. For instance in Bengal and the Dekkan local Sultans devoted their energies to the development of the indigenous culture. Frequent references are found in old Bengali literature indicating the esteem and trust in which Hussain Shah was held by the Hindus. Ibrahim Qutab Shah's court was adorned by Hindu scholars.

Under the common sovereignty of a ruler the people professing different faiths could not remain estranged for long. Hard facts of life and personal interests proved a great antidote to early prejudices. The efforts of the rulers to encourage cordial relations between the two communities were supplemented in due course of time by the teachings of Muslim Fakirs and Hindu Saints. It is known to all how the Bhakti and Sufi cults of the 15th and 16th centuries touched the real syncretic note and paved the way for rapprochement between the various communities inhabiting this land. I need not recount the services of Kabir, Nanak, Dadoo and a host of other reformers who devoted their entire attention to this mission of peace and love. Poetry, music and architecture of the period bear testimony to this synthetic work. The seeds of harmony sown in this epoch bore fruits in the days of Akbar.

Another source of error lies in accepting literally the version of the Hindu-Muslim clash given by Muslim or Hindu chroniclers as indicating the normal relations between the two communities. During the period of strife, it was but natural that the two parties should express their hostility in their writings. Muslim hardships could hardly be expected to find expression in Hindu records ; on the other hand to expect an account of Hindu suffering in Muslim records during the period of active struggle is to wish for the moon. To the professional panegyrists of the rulers every petty skirmish in which his patron was engaged was a holy war. The wartime vocabularly became stereotyped so that even ordinary events were expressed in military parlance having no relation to the realities of life.

Besides these sources of error, there are serious difficulties, some inherent in the subject of study, and others of our own creation, in writing the history of the period. It is not due to paucity of contemporary historical sources. Many of the Sultans of Delhi patronized Arabic and Persian

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scholars, some of whom devoted their time to the writing of History. Among these may be noticed Hasan Nizami, Minhaz-us-Siraj, Amir Khusru, Isamy, Barani, Afif, Yahya etc., whose works have preserved almost a continuous account of the Delhi Sultanate. These were eye-witnesses of some of the events described by them. Amir Khusru was fortunate to serve a number of successive Sultans from Balban to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. He was not merely the witness of the events which he described but was a participant in many of them. Zia-ud-din Barani who was frequently called upon for advice by Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq took up the history of India deliberately just where Minhaj-us-Siraj left it. In the preface to his work he says : "Whatever I have written is right, and worthy of all confidence". Besides these great authors a number of others like Shihab-ud-din, Ibn Batuta, Abdulla Wassar, Abdur Razzak etc., also throw sidelights on contemporary life and events. A number of non-Muslim sources—such as the bardic literature of the Rajputs, semi-historical and religious compositions of South Indian poets, Portuguese itineraries and the Local Records—are helpful in checking the version of Muslim chroniclers. Archaeological evidence as furnished by inscriptions, coins and monuments supplement and correct the information gleaned from the Hindu and Muslim works.

Yet the study of this period has not made much progress. It is mainly due to the defective system of our education, and want of proper organization to make the contemporary historical works easily available to the students.

It will be recognised by all that only original work can serve the true interests of scholarship. Translations are very poor substitutes. The misunderstandings caused by extracts given in Elliot and Dowson's History of India have been recently pointed out by Mr. Hodiwalla. In our country most of our young scholars are ill-equipped for historical research in ancient and mediaeval periods. They emerge out of University portals without even a smattering of Sanskirt or Persian. Sometimes they are even ignorant of their own vernacular literature. When they take to historical investigation perforce they ***entirely*** rely upon translations. In technical institutions only such people are admitted as had some grounding in allied subsidiary subjects. But in the matter of humanistic studies no such condition is imposed. If best results are to be

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obtained, in historical research, every student of history must be made to acquire good knowledge of at least one classical language and one vernacular literature. The time is opportune for this reform because in the new setting of our political and constitutional development we can make a fresh start.

The materials relating to this period are mostly in manuscripts in Persian, Rajasthani, Marathi, Telugu, and other vernaculars of India. They are preserved in different libraries of our country and Europe or locked up in private collections. They are not easily accessible to students. It is high time that an organised attempt is made to collect them or their copies and house them in one or two central institutions. Side by side, vigorous search for historical manuscripts should be instituted with a view to unearth new materials. Discoveries of Tughlaq-nama, Futuh-us-Salatin, Riyazul Insha etc., during the last few years give hopes of further findings. Lastly, arrangements should be made to publish important historical manuscripts bearing on the period. All this cannot be done by private organization or individuals. May I suggest to the Central Governments of both Indian Union and Pakistan to institute a joint Historical Manuscripts Commission to undertake this useful task in the interest of historical studies ? In the meantime our Universities and other learned bodies may profitably take up the publication of exhaustive source for the history of various dynasties, central and local, as has been done by the Madras University, so far as literary evidence is concerned for the history of Vijayanagar.

Recently another complication has made its appearance, which if not immediately looked into might prove a serious obstacle to the progress of historical studies and research. India has gained independent status and is not likely to continue English as the medium of higher instruction. Since the attainment of local autonomy, regional languages are pressing their claims for recognition as the official language of the province or the state. Hitherto English educated scholars belonging to various linguistic groups could have commerce in ideas through the English medium, and most of their research output dealing with our subject has been in English. A number of original sources in Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic or Persian have been readily available to them in English version for reference. But in the near future our scholars, with the exception of a select few, might not only lose the benefit of works

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in English language but also of the Research output of the workers in the field in the various parts of India. This sad sequence can, however, be averted if an all-India official language is accepted as a medium of higher instruction. But this is not likely to appeal to the champions of regional languages. Hence a special duty rests with all of us to avert any setback in historical studies in this transition period from the old order to the new.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have taken much of your time and drew too much upon your indulgence. I thank you sincerely for your kind and patient hearing.

THE DATE OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COLA EMPIRE

BY

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Pudukkottai.

With the materials available, when he wrote the *Pandyan Kingdom*,[1] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri of Madras could only conjecture that the Coḷa emperor Rājendra III had ceased to rule when Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne in 1268. In his later work the *Colas*[2] he roughly dates the end of Rājendra's reign in 1279, (the thirtythird regnal year), evidently basing his surmise on the fact that the latest regnal year cited in the inscriptions of Rājendra was 33. It is worthwhile examining other sources that may throw light on Prof. Sastri's tentative conclusion.

The lightning incursion of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I into the Coḷa country, and his occupation of the capital during the reign of Kulottuṅga III, the defeat of Rāja Rāja III by the Kāḍava Kopperuñjiṅga, and the second invasion of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya sealed the doom of the Coḷa empire, which, however, carried on a moribund existence for a few more decades, chiefly with the help of the Hoysalas. Rājendra III made a feeble attempt to revive the might of Coḷa power, and tried to shake off Hoysala hegemony, but the accession of the virile Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I to the Madura throne made it necessary for Rājendra and the Hoysala Vīra Someśvara to unite against the

1. Published 1929—See p. 183. See also *A. R. E.* 1912, part II paragraph 32 and 1923, part II paragraph 45. Also Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyengar : *South Indian and Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 56 and 94-5.

2. Vol. II published 1937, p. 207.

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mounting aggrandisement of their Pāṇḍyan neighbour. The Coḷa kingdom again became a Hoysala dependency. This naturally shifts our inquiry into the progress of the Pāṇḍya-Hoysala conflict.

About A. D. 1233, even during the lifetime of his father, Vira Someśvara founded a southern Hoysala capital at Kaṇṇanūr[3], which he named Vikramapura, about 9 miles to the north of the modern city of Trichinopoly. About 1235 he conquered Kānanāḍu[4], a district comprising parts of modern Pudukkoṭṭai State and Ramnāḍ district. Rājendra's inscriptions dated after his eighth regnal year are conspicuously absent in the Trichinopoly district and Pudukkoṭṭai State. Rājendra had lost Kāñcī, which was virtually included in the Telugu Coḍa kingdom. The Yādavarāyas, Sāmbuvarāyas, Cedirāyas, and other feudatories of Bāna, Nulamba and Gaṅga extraction had carved out slices of territory from the northern districts of the empire. Rājendra had only the Tanjore country to rule, and even there he was not the sole sovereign but shared his authority with the Hoysala Vīra Rāmanātha. There are inscriptions which refer to this joint rule of Rājendra and Rāmanātha[5].

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's first invasion of the Tamil provinces of the Hoysalas was in 1253. About 1263 he was temporarily master of Kaṇṇanūr. Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (*acc.* 1253), who shared the Pāṇḍyan throne with Jaṭāvarman, also invaded the Coḷa country. The *prasasti* in a Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription dated in the 11th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya's reign (A. D. 1264) refers to his victory over the Coḷa king. Māṛa-Varman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya (*acc.* 1268) completed the conquest of what remained of the Coḷa empire. His was a two-pronged attack. He occupied Kaṇṇanūr in his 15th regnal year (1272-3)[7]. There are however a few inscriptions dated in Rāmanatha's reign in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, later than A. D. 1272, practically up to 1279. The year 1280 may be taken as the outer limit when Rāmanātha lost the Tamil provinces, and was driven to the Mysore plateau.

At the same time Kulaśekhara seems to have engaged Rājendra's forces also in the Tanjore country. Two inscriptions[8], one dated in the 4th regnal year (A. D. 1272) and the other in the 10th regnal year (A. D. 1279) of Kulaśekhara, have a *prasasti*, which mentions that the Pāṇḍyan king had sent 'the tiger[9] of the

3. *E. C.* IX Bangalore 6. Also Bangalore Museum Copper Plates.
4. *P. S. I.* 340 & 341.
5. *M. E. R.* 207 & 208 of 31.
6. *P. S. I.* 366.
7. *M. E. R.* 328 of 23.
8. *M. E. R.* 465 of 09 and 25 of 91.
9. The tiger was the crest of the Coḷas.

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Colas to rule the forests', and had taken possession of the royal palace at Jayangoṇḍara-śoḷapuram. An inscription[10] from Oliyamangalam (Pudukkoṭṭai State) dated in the 12th year of Kulaśekhara's reign (A D. 1280) is one of the earliest records—if not the earliest—wherein the appellation *emmandalamumkondarwliya*, meaning "he who had conquered all the countries," appears along with the king's name. The 'maṇḍalams' thus conquered are enumerated in a Sermādevi Inscription,[11] Malaināḍu (Travancore), Sonāḍu (the Coḷa country), Kongu, Iḷam (Ceylon) and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. This makes it clear that by 1280, Kulaśekhara had finally conquered the Coḷa country. Prof. Sastri has pointed out that 33 was the last regnal year mentioned in Rājendra's inscriptions, which corresponds to 1279. There are very few inscriptions-only about four in number so far known-that are dated after the 25th year (A. D. 1271) of Rājendra's reign, and these are found in Vedāranyam and other outlying villages of the Tanjore district[12].

Hoysala and Pāndya records confirm Prof. Sastri's conclusion that A. D. 1279 marks the final dissolution of the Coḷa kingdom. The outside limit may be put as A. D. 1280 when the Coḷa kingdom was absorbed in the Pāndyan kingdom, which, for a few decades, was a unitary Tamil kingdom, the influence and power of which were acknowledged by Muslims and Chinese alike, who called it *Ma'bar*.

WHEN WAS KṚSṆARĀYA BORN?

BY

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Unknown are the beginnings and ends of the life and reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. His origin appears humble and is shrouded in tradition. His end again is not definitely placed in time.

Tradition in itself can neither be believed nor rejected. Though unconfirmed, if it is not controverted by known facts tradition claims respectful scrutiny. Even so is what introduces us to the early life of Kṛṣṇarāya.

Besides on tradition, we may draw on the Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz, for some account of Kṛṣṇarāya before he became

10. *P. S. I.* 391.
11. *M. E. R.* 692 of 16.
12. *M. E. R.* 336 of 25, 227 of 29, 514 of 04 and 492 of 04.

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King. Nuniz has it that Kṛṣṇa's brother, Busbal Rao, the king, was sick and in the last hours of his earthly existence. He wanted that his son should succeed him on the throne of Vijayanagara. But his son was a mere boy of eight years, scarcely fit to rule. Busbal Rao knew that *the kingdom ought perhaps to belong to his brother Kṛṣṇa*, who was over twenty years in age and therefore more fit to be king. Yet reason is a feeble guide where ambition holds sway. Thus it came to pass that Busbal Rao ordered his minister Sāḷuva Timma to blind Kṛṣṇarāya.

But Timma's heart was warm with affection for Kṛṣṇa. The latter was a youth, of great promise. He had already established a name as a fine writer and had also won laurels while fighting his brother's wars. Sāḷuva Timma, therefore, could not bring himself to carry into effect the ill-judged commands of his sovereign. He summoned Kṛṣṇa into his presence and appraised him of the danger which threatened his person. Kṛṣṇa, however, avowed that he had professed no desire for the throne and therefore never deserved such a treatment of his brother. But if it so pleased the minister to leave him alone he would even turn a recluse and tell beads. Sāḷuva Timma decided to shield Kṛṣṇa and keep him out of harm's way. As to his readiness to take to religious orders, the minister had very different plans for the youth, once the danger was past. In the meanwhile, the minister showed goat's eyes to the dying monarch to convince him that his orders were fulfilled. When Busbal Rao died, Sāḷuva Timma lost no time and he raised Kṛṣṇa to the throne of Vijayanagara[1].

Now Kṛṣṇarāya's brother, Vīra Nṛsimha (Busbal Rao of Nuniz) was still ruling in the month of Vaiśākha of the Cyclic year Sukla, Saka 1431[2].

The earliest inscription so far known of Kṛṣṇarāya, wherein he appears as the reigning king, is dated in the month of Śrāvana Su. 10 Thursday of the same Saka year Sukla[3]. So Kṛṣṇarāya became king sometime between 4th May and July 26 of 1509 A. D. Were he then over twenty years of age, Kṛṣṇarāya must have been born about 1489 A. D. or a little earlier.

Nuniz gives Vīra Nṛsimha a reign of six years. The latter must have come to power sometime in 1503 A. D. When in that year he constituted the Government of the country, his brother Kṛṣṇarāya appears, according to the Vijayanagararāja Katha, as a lad of sixteen.

As the Katha has it, when Vīra Nṛsimha ascended the throne, he was still a youth and quite inexperienced in state-craft. Most of the subordinate princes, who had formerly been paying

1. F. E. pp-314-315.
2. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 802.
3. 703 of 1919 (from Gulya-Alur Taluq, Bellary District).

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tribute to his father, now took advantage of the king's weakness and rebelled against him.

Vīra Nṛsimha, therefore, had to wage a war with them to bring them back into submission. But his absence with his armies in distant lands, would render the capital of the empire open to attack. No better choice had the king but to place Kṛṣṇarāya in charge of the central fortress. But Kṛṣṇarāya had greatly desired to be in the thick of the fray and he pleaded strongly with his brother to be made the head of the expedition. Vīra-Nṛsimha was reluctant. He protested, invain, that a lad of sixteen, Kṛṣṇarāya was best in charge of a fortress than that he should risk his own life in uncertain battles. Finally, however, Kṛṣṇarāya's entreaties prevailed and he set out on his campaign against the rebellious nobles.

Nuniz, like the Katha, speaks of the various revolts in the empire that broke out close on the death of Narasa Nāyaka. "As soon as his father was dead," writes Nuniz of Busbal Rao, "The whole land revolted under its captains ; who in a short time were destroyed by that King, and their lands taken and reduced under his rule[4]." Over twenty years of age, according to Nuniz, at the time of his accession, Kṛṣṇarāya must have been of military age when his elder brother Vīra Nṛsimha was crowned King. No wonder, therefore, if Kṛṣṇarāya offered to measure his sword against those of the rebellious chieftains that he might restore to his brother those lands that had been formerly his father's. The Katha takes the birth of Kṛṣṇarāya to the year 1487 A. D (1503-16=1487) which is quite in consonance with the age Nuniz gave for Kṛṣṇarāya at the time of the latter's accession to the throne.

A clue to the year of Kṛṣṇarāya's birth may be found in tradition recorded by Mr. G. Sreeramamurty in his "Biographies of Telugu poets". It is stated therein that Kṛṣṇa's birth synchronised with the subjugation of the whole of the Vijayanagara territory by his father, Narasa Nāyaka[5]. We have placed Kṛṣṇa's birth in the last twenty's of the 15th century of the Christan era. Narasa Nāyaka, therefore, must have accomplished this great feat, not in his own right as king, but as the supreme commander of the forces of his master and sovereign, Saḷuva Nṛsimha. The crowning act of this great achievement by Narasa was his capture of the capital city, Vijayanagara. We have reason to believe that this coup was brought off about the middle of the Christian year 1486 A. D.

The circumstances that saw the last of the rule of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara have been well described by Nuniz. According to him, the last ruler, King Padearao fled from the city of Vijayanagara when "a captain of the army of.....

4. F. E. p. 314.
5. Op. Cit., p. 478.

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Narsymgua" penetrnted the city as far as the doors of the Royal chamber. "When it was known by the captain that the king had fled, he did not trouble to go after him, but took possession of the city.....and he sent to acquaint his lord, Narsymgua. And after that Narsymgua was raised to be king"[6].

This "Narsymgua" of Nuniz was Saḷuva Nṛsimha and his Captain was the Great Tuḷuva General Narasa, Nāyaka, father of Kṛṣṇarāya. To this same event referred Nandi Timmanna, who adorned the court of Kṛṣṇarāya the Poet-Emperor, while singing the praises of Narasa Nayaka. In his poem, Pārijātāpaharanamu, he writes that Narasa "demonstrated his great calibre when he seized Vidyapura so that the Lord of Kuntala was caught in trouble."[7] It is evident that Narasa Nāyaka was mainly instrumental in bringing the whole country under the rule of the Sāḷuvas. Kṛṣṇarāya's birth, therefore, must have been contemporaneous with the Sāḷuva usurpation in the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

The last king of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara was a profligate. He abandoned himself to his women and delighted in vices. He soon lost by his bad government a considerable part of his territories.[8] The only provinces that were under the effective control of the central authority were the Malnād districts of Mysore and the west coast comprising the Male and Tuḷu Rājyas with the country about the city of Vijayanagara itself. At the same time, the empire became hard pressed by enemies on its eastern frontiers. The disintegrating eruption of Kapileśvara Gajapati made itself felt in the distant district of South Arcot.[9] Kapileśvara's death about 1470 A. D., while it gave sufficient respite for Sāḷuva Nṛsimha to build up his power, did not forbid the victorious march by the Bahmuny Sultan as far south as Kānchi which he sacked on 12th March 1481 A. D.[10] The only territories that still could hold their own against the enemies of the empire were those under Sāḷuva Nṛsimha. He had started his career as the Governor of Chandragiri, his ancestral estate. Slowly he extended his sway over wider regions. By 1470 "Nursing was a powerful Raja, possessing the country between Carnatic and Telingana, extending along the

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6. F. E. pp.30 6-7.
—Sources of Vij. Hist. p. 107.

Dr. S. K. Ayyangar translates it thus:—"When the lord of Kuntala country was caught in trouble, he exhibited his valour and captured the city of Vidyapura." If the king had already been in trouble, it could be much easier for Narasa to take the fort. In such a case, the incident need not have merited such a high praise from the poet.

8. Nuniz, F. E. 305—06.
9. A. R. 1907, Sec. 56.
10. Burhan-i-Ma'asir, I. A. 1899, p. 290.

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sea-coast to Matchilipattam and had added much of the Beejanuggar territory to his own by conquest, with several strong forts."[11] He appears to have been ruling in his own name even from 1467 A. D. For, between 1467 and 1485 we have a series of inscriptions registering grants made by himself or in his name without any reference to the ruling sovereign.[12] He is there spoken of as Mahārasu, Mahāmandalesvara, Mahāmāndalika, titles that just fall short of full royal significance. The first inscription that gives him the royal titles and speaks of him as seated on the throne of Vijayanagara is dated in Saka 1408, Parābhava, Kārtika, Su. 5 *i. e.*, November 1, 1486 A. D. It runs Srīmad Rājādhirāja Rājaparameśvara Prauḍhapratāpa Nara-"singarāyaru Vidyānagaradali Vijayasimhāsanārūḍhar āgi Prithvīsyam aluva."[13] Narasa Nāyaka thus must have captured Vijayanagara for his master in the earlier months of 1486 A. D. And if the tradition embodied in the "Biographies of Telugu Poets" were true, Kṛṣnarāya must have been born in the last quarter of 1486 or the first quarter of 1487 A. D.

According to the Vijayanagararāja Katha, to which we have already had occasion to refer, Kṛṣnarāya was a lad of sixteen years[14] when his father died and his brother Vīra Nṛsimha came to the throne. An inscription from Devikapuram in the North Arcot District refers to a gift made for the merit of Swāmi Narasa Nāyaka "who went to Sivaloka."[15] It is dated in śaka 1425 Rudhirodgāri, *i. e.*, 1503 A. D. A Bāchahaḷḷi inscription with the date equivalent to December 13, 1503 A. D. records a gift "when Narasanna Nāika died."[16] This again takes the year of Kṛṣna's birth to 1487 A. D. (1503-16=1487 A. D.)

There is a solitary inscription[17] dated in the reign of Kṛṣnadevarāya (Vṛsha, Āḍi 31, Mon., Ekādaśi, Mṛgasirṣa=1521, July 29) which records that Vasavappa-Nāyaka, the elder brother of Adappattu Vaiyappa-Nāyaka made a gift of the village,

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11. Briggs, Ferishta II, pp. 498-9.

12. E. C. X, Kolar 33; E. C. X, Mulbagal 20; E. C. IV, Nagamangala 79 and 89; E. C. IX, Channapatna 158; E. C. IV, Heggadadevankote 74; E. C. IX, Kankanhalli 8; E. C. IV, Nagamangala 59; E. C. IX Magadi 52;

13. E. C. XII, Tumkur 54. Bishop Caldwell fixes the initial date of Saluva Nrsimha's reign in 1487 (Hist. of Tinnevelly, p. 48). Mr. Sewell notes it but agrees with Dr. Burnell in fixing 1490 for the event. Sewell remarks—"We have yet to learn the history of his acquiring the sovereignty of Vijayanagara and ousting the older dynasty." (Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, 106.)

14. Biographies, p. 491.

15. 357 of 1912; See. also A. S. R. 1908-09, p. 171.

16. E. C. IV, K. P. 64.

17. 216 of 1916 from Tiruppukkuli in Conjeevaram Taluk, Chingleput District.)

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Vanavāntangal, for a festival to be conducted on the day of Jyeṣṭa in the month of Māsi, which was the Janmanakṣatra of the king. Unfortunately the year of the king's birth is not given therein. The foregoing discussion, however, takes it to the year 1487 A. D. If this be accepted then King Kṛṣṇadevarāya was born in the cyclic year Parābhava, Māsi 21, Jyeṣṭa nakṣatra =Māgha ba. 8) on a Friday *i. e.*, A. D. 1487, February 16.

NEW LIGHT ON RAVIVARMAN KULAŚEKHARADEVA

BY

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Ravivarman Kulaśekharadeva, the king of Venāḍ, is known to scholars through his literary works, and inscriptions found in and outside his territory. He ascended the throne in 1299 A. D. in his 33rd year and was crowned on the bank of the Vegavatī at the age of 46. His exploits are detailed in an inscription from Conjeeveram and more can be gleaned from his records found in a number of places extending from Trivandram in the south to Poonamalle near Madras in the North. The title '*Dakshina-Bhoja*' given to him emphasizes his greatness as a scholar and a liberal patron of learning.

In this short article it is proposed to draw the attention of scholars to new information contained in a Telugu record engraved in Grantha characters found at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinpoly district. Here he is called Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi Kulaśekhara. The date is given as Saka 1239, Piṅgala, Chaitra, dvādaśī, Monday, Lunar-eclipse which corresponded to A. D. 1317, March 28, Monday. The inscription states that while *Mahamandalesvara* Kākatīya Prataparudradeva-Mahārāja was ruling from his capital Oruṅgallu, his general *Kakatiyasthapanacharya* Devari-Nāyanigāru, son of Māchaya-Nāyanigāru led an expedition to the Southern territory against Pañchapāṇḍava, when he defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi Kulaśekhara on the battle-field at Tiruvadikuṇdram and that he thereafter established Sundara-Paṇḍya at Vīradhāvaḷa. This victorious event the Vakatiya general celebrated by an endowment to the temple at Śrīraṅgam.

It is known that after the death of the Paṇḍya sovereign Kulaśekharadeva, there was a war for succession to the throne between his legitimate and illegtimate sons Sundara-Pāndya and Vira-Pāndya. Since the Śrīraṅgam inscription states that the Kākatīya general restored Sundara-Pāndya to power after defeat-

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ing Vīra-Pāndya and the Malayāḷa Tiruvadi, it may be inferred that in this war, one party sought the help of the Kākatīya king and the other that of Malayāḷa Tiruvadi. The interference of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara in the war of succession is a new piece of information given in the Srīraṅgam inscription. The Muhammadans did not enter this war as has hitherto been supposed and Malik Kafur's invasion of the south in 710 H, corresponding to A. D. 1310 *i. e.*, seven years before the date of the inscription under discussion, was only a general campaignfor loot unconnected with the rivalry of the Pāndyan princes. This inscription also proves that Ravivarman Kulasekhara was not invincible as has hitherto been claimed for him and that after his defeat at Tiruvadikundram identifiable with the village of the same name in the South Arcot district, he disappears from history and is not heard of either in the Tamil country or Keraḷa.

The identification of Vīradhāvaḷam or Bīrdhūl of Muhammadan historians where Sundara-Pāndya is said to have been reinstated, is a disputed point. It has been variously identified with Jayaṅgoṇḍaśolapuram in the Trichinopoly district and with Vriddhāchalam and Marakānam in the South Arcot district. A record from Alagarkoyil helps to locate this city in Uṛaiyūr-kūṛṛam *i. e.* the region round Uṛaiyūr, a suburb of the present town of Trichinopoly and another inscription from Uyyakkondān Tirumalai about four miles from Uraiyūr suggests its identification with Uyyakkondān Tirumalai itself.

Scholars are of opinion that Vegavatī on the bank of which Ravivarman Kulaśekhara crowned himself is the river flowing near Conjeeveram, but it seems better to identify it with the Vaigai in the Madura district referred to in Tamil literature as Vegavati. The coronation of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara in the heart of the Pandya country would then have a special significance as expressing his sovereignty over the Pāndya kingdom.

THE FALL OF WARANGAL AND AFTER

BY

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The fall of Warangal in 1323 A. D. is an important landmark in Dekkan history. It denotes the end of independent Hindu rule and the commencement of Muslim rule. The Hindus, particularly the Āndhras, did not reconcile themselves to this foreign domination easily. Very soon after the return of prince Ulugh Khan from the Dekkan they started rescuing parts of Āndhradeśa

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and the latest part to be thus liberated was the city of Warangal. Accounts of this liberation are found in both Hindu and Muslim sources. Some scholars have studied this interesting part of Dekkan history in detail and propounded the theory that a certain Musunūri Kāpaya nāyaka was the leader of this revivalist movement and that western Āndhra, coastal Āndhra, Telingāna and the city of Warangal were all liberated under his guidance.[1] The object of this paper is to examine this theory and bring out certain inconsistencies inherent in it.

Pratāparudradeva, the last Kākatiya king, repelled seven invasions[2] of the Muslims between 1302-1323 A. D. but was captured on the last occasion by Prince Ulugh Khan, son of Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak and sent a prisoner to Delhi.[3] According to some sources he returned to his country after semetime and died on the bank of the Godāvary[4] but according to others he died on the bank of the Narmadā even while being taken to Delhi.[5] It is anyhow certain that he did not resume government of the country and that the rule of the Kākatīya dynasty ended in 1323 A. D. The Āndhra country over which this family held sway came to be dismembered after that date. The Muslims conquered the city of Warangal in 1323 A. D. and renamed it Sultanpur. Encouraged by this success they overran the entire Telingāna,, a region consisting of 9 00900 villages; the province of Ma' bar having ninety ports on the sea coast; the province of Dwāra[6] samudra, ruled by Balla III; and the province of Jajnagar.' Rajahmundry, a stronghold on the northern bank of the Godāvary[8] was captured[7] and the coastal region up to Ellore occupied.s Regarding the course of subsequent events the Muslim historiani mention Sultān Mahommad Tughlak's invasion of Kampil in 1327 A. D.,[9] the rebellions in the Karnaṭak in 1335 A. D.,[10] and the conquest of Warangal by Kanya or Krishna Naik in 1344 A. D.[11] The Hindu sources mention in general terms that the country was rescued from the Muslims but differ as to the persons that accomplished this task. The Vilasa grant of Musunūri Prolaya nāyaka[12] credits him with the liberation and government of the country after the death of Pratāparudradeva.

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1. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in Jour. Ind. Cult. M. S. Sarma—A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History.
2. See the Villasa grant App. i. of Forg. Ch. And h. Hist.
3. Elliot and Dowson III. p. 233.
4. Cf. the Pratapcharitramu and other traditional works.
5. See note two above.
6. The Muslim University Journal, June 1935, pp. 62-63.
7. Ep. Ind-Mos. 1923-24 pp. 13-14.
8. Forg. Ch. of Andh. Hist. p. 17.
9. Ell. and Dow. III, p. 99.
10. Ibid p. 243.
11. *Ibid.* p. 245.
12. See note two above.

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It is stated that he ruled for some time from Rekapalli and then handed over his kingdom to his brother Kāpaya nāyaka. The Guraja grant of this Musunūri Kāpaya nāyaka[13] dated 1345 A.D. describes him as ruling alone from Ekasilānagari or Warangal. Another record, the Kalavachru grant,[14] states that after the death of Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva the country was submerged in the Yavana ocean; that a certain Prolaya māyaka rescued and ruled over it; that after the death of this Prolaya a certain Kāpaya nāyaka ruled over his kingdom attended by 75 nāyakas; that after Kāpaya's death the nāyakas returned to their respective principalities and ruled over them independently and that one of these nāyakas was king Vema of the Paṁṭakula.

The advocates of the new theory identify firstly the Prolaya nāyaka of the Kalavacheru grant with Musunūri Prolaya nāyaka of the Vilasa grant; the Kāpaya nāyaka of the Kalavacheru grant with the Musunūri Kāpaya nāyaka of the Guraja grant on the one hand and the Kāpya, Kanyā or Krishna naik of the Muslim historians on the other. Taking their stand on the statement in the Kaluvacheru grant that Kāpaya nāyaka of that grant was served by 75 nāyakas these writers presume that every chieftain who made a conquest or carved out a principality for himself in Āndhradeśa subsequent to 1323 A. D. did so under the guidance and at the bidding of Musunūri Kāpaya nāyaka. They glorify this chieftain as the leader of a great Hindu revivalist movement. Some of the identifications mentioned above and the general presumption on which this theory is based are open to serious objections.

There are several objections to the identification of the Prolaya and Kāpaya of the Kalavecheru grant with the chieftains of those names mentioned in the Vilasa and Guraja grants:—

(1) The Kalavacheru grant does not state to which family the two chiefs belonged while the other two grants describe them as members of the Musunūri family.

(2) The relationship between the two chiefs is not mentioned in the Kalavacheru grant but the other two grants make them cousin brothers.

(3) The Kalavacheru grant does not state wherefrom Prolaya and Kapaya ruled but the Kilasa grant mentions Rekapalli as the headquarters of Prolaya nāyaka and the Guraja grant states that Kapaya nāyaka ruled from Warangal.

(4) It is stated in the Valavacharu grant that Kapaya succeeded to the kingdom after the death of Prolaya but the Vilasa grant mentions that Prolaya entrusted his kingdom to Kāpaya and other brothers and devoted himself to earning *Dharma*.

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13. c. p. 3 of 1934-35 ME.R.; J.B.O.R.S. XX. p. 260.
14. Jour. Tel. Ac. IV. pp. 93-112.

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(5) The Kalavacheru grant mentions that Kāpaya was served by 75 nayakas but his Guraja grant or any other record of his does not speak of this.

Besides the discrepancies mentioned above there are some more serious objections. Firstly, the Kaluvacheru grant states that king Vema became independent after the death of Kāpaya nāyaka. This Vema is the same as Prolaya Vema, the founder of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu. He seems to have been ruling as an independent monarch even from 1325 A. D.[15] The adviocates of the new theory state that Musunuri Kāpaya nayaka died in 1368 A. D.[16] His earliest known inscription is dated 1345 A. D.[17] and it is likely that he ruled between 1340-1368 A. D. It is obviously impossible that Vema who was independent in 1325 A. D. could have obtained that status after the death of Musunuri Kapaya nāyaka in 1368 A. D. Secondly, the advocates of the new theory ascribe the conquest of Warangal by Musunuri Kāpaya nāyaka to 1336 A. D. (18) There is nothing in the Guraja grant on other records to show that the authority of Kāpaya nāyaka extended into the Guntur district wherein the kingdom of Vema lay. Nor is there any evidence to indicate that Kapaya nāyaka's predecessor Musunuri Prolaya nāyaka exercised authority over this region. It is thus impossible that Prolaya Vema could at any time have been a subordinate of the Musunuri chiefs. Thirdly, as stated already, Musu nūri Kāpaya nāyaka ruled from Rekapalli for some time aftler Prolaya nāyaka. He must have conquered Warangal oney later. If this event took place in 1336 A. D. the rule of his predecessor Prolaya at Rekapalli must have come to an end by 1335 A. D. at the latest. This Prolaya nāyaka must be assigned to 1326-1335 A. D. 1325 A. D., the year in which the independent rule of Vema commenced, falls within the reign of Musunuri Prolaya nāyaka but they were ruling in different regions and had nothing to do with each other.

The conclusion therefore is obvious that Musunūri Prolaya nāyaka and Kāpaya nāyaka were differerent from the chieftains of those names mentioned in the Kalavacheru grant.

Other considerations also lead to the same conclusion. The Vilasa grant states that Musunūri Prolaya liberated the earth from the horrible Yavanas and held it in his hands ; that he ruled from the town of Rekapalli situated in this land liberated by him and on the bank of the Godavary near the Malyavanta hill.[19] Rekapalli is a village situated in the Bhadrāchalam taluk of

15. Nel. Ins. III. O. 73.
16. Forg. Ch. Andh. Hist. p. 98
17. See note 13 above.
18. Forg. Ch. Andh. Hist. p. 69.
19. See lines 56-59 of the Villasa grant.

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the East Godavary district in the agency tract. It must be this Godavary agency that this Prolaya nāyaka rescued. Telingāna continued to be under Muslim occupation from the time of its conquest by Ulugh Khan in 1323 A. D. till the conquest of Warangal in 1336 A. D. by Musunūri Kāpaya nāyaka. Evidently, the liberation of the Godāvary agency by Prolaya preceeded the liberation of Warangal. Muslim historians mention that about 1335 A. D. the Hindus in the Kampila region[20] and Ballāla III of Dwārasamudra rebelled against Sultan Mahommad Tughlak.[21] It is very likely that Musunūri Prolaya nāyaka, whose principality lay on the extreme west of Telingāna, followed the example of these Hindus of the south, rescued the Godāvary agency region and began to rule over it about this time. The Sultan departed from Kampila in 1329-30 A. D. and there was a general rising in or about 1335 A. D. Prolaya nāyaka's conquest might have been effected any time between 1330 and 1335 A. D. and probably in 1330 A. D. The Sultan on hearing of the news of the rebellions in the south is said to have marched up to Warangal in the Dekkan in order to subdue the rebels but was forced to retreat from Warangal itself on account of the outbreak of plague. Thus Musunūri Prolaya nāyaka must have been left undisturbed in the enjoyment of his newly obtained freedom.

Prolaya Vema is described in one of his incriptions dated 1345 A. D. as the Agastya to the ocean of the Mlecchas.[22] Another record of 1345 A. D.[23] states that he conquered an enemy and gave many agrahāras to brāhmins. A third record[24] mentions that this Reddi king restored all those agrahāras which were originally granted by Kākatiya Pratāparudradeva but were subsequently confiscated by the Turushkas. Many of his inscriptions credit him with having sported in the waters of the Krishna and the Godāvary and granting many agrahāras on either bank of these rivers and in the region situated between them. Part of the Krishna-Godavary region and the city of Rajamundry were under the Muslims at least till September 1324 A. D. There was no other invasion of the east coast between 1323-24 when Ulugh Khan overran it and 1345 A. D. in which year Vema is described as having fought with the Mlecchas. Nor do we hear of the Muslims at Rajahmundry after 1324 A. D. The conclusion is obvious that Vema fought with the Muslims and rescued the Krishna-Godavary region and the city of Rajahmundry. Otherwise he could not have granted agraharas in this region. This king Vema was not an independent ruler in 1324

20. Sewell-Forgotten Empire, Chronicle of Nuniz p. 297.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Ep. Ind. VIII, Madras Museum plates of Vema.
23. Manchalla ins. in Loc. Rec. XII. p. 16.
24. See note 22 above, verse 12.

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A. D. It thus becomes possible to locate the Prolaya and Kāpaya of the Kalavacheru grant between 1328-1325 A. D. *i. e.* between the fall of Warangal and the beginning of the independent rule of Vema. It also becomes clear that the liberation of the coastal region was the result of the joint efforts of Prolaya nāyaka and Vema Reddi, and this may be ascribed to the end of 1324 A. D.

There was another independence movement in western Āndhra. A certain Somadevarāja of the Āraviṭi family is said to have routed a Muslim army, won a victory at Ānegondi and to have conquered many forts in the Kurnul and Bellary districts in the Raichur doab[25]. These exploits of this chieftain could be possible only after 1327 A. D., when the kingdom Ānegondi fell and 1336 A. D., when the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded. It may be assigned to a date following immediately the departure of Sultan Mohommad from Kampili in 1330 A D.

It is thus clear that various parts of Āndhradeśa were rescued from the Muslims at various dates—Rajahmundry and the coastal region in 1324, the territory south of the Krishna in 1325 A. D., the Rekapalli region in 1330 and western Andhra between 1330-35 A. D. Several individuals—Prolaya Vema Reḍḍi, Musunuri Prolaya nāyaka, and Arviṭi Somadeva liberated these parts and they had no political connection with each other. After the example of these chieftains Musunuri Kāpaya nāyaka conquered Warangal in 1336 A. D. and liberted Telingāna. There is no evidence to indicate that Prolaya Vema and Arviṭi Somadeva were in any way his subordinates at any time. The liberation of Andhradeśa from Muslim occupation was the result of a series of individual efforts by the chieftains of the time and not of a planned and co-ordinated movement directed by Musunuri Kāpaya nāyaka.

THE SOCIAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE HINDUS IN THE DAYS OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ

BY

DR. MAHDI HUSSAIN, M.A., PH.D.

The evolution of an Indo-Muslim culture based on a social and intellectual unity of the Muslims with the Hindus was in its infancy in the first half of the 14th century. Indian Muslims differed in many respects from their co-religionists in Arabia and Central Asia. Having been long separated from the cradle land of Islam, Muslim society under the Indian skies had come to wear

25. Bharati 1929 pp. 445-467.

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a look so different from what was known or expected by Ibn Battuta that it roused his intense curiosity, and he takes delight in noting the variations in customs and ceremonies which only a Muslim or a student of Muslim sociology can fully appreciate.

The Moorish traveller has described the funeral rite called *phul*. According to him on the third day after the burial the grave was covered with silk sheets or quilts and flowers, and the relatives and friends of the deceased gathered round it with copies of Quran in their hands. After the recital of the Quran the heir of the deceased had rose-water and betel-leaves (pan) distributed to the mourners. Now-a-days the ceremony is held at the deceased's house, not by the side of his grave. The rose-water and the betel have been replaced in some parts of India by sweets and eatables.

Ibn Battuta notes the use by Muslims of the doli or litter which could be had on hire, or which richer ones owned themselves the traveller does not directly refer to the purdah system though the use of doli is an evidence in its favour.

Ibn Battuta was impressed by some of the matrimonial rites then observed by the Muslims *e.g. Maiyun*, the *Chauthi*, the *Sihra* and the *Arsi Mushaf*. On being betrothed to the emperor's sister, Amir Saif-ud-din was seated on a small wooden platform two days before the marriage or the wedlock, and his hands and feet were painted red with a powder. A dance was then held in his presence. This ceremony was perhaps what at present is known as Maiyun. Reference is made by the traveller to *Chauthi*. It was no more than a contest between the parties held at the bride's house as the bridegroom's party arrived to take away the bride. Their entrance into the house was stubbornly resisted by the bride's party. The Chauthi ceremony as it is observed in these days in the principal centres of Muslim culture—Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Patna is much more refined. With the basic idea of staging a contest, between the parties, a meeting is organised on the fourth day after the marriage at the bride's house where a sham fight ensues 'the weapons of war' being vegetables and fruits—oranges, guavas, peaches etc. Even the spectacle of a contest at the bride's house wherein the entrance of the bridegroom's party is stubbornly resisted—a spectacle described by Ibn Battuta—can be seen to-day in the countryside and villages.

Another interesting feature of the Indian marriage noticed by Ibn Battuta was 'the Sihra'—a special face screen made of flowers worn by the bridegroom at the nuptials. This had come into use in Muslim society evidently under Hindu influence. Great importance was then, as it is still, attached to its use. Amir Saif-ud-din being an Arab at first refused to wear it. But when pressed hard yielded.

Another ceremony which is described in the Rehlah without its modern synonym the Arsi Mushaf, characterises the first formal

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and public meeting of the bride and bridegroom. This ceremony existed then in a form considerably different from what obtains now. Its nature or character in the India of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq may be regarded as typically transitional—half Arabian half Indian. When the bridegroom entered the bride's house, the latter was seated on a high pulpit studded with jewels and surrounded by female dancers and singers. The bridegroom was allowed to ride up to the pulpit where he had to alight and bow to the bride. In acknowledgment of this, she stood up and gave, a betel leaf to the bridegroom. Thereupon the latter took his seat on the pulpit below the bride. Then the female dancers and singers performed to the beat of the drum. In the midst of the dance and at intervals they raised cries of Allah-o-akbar (God is great). The dance over, the bride and the bridegroom stood up; and the latter clasping the hand of the former descended from the pulpit. Then he mounted his horse, and the bride proceeded to her palanquin.

The use of the pulpit and the cries of Allah-o-akbar were the peculiarities of the Arsi Mushaf of those days. To-day, the bride and the bridegroom are seated on the floor or on a coach or a sofa and made to see each other's face reflected in a mirror held between them with a copy of the Holy Quran kept wide open on a wooden frame close by to solemnize the function. This is due to the purdah system which became rigorous in later times. The use of the Arabic phrase Allah-o-akbar in the course of a dance and the playing of music was purely Arabian and dropped out subsequently. The language of the songs is not known, but the statement of the *Masalik-ul-Absar* to the effect that Hindi poets were employed at the court and appreciated leads to the conclusion that the songs were composed in mixed Hindi and Persian or Urdu.

The Muslims not only learnt the use of Indian luxuries and commodities *e. g.* Sihra, pan (betel) *chhaliya* (nut), Charpai (bed) and doli (litter) but they also adopted Indian customs. On his failure to liquidate his debts Ibn Battuta while seeking admission into the royal palace was gripped by his creditors who adjured him by the life of the Sultan to liquidate the debt before entering the palace. The emperor's attention being drawn, he satisfied their demands. Ibn Battuta describes this as a thoroughly Indian custom; and it is probably still observed in some Rajput states.

Quatremere—Notices des Manuscrits xiii, 185

Husain, A. M. The Rehlah of Ibn Battuta, (in press)

Muhammad Husain—*Ajaib-ul-Asfar*, 215 6.

Husain, A. M.—*The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*

This is also evident from the Pursa Pariksa of Vidyapati Thakkura.

21-24.

For the kind and value of tankas see *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq.*

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Opportunities fort the mixing of the Hindus with the Muslims in various walks of life were many. One particular instance being the enrolment of the Hindus in the royal armies and factories. The *Masalik-ul-Absar* affirms the existence at Delhi of a manufactory in which silk as well as other kinds of cloth was made, 400 silk weavers and 500 weavers of gold brocades being employed. Nothing is definitely stated regarding the nationality of the employees but the probability is that they were mostly Hindus.

Slavery was in full swing. An ordinary slave girl could be had for eight to fifteen tankas, though the price sometimes rose to as many as 20,000 tankas or higher still. It was determined according to the accomplishments and beauty of the slave-girls. Those who fetched higher prices were generally Muslim girls who knew the Holy Quran by heart and possessed many distinctive qualities. The price of slave boys varied in the same way and was in some cases as low as four dirhems. The lot of the slaves was by no means hard. The royal slaves in particular enjoyed almost enviable positions. Each received a monthly salary often takas, and four suits of clothes every year. He also received a monthly allowance of two maunds of wheat and rice and a daily allowance of meat with all the necessary provisions.

Some of the slaves were prisoners of war and Hindu converts, while others like Taghi were Muslims brought by merchants rom other countries. From the *Fatawa-i-Jahandiari* of Barani it is evident that the Hindus of high standing rubbed shoulders with the Muslim nobility, rode horses, lived in magnificent houses, dressed gorgeously and maintained slaves. They also employed Muslims as their servants and attendants.

The *Masalik-ul-Absar* reports the foundation of as many as seventy hospitals in Delhi, besides a large number of hermitages or hospices which were spread all over the country. No details are available regarding the nature and capacity of the hospitals. The observation of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Abbas that the number of court physicians amounted to 1200 does not lead us very far.

Agriculture was the common and popular pursuit. But certain parts of the country were still covered with forests and marsh where wild animals roamed about freely. Ibn Battuta saw not very far from the inhabited area wild animals like the rhinocerous etc. Land was irrigated either by means of rain water, which collected in tanks or from wells.

A vast and brisk trade was carried on inside India. Articles of indigenous growth were taken from one town to another, *e. g.* betel was taken from Dhar in Malwa to almost all the towns northward up to Delhi ; and sugar was taken from Kanauj to

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The information contained in this and above paragraph has been gleaned from different parts of the *Rehlah* and the *Masalik-ul-Absar*.

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other places especially to Delhi. Particular towns were noted for local trade. Daulatabad, for instance, was inhabited by Hindu merchants who dealt in pearls and jewels. The Marhattas of Nandbar were famous for their industry and handicraft ; and Cambay was the great emporium of foreign trade.

With foreign countries—China, Arabia, Persia, Africa and the Maldive islands—trade was equally brisk. The coasts of India were fringed with harbours where ships anchored, and ships were frequently witnessed by Ibn Battuta as well as by other travellers. Evidently ships of various kinds were built and used for transportation of articles as well as for the conveyance of passengers. Even the use of warships was not unknown. In his note upon Bengal, Ibn Battuta says that in the port of Sudkawan (Chitogong) there lay many ships which were used for war. For want of detailed information it cannot be said how much was expended by the state on shipbuilding. But the very fact that shipbuilding was known and promoted as an industry enables one to conjecture the opportunities of employment it must have held out to the Hindus in particular.

Like shipbuilding roadmaking was not unknown. In his account of the towns and cities of the empire Ibn Battuta gives valuable information regarding their respective distances to each other and from the capital. For instance, the distance from Siwistan to Multan amounted to ten days' journey ; from Telingana to Daulatabad forty day's journey ; from Multan to Siwistan ten days' journey ; from Sind to Delhi fifty days' journey ; from the Indus to Janali two days' journey ; from Multan to Delhi forty days' journey ; from Kanauj to Delhi ten days' journey ; from Kara-Manakpur to Delhi eighteen days journey ; from Sindpat to Delhi one days' journey ; from Gwalior (Kuyalyur) to Delhi (Dilhi) ten days' journey ; from Ma'bar to Delhi via Telingana and Daulatabad six months' journey ; from Chanderi to Ma'bara the same as between Ma'bar and Delhi ; from Multan to Dipalpur three day's journey ; from Telingana to Delhi three months' journey ; from Daulatabad to Multan eighty days' journey, from Qarachil (Himalays) to Delhi ten days' journey ; from Dhar to Delhi twenty-four days' journey ; from Badrkot (Telingana) to Ma'bar three months' journey ; from Sargadwari to Delhi ten days' journey ; from Alapur to the Chambal (Janbil) or Dholpur one day's journey ; and from Kamarupa (Kamrub) or Assam to Satgaon or Chatgaon one month's journey.

Evidently there was a network of roads all over the country. That these roads were built with small broken stones and presented a smooth surface seems to follow from Ibn Battuta's remarks in his account of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah Khalji. We are told that the latter left Delhi for Daulatabad which lay at a distance of 40 days' journey and was connected with Delhi by means of a road protected on both sides from the sun by Pipal and other kinds of trees. "This" observes Ibn Battuta, "makes the whole so

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pleasant that the pedestrian feels as if he is walking through the midst of a garden. And at every mile along the road there are three postal stations in each of which all sorts of provisions can be had.....Similar conditions prevail until the road reaches Telingana; and thence to Ma'bar.....And at intervals all along the roads built palaces for the king and hospices for the wayfarer so that the latter does not need to carry provisions". A similar spectacle was witnessed on the road running from Multan to Delhi, though it has not been described in so many words.

The roads referred to above must not be taken as mere pathways such as can be seen to day in the countryside and in the villages all over India. In all probability they were well-constructed roads, otherwise the plantation of trees and the construction of the postal stations, of royal palaces and of hospices along them could not have been undertaken. In that case the rain water overflooding the earthen pathway would have quickly destroyed or undermined the foundations of the adjacent buildings. Moreover, the roads were not used by the pedestrians and wayfarers only but also by the army, both infantry and cavalry and by traders and merchants who carried their loads on horseback, in carts and waggons. It may therefore be inferred that there ran all over the country commercial as well as military raods broad enough to accommodate the ox, camel and horse as well as the royal cavalcade and the march of armies. No information on the making and repair of roads is available. But the fact that roads existed and were in constant use makes inevitable the repairs whi h must have opened opportunities of employment to the people.

Religion governed to a great extent the social life of the Hindus as well as that of Musalmans, and was as a rule observed to the very letter. The Musalmans were required under threatof physical punishment to abstain from wine; and abstention was enforced under the fivefold pressure of (1) moral suasion (2) social disgrace (3) physical punishment (4) imprisonment (5) confiscation of property and fine. If a Muslim took wine he was flogged eight times and was imprisoned in an underground cell which was opened but to hand in the food. The Hindus enjoyed freedom in this respect. While the government exercised strict censoshp of morals in the case of the Muslims, it left the Hindus to thermselvs holding itself responsible for their material welfare only.

The *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* testifies to the great freedom of worship and religion enjoyed by the Hindus. "On payment of a paltry sum of a few tankas by way of the Jizya," observes Barani "in the capital-city as well as in other towns the Hindus hold public demonstrations of idol worship and observe all the ritural without reserve, restraint or fear. They construct idols and adoire them by playing and singing around them, and they read their religious books and propagate their faith". Barani disapproves

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of this and he shows his disapproval by making frequent but indirect allusions to Muhammad bin Tughluq. He deplores that on the mere plea that the Hindus were Zimmis (under protection) and Kharaji (payers of kharaj) they were accorded every kind of honour.

Ibn Battuta was struck by the prosperity of the Hindus in general; and consequently the Rehlah is interspersed with references to this effect. For instance, he describes the Hindus in the city of Mara near Gwalior and tells us that they are well off and are noted for their strong physique and comeliness. He admires also their womenfolk and was impressed by their good health, courtesy and beauty.

Ibn Battutta was equally impressed by the Hindu inhabitants of Daulatabad and Sagar. He tells us that the Hindus of Daulatabad are merchants and traders. They deal as a rule in jewels and possess great wealth. They are called Sahukars (bankers) because of their riches and the prosperous trade they carry on. Regarding Sagar the *Rehlah* has it on record that "the inhabitants of this town are just, pious and honourable; and all their deeds are praiseworthy". Perhaps this remark applies also to the Muslims, but not exclusively to them because Ibn Battuta notices in the same paragraph the prosperity of the people in general and says that "the population of the town is numerous; and foreigners go there because they like the company of the inhabitants and because the town is free from taxes and duties".

Ibn Battuta's remarks regarding the wealth and prosperity of the Hindus find full comfirmation in the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* and the *Masalik-ul-Absar*. Even in the capital city the Hindus in all honour and respect, enjoyed the honorifics of Rai, Thakur, Sahu, Mahant and Pandit. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Abbas, the compiler of the *Masalik-ul-Absar*, informs us on the authority of Shibli, a comtemporary traveller, that "the Hindus are noted for their love for hoarding wealth. They are pleased to relate to each other on being interrogated how much wealth is being hoarded in their respective houses from generation to generation.

No information is available regarding the educational systhem of the Hindus. From the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, however, it appears that education was then a private concern; no attempt being made by the state to control it, not at any rate in the case of the Hindus who were free to pursue the study of Sanskrit and their religious works. Barani's allusion to this effect finds confirmation in the nature of Sanskrit inscriptions of 1327 and 1328. And the interest which the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq personally took in Sanskrit and Hinduism should have given an impetus to the cause of Hindu learning. As for the Muslim learning, the *Masalik-ul-Absar* tells us that Delhi contained a thousand schools one of which belonged to the Shafais, the rest to the Hanafis. The chief subjects of study were (1) Persian which was the court language (2) Arabic (3) medicine (4) mathematics (5) philosophy and (6) history.

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A careful study of the works produced by the leading Persian authors of the 14th century Ziya-ud-din Barani, Muhammad bin Mubarak, Isami and Shams Siraj Afif testifies to a complete intermixture of the Hindu-Muslim cultures, which made possible the development of a common language. Their compositions contain many Hindi and Sanskrit words, *e. g.* Chowdhri, Patwari, Sargadwari, doli, mondha etc. Hindi idioms in Persian words or Hindi phrases and sayings in Muslim usage. In this connection mention might be made of the praises which Isami has sung of India which he considers an ideal country and as a veritable paradise. This tends to show that the writers had become thoroughly Indian, had developed a passion for Indology and had even begun to think in terms Indian or in Hindi. This finds conformation in the Hindu pet names which Muslims bore ; a notable instance being Chajju, a pet name by which Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban's nephew, Malik Kashli Khan, was known. The following allegation of Malik Daulat Shah to the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq in regard to Ibn Battuta, "Your Majesty ; this man (Ibn Battuta) tells me every day something in Arabic which I do not understand," further tends to show that the generality of the Musalmans in India had long ceased to understand Arabic. That their aptitude of Hindi should have been great follows from the reputed associations of the emperor and of some of his Muslim nobles with the Hindus.

The peaceful Hindus earned their living by pursuing different trades. They were principally agriculturists, traders and merchants, monetary transactions—lending money, raising revenue, collecting taxes being their chief occupation. Some of the posts in the revenue department as those of the Chaudhari, Khut, and Mutasarrif were almost held by them.

The Hindu masses had learnt to respect the Muslim saints and paid visits to the celebrated shrines and tombs like the Musalmans. In his account of Shaikh Jalal-ud-din in Assam Ibn Battuta observes that he was popular with the Hindus as well as with the Musalmans, and says that the inhabitants of that locality, Musalmans as well as Hindus, came to visit the Shaikh and brought him gifts and presents.....". Furthermore, the traveller informs us that the Hindus of Heli in the Malabar coast had joined hands with their Muslim countrymen in revering a local mosque which they jointly attended, and to which they alike carried their offerings. The best of the men namely the saints and the highest of the state officers namely the Vezias and Valis or provincial governors did not as a rule despise the Hindus or keep them at a distance. In fact the house of every saint was the popular resort of the Hindus as well as of the Muslims irrespective of status, caste and creed.

Those of the Hindus who were traditionally disloyal and habitually lawless were incessantly at war with the emperor. It seems that some of these had never been conquered by Muslim

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rulers, while others, though conquered, had been political malcontents. They had taken to piracy, robbery and theft as their regular trade and had infested the coasts as well as the countryside and the unfrequented roads. They had betaken themselves to remote and inaccessible mountains, hilly regions and bamboo groves described by Ibn Battuta. He tells us that each bamboo grove served as a stronghold for the Hindus wherin they lived comfortably, reared the cattle, ploughed and tilled the soil and had everything needful including water which having accumulated in the rainy season lay there the whole year through. The bamboos which were seen all round the Hindu habitations served as palisades which protected the inmates from attack.

On his way from Abohar en route to Delhi *via* Ajodhan Ibn Battuta passed through a forest surrounded on all sides by high and impenetrable mountains wherein lived the Hindus who were dacoits for the most part. He was then in small company; and the rest of the caravan having left earlier Ibn Battuta was suddenly attacked by a body of 280 Hindu dacoits—220 horsemen and 80 footmen. Fighting broke out; and in a pitched battle which followed thirteen of the Hindus—12 footmen and one horseman—were killed.

MUSLIM KINGS OF THE 15TH CENTURY AND BHAKTI REVIVAL

BY

PROF. A. HALIM

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Muslim historians like Niẓamuddin, Ferishta, Nia'matullah and Badaoni do not speak a word about the Bhakti movement or even make any reference to the existence of any great Bhagat of the 15th and 16th centuries. Yet this period coincided with the greatest religious and social movement known in the history of India. Only Abul Faẓl in his Ain-i-Akbarī gives a passing reference to Kabīr, in connexion with his general description of Orissa and Oudh. "Some affirm", says he in support of a local tradition as he describes Puri, "that Kabīr Muahhid (unitarian) reposes here, and many authentic traditions are related regarding his sayings and doings to this day. He was revered by both Hindus and Mohammadans for his catholicity of doctrine and illumination of his mind, and when he died, the Brahmans wished to burn his body, and the Mohammadans to bury it"[1]. "Some say," he

1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, Tr. Jarrett, p. 129.

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writes again in regard to Oudh, "that at Rattanpūr is the tomb of Kabīr,[2] the assertor of the unity of God. The portals of spiritual discernment were partly opened to him and he discarded the effete doctrines of his own time. Numerous verses in the Hindi language are still extant of him containing important theological truths." The comparative silence of the Muslim historians can be explained away as due to their habit of confining their attention to the chronicle of kings as opposed to the life and conditions of the people. But it sounds really strange that very few incidents can be cited in the whole range of Mohammadan history, establishing the contact of kings with any great religious reformer of the Bhakti school. And yet at that time, northern India was ruled by a dynasty of Pathān kings, whose second representative, Sultān Sikandar, Lodī (1489-1517) was a champion of orthodoxy bordering on iconoclasm. Kabīr was his contemporay[3]; Kāsi and Benares came in the possession of Sikandar Lodī in 900/1494, who thereafter was the Lord of Northern India from the borders of Bengal to the banks of the Chenāb. Benares and Muttra, the two great centres of Vaishnava Revival, formed part of his dominion. The story of Kabir being persecuted by Sultān Sikandar Lodī, after the conquest of Benares, mentioned in Kabīr's biographies (4), that being charged with heresy, ostensibly by narrow-minded divines ,the Qāzīs especially, whom he never spares the most trenchant condemnation, he with his hands and feet tied was thrown before an elephant to be trampled to death, and that the furious elephant instead of performing its allotted duty, lifts its trunk thrice in salutation to him, and that he was next thrown in the Ganges with hands and feet tied in chains and that instead of his being drowned he was found seated with ease, on a deer-skin on the surface of the water, is not to be accepted as true, for exactly the same story dressed in different wordings, is recorded about Nāmdev, in the Granth Sahab, the holy books of the Sikhs. (5) In the verses of the Granth Sāhab which are universally regarded as being more autheutic than other recorded collection of the same, Nāmdev, the great Mahratta divine, is being condemned to death

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2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, Tr. Jarrett, p. 171.

3. Vide next page.

3. Abul Fazl was apparently misinformed; Kabir died at Maghar, in Basti District in 1518 A. D., after quitting Benares during the latter part of his life. C/f Ram Kumar Verma's Sant Kabir, p. 40

"Tore bharose Maghar basi-au, mere tanke tapti bujhai;
Pahile darsanu Maghar pai-au, Puni Kasi base aii."

4. C/f Sant Kabir, Ram Kumar Verma, 35., verses beginning with " Bhuja badhi mila kari dariau, Hasti kropi mund mahi mariau" in Pad 4, Rag Gaund and

"Gang gusaini gahir gambhri,
"Janjir badhi kari kharei Kabir;" in Rag Bhairon, 18th Pad.

5. Page 1859, Newalkisore, Urdu Edition, beginning with "Sultan puchhe sun re Nama, Dekho Ram tumhara Kama."

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by being trampled by an elephant, by a certain Sultān (name not given) sitting in the open court, with the Qāzīs and other state dignitaries. And as the elephant comes to attack him, Nāma is saved by Hari whom he adores, the Qāzīs salute him, and the king rewards him with gold. Nāma sings the glorification of the Lord Hari. The verses even point out to his presenting milk to the king, who thereafter becomes friendly towards him. The manner in which the incidents mentioned above are woven round the life of the two reformers, yields the conclusion that such legends are attached indiscriminately round the life of great religious teachers and that secondly, it cannot possibly be true in case of both. And supposing that it is not an invention in the case of Nāmdev, who preceded Kabir, it does not appear to have been true in case of the latter.

Bābar has not mentioned anything about Gurū Nānak in his memoirs, though the Janam-sākhīs of the Gurū record of his being in restraint after Bābar's capture of the town of Saidpūr' and of his being released after he had performed a miracle.

The following incidents may be connected with the Bhakti movement, though we cannot say with certainty that they were.

We read of one Naṣīr Khān, son of Qādir Khān, a semi-independent chief of Kālpī, who had transferred his allegiance from Delhi then held by the weak and incompetent Muḥammad Shāh Syad, to Sultān Maḥmūd Shah Khilji of Mālwā, having turned an apostate to Islām and of his "bidding adieu to Muslim fasts and of his giving Muslim girls to Hindu Nāyaks to be trained as dancers." (6) It is not improbable that Naṣīr Khān had turned a Bhagat, with whom music formed a very important part of religious and spiritual exercises. This incident having taken place in 847/1443, the question arises that the Bhakti movement had not gathered momentum by that time except probably in Benares which might have acquired fame under Ramanand. According to our sources, Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī sought permission from Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwā to punish the heretic Naṣīr Khān and sent an army to that end after obtaining a tacit approval of the Sultān of Mālwā. Naṣīr Khān being driven from his territories, appealed for aid to Mahmūd Shāh denying the charges of apostacy, and Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī sent an army to fight the Sharqīs and protect his vassal Naṣīr Khān; and at last after a prolonged encounter, it was decided by the treaty of Irichh, that Ibrāhīm Sharqī will evacuate all territories belonging to Naṣīr Khān within four months.

The influence of Bhakti movement is not proved in the above affair by Hindu or Muslim sources.

A second apostatization of a Muslim officer took place during the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodī. We are informed by Niẓām-

6. Nizamuddin, Tabaqat-i Akbari, Vol. III, 326.

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uddīn[7] that Aḥmad Khān Lodī, son of Mubārak Khān Lodī, governor of Lucknow Sarkār, having turned an apostate, he was removed from his charge. Our sources do not go beyond the narration of this bare fact, and it is difficult to say if the cause of apostacy is to be sought in his becoming a convert to the Bhakti movement.

But we, on the other hand, do come across some historical, facts expressive of Sikandar Lodī's relation with the Hindus, especially in areas which were centres of religious movement or were considered sacred for other reasons. Orthodox of an almost uncompromising nature as Sikandar Lodī was even as a crown prince, he sought the opinion of Maulānā'Abdullah Ajodhani (of Pak Pattan, Montgomery District, the Punjab), regarding Hindu bathing in Kurukhsetra tanks[8]. Niẓām Khān, as the prince was called at that time, held the governorship of Delhi, and part of the Punjāb. The Maulānā fearlessly opened that it was illegal to stop an old practice, where upon the prince drew his sword on the divine in anger, but cooled down on the re-iteration of the legist, that he said whatever was contained in the law books. In this incident too, Thaneswar cannot be identified as a centre of the great Hindu revival movement, holy though it was regarded from the hoary past.

In connexion with Muttra, one of the greatest centres of the religious movement, we learn from Niẓamuddin's Tabaqāt, Nia'matullah's Makhzan-i Afghani-Tārīkh-i Khān Jahānī, and Ferishta[9], that Sikandar Lodī constructed Sarais, bazars, madrasahs, and market places in Muttra and posted guards to prevent bathing in the Jumna, and prohibited barbers from shaving "beards and chins". This ban may reasonably be connected with the Hindu revival movement, Muttra being a widely renowned centre which could attract Chaitanya from distant Bengal[10] Here was established the Ballabhi order with the great Ballabhachārya, being surrounded by a host of disciples of whom Sūrdās. attained to eternal fame. There were Hīt Haribansh Swāmī (founder of the Tattī Order) and Swāmī Haridas, all being exponents of the Krishna cult, belonging to an age later than Ballabhacharya's. Whether the ban was an out come of the religious zeal of the Sultān, or simply an instrument to prevent people from being total loss to the society, it was maintained, so it appears from later authorities,[11] with considerable laxity, and that people could pay a bribe to the guardsmen, and have a dip in the river, being driven to it as pretended lunatics.

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7. Tab Akb I, 331.
8. Elliot IV, 439.
9. Newalkishore, I, 186.
10. Sarkar Sir, J. N., Chaitanya, 232.
11. Mujmal-i-Hindi, Habibgunj, Aligarh Ms, which appears to be an annotated version of Ferishta, and Beale's Miftah-ut-Tawarikh.

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The trial of a Brāhman named Yudhan[12], an inhabitant of Rohilkhand, for his open declaration that Hinduism was as good a religion as Islām, by orders of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, is connected by some indologists like Sir William Jones, with the Bhakti movement. This incident is reported in almost all histories of the period. The Sultān wrote to 'Aẓam Humāyūn Khān Lodī, governor of Rohilkhand, to send the Brahman to Sambhal whither he had transferred the seat of his government from 905 to 909 1498/1503, along with the leading canonists of his kingdom. Some of the canonists were called from Lucknow[13]. The judges gave the verdict that he should either embrace Islām or face death. He chose the latter course[14].

The above are the only instances I could gather from Mohammadan sources indicative of the relation of the Muslim kings with the Vaishnava revival movement, in Northern India. It cannot be definitely said if Sikandar's prohibition applied to daily bath in the river or the Annual Bath Fair, which has no connection with the movement in question. Supposing it does, so far as it appertains to shaving of the chin to prevent initiating into the orders, and supposing he ordered the execution of a Brahman for saying that there was little difference between Islam and Hinduism as religions, these are very trivial incidents considering that the movement affected the life and thought of thousands of the people from the borders of Bengal upto the furthest end of the Punjab.

Coming again to the life of Nānak, his biographies testify how helpful the Muslim officials of the Punjāb like Rāi Bulār the Bhatti chief of Talāwandī, and Daulat Khān Lodī the governor of the Punjāb had been to him from his childhood[15]. There is no instance of Gurū Nānak being persecuted by Daulat Khān Lodī who had taken Gurū Nānak to a mosque to pray, nor by the Emperor of Delhi (Ibrahim Lodī) for his refusal to resurrect a dead elephant. Ibrāhīm Lodī was too busy with his own affairs to pay any attention as to what was happening in monasteries. There is no allusion in the Granth Sāhab as to Bābar's contact with Gurū Nānak. And it is really surprising that Bābar failed to record in his diary, the miracle of an Indian mendicant at Saidpūr, while he could discuss almost everything Indian, its fruits, animals, flowers, and birds. Moreover, none of the slokas or Sabads of the Bhagats, to my knowledge, recorded in the Granth Sāhab except including Nāmdev, Kabīr Dhanna, Pippa, Rāidās,

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12. This is Maulana Zakaullah's nomenclature, Persian historise have Lodhan or Budhan.

13. Lucknowti acc. to some sources which is not improbable.

14. Ferishta, Lucknow, I, 336 ; Tab Akb I. the Adi Granth, Pref. XXIX, XXX.

15. E. Trump, Tr. of

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Sen and others, betray a word of interference by the governing authorities.

The attitude of Muslim monarchs and their officials towards the Bhakti revival movement, during the 15th and the early part of the 16th Century, may be generally taken as one of respectful indifference, they caring little as to who went inside a monastery or who came out of them. But yet they held the great teachers in respect; Abul Fazl's manner of recording the life of Kabir may be cited as an example. Perhaps the Muslim kings made no difference between a Muslim Sufi or a Hindu Bhagat.

AN ENLIGHTENED DESPOT OF THE 13TH CENTURY

By

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Jalaluddin Khilji has usually been represented as a weak and senile old man who by his misplaced clemency and unkingly humility brought ruin to himself and to his family. The entire history of his reign is interpreted in this background. If he sheds tears when he is reminded of the misfortunes of the family of his great master Ghiyasuddin Balban whether at the Red palace or when Malik Chhajju Kishlu Khan is brought before him with yokes upon his shoulders, his hands tied behind his neck, covered with dust and dirt and his garments all soiled, he is ridiculed as wanting in kingly dignity and awe. If he does not inflict the usual barbarous punishments which Balban had introduced, and which Alauddin and Muhammad-bin-Tughluq were to carry to perfection, he is charged with lack of nerve and obsession about the next world. If he does not pursue a struggle which might bring him an additional fort at the cost of a huge carnage, he is condemned as deficent in military capacity. If he does not dispossess wholesale, the officers of the previous reign to satisfy the greed of his adherents he is dismissed with disdain as a monarch incapable of "princely liberality". If he seeks to establish friendly diplomatic relations with the Mongols cemented by a matrimonial alliance with a representative of the ruling dynasty, his action is interpreted as harbouring fifth columnists in the very heart of his capital.

But is it really necessary for us to insist even in the case of a 13th century king that he must eschew humanity, moderation, generosity and faith in human goodness before he can deserve our esteem? Is it not possible to rule a country without exclusively depending on fear and force? These traits had their

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value ; but even so it is possible to broadbase authority on sense of loyalty and devotion evoked by a policy of studied moderation, generosity and mercy consistent with maintenance of internal and external security. He was, as Dr. Tripathi says, "merciful and humane not because he lacked personal courage and valour but because his ideal was to rule with minimum of bloodshed and oppression."[1] But it is difficult to agree with Dr. Ishwari Prasad's view that "his mildness and tenderness fostered sedition in the State" or that "he lacked the essential qualities of the thirteenth century Kingship,"[1] though he is supported by Ferishta.

If one examines the events of 6 years of his reign, one discovers that there was only one rebellion in the beginning of his reign and even that was caused not so much by the Sultan's leniency as by the ambition of a member of the last ruling family. As compared to his, the reigns of other founders of new dynasties like Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, Sayyad Khizr Khan, Babar and Sher Shah record a larger number of rebellions. If Jalaluddin so desired he could have satisfied Ahmad Chap's ideal of kingly diginity by ordering the execution of Malik Chhajju and his confiderates. But would that have strengthened the roots of his newly founded dynasty ? As Zia Barani says, "the excellence of his character, his justice, generosity and devotion gradually removed the aversion of the people." If this statement of a contemporary historian can be relied upon, Jalal's methods stand vindicated. It is not that he gave Malik Chhajju a free pardon and threw discretion to the winds. On the contrary, though he exempted the rebels from capital punishment because he took the humane view of regarding devotion to the last dynasty no heinous crime, he kept Malik Chhajju away from the capital at Multan, practically under surveillance. As Zia Barani records, he justified his behaviour to Ahmad Chap, the advocate of severity in the following words.

"I have reflected and have come to the conclusion that if I look over their rebellion and spare their lives, they are men and will be ashamed before God and man for the course they have pursued. I am sure they will feel their obligation to me and will never[3] again form designs against my throne or excite rebellion."

This confidence of Jalaluddin was not misplaced for during the remainder of his reign there was not only no rebellion headed by those people but that others also did not organise any armed rising.

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1. Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, p. 46.
1. Mediaeval India, p. 208.
2. Briggs, I. p. 295.
3. Elliot III. p.014.

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But what about conspiracies against the Sultan? Zia Barani records that the Sultan's "clemency and humanity" emboldened 'a party of wicked and ungrateful nobles' to conspire against him. There were mainly three conspiracies against the Sultan.

1. Tajuddin Kuchi and his friends while in their cups talked of murdering the Sultan. The party used to gather at the house of Tajuddin and one of the nobles suggested that Tajuddin should be the next ruler. With regard to this it must be noted that this wild talk was indulged in by young Khilji nobles who had suddenly risen to high offices so that their ambition was soaring up and that it was during wine-parties that such things were said. It should further be noted that the Sultan's espionage system was sufficiently alert and his agents knew all details about it before any mischief had been done. Lastly, the Sultan's contempt for them in granting them a pardon also speaks of courage, strength and confidence rather than of senility.

2. Sidi Maula bacame the centre of another conspiracy whose object was to make Sidi the Caliph and to distribute higher offices among the rest of the leading conspirators. The Sultan's spies again threaded the maze of conspiracy and the conspirators were exposed. The Sultan took a serious view of this because it was led by a religious leader who should have known better than entering into political intrigues. Hence the punishments were heavy. If he was really suffering from senile decay and if he was a conscientious objector against shedding Muslim blood, how could he desire exemplary punishment of a Muslim saint? The explanation becomes obvious if we recognize that Jalal Uddin was willing to forgive persons whose conduct admitted of some defence on the score of ignorance, youth or emotional appeal. But where there was no such excuse the arm of the law must reach the culprit.

3. The last conspiracy was organised by his favourite nephew and son-in-law Alauddin Khilji. In this case too he did secure information about the movements of Alauddin and the amount of money he had amassed. But Alauddin's secret designs remained concealed almost till the last moment because the Sultan was essentially a good man and was unwilling to act on the maxim 'kingship knows no kinship.' He could never believe even after Ahmad Chap's warning that human nature was capable of such wickedness as to return murder for love, trust, generosity and favour. That was a miscalculation and this cost him his life. He was a virtual martyr to faith in human goodness.

This review of the conspiracies thus shows that Jalaluddin Khilji was alert and well-informed and his policy of general moderation was not necessarily ill-conceived.

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Jalauddin's treatment of robbers has also been distorted and misrepresented. It is said that about a thousand robbers were apprehended and brought before the Sultan. The latter apprised them of the evil consequences in law of their misdeeds. But he gave them a chance to improve their conduct and to help them in this regard, he sent them to Bengal so that they might be able to lead a decent life away from the scene of their past misdeeds without a danger of temptation into evil by friends and of distrust by others. His policy therefore seems to have been quite enlightened, although exile from one's home, on howsoever benevolent grounds, was also a considerable punishment.

The foreign policy of the Sultan also admits of a different interpretation from the conclusion " the Sultan's habitual weakness was also reflected in his foreign policy " [1] The campaign against Ranthambhor did not lead to its annexation. But that is hardly a justification for calling it weak specially when we know that even Balban had failed to capture it, that Alauddin almost lost his throne in the protracted attempt to seize it, and that no Rajput Raja tried to encroach on the dominions of the Sultan. The Rajputs had always been on the lookout for recapturing lost power. If the Sultan was really weak why did they resign themselves to inaction ? Next, in relation to the Mongols, it has to be admitted that the Sultan inflicted a defeat on the invaders and pursued a policy which cemented friendly relations between the Mongol ruling families and his own to such an extent that not only the Mongols did not invade India during his lifetime but that when Alauddin waded to the throne through his blood, they made repeated attempts to capture Delhi and to punish the arch-culprit. The Mongols who had settled in India rose in rebellion in the time of Alauddin and he had to fix a price on ther head to overcome the trouble. For this also responsibility ihas been fixed on Jalaluddin Khilji. But that is hardly fair when one notices that the Mongols raided India and rebelled in India not because of a mistaken policy of Jalaluddin Khilji but because of Alauddin's treatment of Ulghu and his father-in-law and the inhuman punishments inflicted on the family of those Mongols who had rebelled after the Gujerat campaign when the royal generals insisted on claiming 4/5 of the war-booty against the Holy Law.

If we take an ov r ll view of the Sultan's domestic and foreign policy, with due regard to results obtained, we find that he was a benevolent and enlightened despot who though advanced in age had retained full vigour of mind and body and was strong and energetic enough to beat back invaders, to overcome rebellion, to forestall conspirators and to defend his territory. He was able to achieve this result not by the usual medieval policy of blood and iron but by appealing to essential goodness

1. Medieval India by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, p. 213.

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in human nature and by inspiring people with affection, gratitude and respect. There is a touch of nobility even in his failure. Even when he was proceeding to meet his certain death, the noble Sultan felt profaned in his own eyes for having casually thought low of his nephew ; and he expatiated for this sin by reading out of the Quran. It is such a noble character that fell a victim to perjury of the worst description. The circumstances of his death do not deepen the colours of his weakness and senility but heighten the glory of his goodness and greatness.

THE "NAVATALA-PRASAD" IN BARABATI FORT

BY

SRI LAKSHMINARAYANA HARI CHANDANA JAGADEB RAJABAHADUR,

Puratatwavisharad and Vidyavachaspathi, Raja Saheb, Tekkali.

Till 1077 the Keśari kings were ruling over Orissa. Nripa-Keśari of the Keśari line built a fort in 'Bindanasi or Baranasi.' Madhava Keśari of the same dynasty built the 'Sarangagad' fort to the south of the Kathjuri river in the jungles of the present Patia country. To the north of this fort was fort 'Choudwar.' In 1134 A.D., when Chodagangadev, the founder of the Orissa Ganga dynasty overthrew the last king of the Keśari dynasty, Suvarna Keśari Mukundadeb, by name, it was found that the Keśari king was ruling over Orissa with Bindanasi fort as his capital.

Anangabhimadeb of the Ganga dynasty built the 'Barabati' fort in 1197 to the west of the present town of Cuttack. This was bounded in the north by fort Choudwar and the Mahanadi River, in the south by the Sarangagad fort and the Kathjuri and on the other side it was bounded by the river and Bindanasi ; thus it was sufficiently insured against attacks from outside. On such a safe site, on a plot of twelve 'Batis' in extent, the fort was built. Hence the name 'Barabati' was given to the fort.

During the early part of Anangabhimdeb's reign he had his abode and capital in Jajpur. But when he found that the Mussalman invasion from Afganistan was impending he felt the necessity of having a strong fort in a more secure place and chose this spot for the Barabati fort. Anangabhimdeb himself was a valiant warrior and had extended his territory by conquerring many countries. Naturally he wanted a strong-hold for him and his Government as also a place of strategic importance and in this fort he found all the conditions satisfied.

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This fort, built by Anangabhimdeb in the 12th century was the capital of Orissa till the English conquest of Orissa in 1803.

The 'Suryabansis' then ruled over Orissa. The most valiant of them was Prataparudradeb. After him his comander-in-chief of the Kalinga empire, Bahubalendra Mukundadeb, by name, ascended the throne of Orissa in 1557 A.D. and declared himself the emperror of Utkal or the Kalinga Empire. This Mukundadeb hailed from the Chalukyas of the Dekkan and the Chalukyas ruled over Orissa for one generation only. As this userper Mukundadeb came from the south he was popularly, of course, contemptuously known as Telanga Mukundadeb though he was not a Telugu by birth. It was during his time improvements were made to the Barabati fort and it was he who built the famous nine-storeyed building within the "Barabati" Fort. In the latter part of the 16th century when Abul Fazal made his Orissan tour, he had seen the nine-storeyed building built by Mukundadeb and was very much impressed with it. In his "Ain-i-Akbari" he describes the arrangement of the "Navatalaprasad" (nine-storeyed building) thus:—"In this Barabati fort there is a nine-storeyed building built by Raja Mukundadeb. The ground floor is meant for keeping the royal elephants, camels and horses. On the second floor arms and ammunitions are stored and there lived on the same floor the fort guards and watch and ward officers. On the third flat were the gate keepers and servants to carry out the orders of the king. On the fourth floor lived famous Architects; on the fifth were the kitchens; on the sixth was the Darbar Hall where the gentry, ambassadors and high officials were given royal audience. The seventh storey was occupied by the king himself for his domestic and secret purposes. On the eighth storey lived the royal *janana* and on the ninth was the well furnished bed room of the monarch."

There is some difference of opinion among scholars about this "Navatala-Prasad." Some hold that these nine buildings were arranged in nine rows one after another ignoring the significance of "Tala" meaning floor, while others hold that it was a nine-storeyed building piled one upon another. If according to the former version these buildings formed rows one after another, the bed room of the king is pushed back to the farther most extremity, thus depriving him of any protection or gaurd and denying security to his *janana* in 8th row. A scrutiny of the second version would point at the fact that the location of the Darbar hall over the flat where the kitchen is located is highly improbable in as much as the smoke and vapour of the kitchen would make the Darbar Hall highly unsuitable for giving Royal audience to ambassadors. Also the occupation of the higher flats by the queen and the king appears improbable. There are certainly occasions for them to go out and come in and also for the servants to fetch water and

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other necessary articles. To reach these higher flats through stair cases would be entremely inconvenient and of utmost difficulty. Further, the king, queen and other inmates of the royal house-hold would not come on foot from their higher flats through a series of floors occupied by others. It is natural that they used Palkis etc. or elephants and horses when they crossed the threshold. But to avoid those difficulties in many royal palaces of those days a way known as "ghosra" used to connect a flat with the ground to reach a flat direct from the ground without entering the intermediate flats.

Raja Mukundadeb who was in the south is expected to have seen the seven-coiled temple of Srirangam. Within these seven coils all conveniences of the temple are met. With this plan in view, Mukundadeb appears to have improved upon it and while constructing this Navatala-Prasad, made arrangements for providing 'ghosra' paths ; *i.e.* paths without steps but gradually rising just as the coils in a conch shell. By this arrangement it is quite possible to have such paths to reach each circle of houses arranged as in the coils of a conch shell so that each floor is reached through a seperate path from the ground floor. From the ninth storey to the first *i.e.*, from the topmost to the ground floor, all the buildings had seperate stair cases all round and these were used by the servants and they could attend to their duties and run errands, with the utmost speed. And it is on the 'Ghosra' paths arranged like the coils of the conch shell, elephants, horses, camels, carts, palkis and even cannons could reach with ease from the ground, to the ninth floor where the bed room of the king was located. As these houses were constructed in such a circular manner with seperate convenient 'ghosra' paths leading to each of the nine sets that from a distance the building presented an appearance of a nine storeyed building, each set being located on a higher level than the one immediately below. Hence the name 'Navatala-Prasad.'

Even to day within the Barabati fort is to be seen a big mound of earth and it is the dilapidated remains of the Navatala-Prasad. An inspection of the mound and the remains of the steps would give an idea of what the Navatala-Prasad was. To the west of this building is a big tank for the use of the people inhabiting this building. Fergusson in his "India and Eastern architecture" makes mention of the Navatala-prasad by Abul Fazal in the following terms. "As orissa, at the period when this was written, was practically a part of Akbar's kingdom, there seems little doubt that this description was furnished by some one who knew the place. There are seven-storeyed palaces at Jayapur and Bijapur still standing and which were erected about this date and one of five storeys in Akbar's own palace at Fattapur Sikri, but none so far as I know of nine storeys, though I see no reason for doubting the correctness of the description of the one just quoted." Fergusson himself says that by his time he

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had not heard of the existence of Navatala Prasad elsewhere. So we have to come to the irresitible conclusion that the Navatala Prasad mentioned by Abul Fazal is this very building and that it was so beautiful and attractive that it could not miss the attention of Abul Fazal while he was reconnoitering the Mogal Empire, which resulted in a detailed description of the building.

In 1570 A.D. Abul Fazal had seen the Navatala Prasad and in 1767 A.D., M. La Motte standing on the other bank of the Mahanadi had witnessed the northern and western portions of the Navatala Prasad and expressed his opinion that it looked like the Windsor castle of England.

Fall of Barabati Fort and Navatala Prasad.

How did the Barabati fort. the stronghold of Orissa for about 700 years come to ruins ? Hunter in his history of Orissa is silent on this point. There is the testimony of one English soldier, who was one of the company that besieged the fort, contained in a letter addressed to one of his friends. The contents of the letter are given below. From the letter it is seen that till 1803 the Barabati fort and the Navatala Prasad were intact.

"Six days sufficed to build our batteries and extend our approaches to Fort. This strong-hold, firmly fixed between two branches of Mahanadi formed the one difficult fortification in Orissa. Faced with stones, defended by eight small towers, surrounded by a high rampart and a deep moat, 20 to 30 paces broad and in some places by a double ditch, its single weak point was the number of hollows in the neighbouring fields, which afforded good cover for the besiegers. At 10 A.M. on the 14th October, an English Officer blew open one of the small gates receiving a wound the same moment in the neck, and a stormy party dashed into the heart of the fortification. A few moments ended the struggle. The Colonel of the attacking party fell with a wound in his leg ; two or three soldiers were killed ; Marahattas leaped out of the ramparts and streamed out of the other gates ; about thirty of their dead bodies were carried out in bullock carts to the river, where they were eaten by wild beasts and birds and the great province of Orissa with its 23,907 square miles and three million souls passed under British rule."

But our question is, "How this fort came to ruins ? And how the beautiful Navatala Prasad of Mukundadeb was obliterated ?" Was it the work of time? Surely not. The British have exterminated it. Toynbee in his book "Orissa" has written that this impenetrable fort and this beautiful castle were destroyed by the English. Toynbee was the Cnnal Revenue Superintendent of Orissa. He gives the history of Orissa under British rule. In his book he expresses his sorrow on this event in the following words. "The public works department have converted this fine building into an unsightly series of earthen mounds and the

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ground within the moat into a wilderness of stone pits. The stones composing the walls of the moat which surrounds the fort are now being used to build a hospital (1873 A.D.). Some of the fort stones were, I believe, used for the light house at the False Point and for other public buildings, the dust of the rest is shaken off our feet against us in the station roads." Sterling lived in Orissa for a long time and he had seen the Barabati Fort and had made research about its past. In his book on Orissa he has written as follows :—"No traces of the famous palace of Raja Mukunda Deo, nine storeys in height, mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari are to be found within the walls of the fort, but the fragments of the sculptured cornices etc., which have been dug up at different times and more especially, a massive candelbara or pillar, furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine indurated chlorite or pot-stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid pifice."

Note :—The earthen mound within the Barabati fort as it is now found is spread over an area of 1·50 ac. It is 250 ft. long and 250 ft. broad with a height of about 50 ft.

Taking the length and breadhth of each room of each storey at 15 ft. each with a verandah of 3 ft., *i.e.*, 18 ft. in all, the entire nine storeys on either side had a base of 324 ft. square and the approximate height would have been 10 ft. more *i.e.* 60 ft.; thus it must have been spread over more than 1-50 ac. of land. In 1873 A.D. some stones have been dug out of this mound for construction of the Cuttack hospital and the light house at False Point. This act appears to have resulted in the dimension of the building being diminished and now instead of the fine and beautiful palace stands its skeleton, uncared for and decomposed.

THE SUICIDE SQUADS OF KERALA (11TH-18TH CENTURY)

BY

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Suicide squads became famous during the last War when those of Japan figured widely in the news, notably after the sudden destruction of the Prince of Wales and Repulse, the supposedly invincible men-of-war of the British Navy and during the surprising victories won by the Japanese army in the course of their occupation of Singapore and the Malaya Peninsula. An attempt is made in this paper to bring to light some details about similar suicide squads that existed in Kerala from the 11th to 18th Century A. D.

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We have many references in the accounts of foreign travellers about the suicide squads of Kerala of the medieval period from the 15th to the 18th century. They are called Amoucos or Amochi in the Portuguese accounts and this word has been explained as a corruption of the Sanskrit word Amokshya.[1] The Malayalam term for the suicide squad is Cāveṭṭu Pada ; Pada means 'army, squad' and Cāver 'one who vowed oneself to death,' of course, for the honour of one's King and Country. The word Cāver itself has been used by Castenheda[2] to denote a member of the suicide squad. "The Amochi had vowed not to return from the battle-field without victory" says Purchas. Again, "The King of Cochin hath a great number of gentlemen which he called Amochi and some are called Nairi. These two sorts of men esteem not their lives anything, so that it may be for the honour of the King.[3] "If the Prince is slain, the Amochi who are numerous would avenge him desperately. These are soldiers who swear to defend the King's life with their own."[4] De Gubernatis records "Their forces consist in a kind of Nair soldiers whom they call Amochi, who are to die at the King's pleasure or when they lose him in war."[5]

The manner in which the Cāver army served the rulers and the part they played in medieval polity are well illustrated in the incidents noted below.

In the war that took place between Cochin and Calicut, three Cochin Princes including Marumahan Rajah the heir-apparent were killed in 1504 at Edappalli. Thereupon two hundred Cāvers of the heir-apparent, who survived their master, 'shaved off all their hair, even of their eye-brows.' They made their way to the enemy's territory and slaughtered all they met. Twenty of them managed to reach the neighbourhood of Calicut, killing as many as possible. In turn, they were killed off one by one to the last man by the army of the Zamorin. But it took five years to achieve.[6]

In 1510 the Portuguese suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Caver army of the Zamorin. Albuquerque as advised by Marechal Dom Ferdinando Cutinho made a sudden attack on Calicut, while the Zamorin was away from the capital. The

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1. Kerala History by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol I. P. 511. But it may be explained more correctly as a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Amogha' meaning unfailing, efficacious.
2. A manuscript account of Malabar. See Kerala History Vol. I, 510.
3. Purchas—His Pilgrims.
4. See Kerala History, Vol. III, p. 230.
5. P. 154, also Kerala History, Vol, I, p. 511.
6. Rise of Portuguese Power in India by Whiteway, p. 96, A. D. 1545.

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garrison in the city consisted only of a few hundred soldiers. The Portuguese without much opposition reached the city. They began to pillage and desecrate the Palace. This naturally roused the Cāvers. In the fight that followed most of the Portuguese including the Captain Marechal perished. Only Albuquerque and a small party escaped. As Sardar K. M. Panikkar observes, this ended 'in the greatest disaster that overtook Portuguese arms in the East.'[1]

On another occasion the Portuguese attacked Vaḍakkumkur whose Rajah was 'the most powerful of the Nair Chiefs'[2] at that time. In the battle that took place at Vaḍutalai (1550) the Rajah who led the army in person died, Then appeared on the scene the Caver army of Vāḍākkumkūr. The Portuguese force had to flee with much loss and the captain himself was killed. Not being satisfied with this the Cāvers, 4000 in number[3] 'all sworn to avenge the death of their king entered the territory of Cochin, killing a large number.'[4] The Portuguese and their ally, the Rajah of Cochin were forced to take refuge in the fort. Again another army of Cāver consisting of Mappilas was sent by the Rajah of Vaḍakkumkur and they succeeded in killing the king of Cochin in 1561 A. D.

Thus we have sufficient records during the Portuguese period. A good number of the Cavers might have perished by the firearms of the Portuguese. But the system was in existence even at the time of Marthanda Varma, the maker of Modern Travancore. In his war with Kāyamkuḷam, the King who commanded the Kāyamkuḷam army in person was killed (1734). To avenge the death of the Rajah about 300 Cāvers entered Venāḍ and made great havoc till they were all killed.[5]

If any Cāver was killed, his family would be given lands free of taxes to be enjoyed for all times. These tenures were called Cāvettuvirutti. The Revenue accounts of the States of Travancore and Cochin used to show Cāvettuvirutti lands as a separate class. But they are, now, brought under Inām lands leaving their origin in obscurity. It would appear that military service was compulsory for the holders of these lands, even at the time of Dharma Rajah. An official order of the year 1760 says 'those who held Viruthi lands and did not go to the battle-field should

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1. Malabar and the Portuguese.
2. Malabar and the Portuguese.
3. 5000 according to K. P. Padmanabha Menon. Cochin History, Vol. I, p. 373.
4. The Portuguese in India by Devers Vol. I, pp. 489-90, also Whiteway p. 323.
5. Old records of the Sree Padmanabha Temple at Trivandrum. Recently published Travancore State Manual Vol. II, Appendix p. 120.

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be deprived of those privileged possessions.'[1] There are such families even now and I have personal knowledge of some such families whose major male members all died in the battle of Aykotta in which Travancore fought against Tippu (1789), and they hold Cāvettu Virutti lands even now.

The materials available at present show that the Cāver army had three functions—those of the standing army, of the Police and of the Scout. We have been dealing with the first of these functions. We shall now refer to the other two.

Whiteway says that the Portuguese used to engage a company of Cāvers in each and every fort they owned. These companies were called Gangātams. Most of the important temples in Kerala had Gangātams attached to them. In 1544 De Sousa, the notorious Portuguese Governor led an expedition to attack the temple at Tevalakkarai. There were two Gangātams attached to it. But one of the Captains with almost all the guards was absent. The temple authorities offered £12000, on condition that De Sousa should return without plundering the temple. But it was of no use. Everything in the temple was looted and plundered, and he was returning when 'a Nair, dressed with scrupulous care, with all his ornaments, followed by 10 or 12 others flung himself on the Portuguese ranks. It was the remaining Gangātam who thus tried to wipe out by their death the stain upon their honour.'[2]

Another duty assigned to the Gangātakkar was to render help to travellers who were to be safely conducted from one place to another without receiving any remuneration. This practice was in vogue until the present police system came into force.[3]

It is clear from the above that there existed suicide squads in Kerala from the beginning of the 16th century to almost the end of the 18th century. We shall now try to find out whether there are earlier records to prove the existence of this type of army before the 16th century.

Payyaṅṅūr Paṭṭola, a very ancient Malayalam work makes mention of suicide squads.[4] The date of the work connot be fixed with certainty. But it is believed to be a poem of the 13th century. Going further back, there are references about the Cāver army of Kerala in the inscriptions of the period of Kulottunga I, the Cola King (1070-1120). His Colapuram record of the 30th year[5] says " While the whole of the Cāver army of

1. Travancore State Manual, Vol. II, Appendix p. 163.
2. Whiteway p. 284.
3. Cochin History by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. I, p. 58.
4. 'Cāvalarai pole nī yakalappovum.
Cangātam venam perikayippol.' Here the words 'Cāvāla r' (plural form) and Cangatām are used.
5. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. VI, p. 15.

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Kerala [1] ascended to heaven, he was pleased to fix the boundaries of Teṅṅāḍu."[2] These boundaries have been suggested as Podiyil hills, Sahya mountains and Kanyākumāri, all in his kingdom. It is further said that garrisons were posted on these boundaries and Koṭṭār has been specified as the most important outpost. Prof. Raghava Iyengar of the Travancore University has informed me that the contemporary Tamil literature contains references about the Cāvers of Kerala and that he could see no earlier reference in Tamil[3].

In this connection we have to bear in mind a picture of the last phases of the Hundred Years' War[4] between the imperial Colas and the Kulaśekharas of Mahodai[5] which began about the fifteenth year of Rajaraja (985 1014)—the year in which the Colas were able to defeat the Cera army for the first time—the year which Rajaraja thought 'worthy of being worshipped by all other years in the whole of eternity.'[6]

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1. 'Kadalmalainādu' in the inscription means Kerala north of Nāncinādu. It excludes Kudaku which also is included in the general term Malainadu. That Malainadu did not comprise the territories south of Quilion and many other statements contained in the recently published Travancore State Manual regarding the history of the period are erroneous. Turunandikkarai and Turuvattār, more than 70 miles south of Quilon, are often referred to in inscriptians as places in Malainādu.

2. The word Cāver has been translated inaccurately as 'heroes' by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Iyer (T. A. S. VI,p. 18) and as 'veteran soldiers' by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Studies in Cola History and Administration, p. 191) owing to the unfamiliarity of these Tamil scholars with a word of undoubted import in Malayalam.

3. The Cāvers of Kerala are mentioned in the well-known Turuvadi record also. It is stated therein that Naralokavira, the best known of Kulottunga's lieutenants, fought against the Cāvers. 'Cāvettin tiṉ cerikkei.' But earlier inscriptions of the period of Kulottunga make no mention of them.

4. It is one single war from our point of view which began in Circa 1000 A.D. ended in Circa 1100. The Kulasekharas did not yield even to Rajendra who inflicted many a crushing defeat on their armies, devastated their capital Mahodai and demolished Kantalur, the southern. most military stronghold. (Kantalur which was famous for its Vedic College in the 9th century becomes a strong Cera military centre during the Cola War and disappears after that from history along with Mahodai.) It is true that Rajendra appointed his son Kundara Colapandya as the Viceroy of western countries too. But he could rule only southern Travancore. It may be noted that no Cola inscription has been till now discovered nor any vestige of Cola rule to the north of Trivandrum, which formed the Kulasekhara Empire proper. A careful study of all the materials of the period shows that the war continued, though the Empire was shattered about the time of Rajendra.

5. See the papers contributed to the IX Session of the Indian History Congress by Prof. V. Narayan Pillai and myself.

6. 'Uliyil ellāyāntum tolutakavilamkum yante.'

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About the time of Kulottunga's accession, the Colas lost their hold not only in South Travancore, but Tirunelveli and Madura Districts.[1] Kulottunga had to lead an expedition against the Ceras and the Pandyas. He set fire to the fortress at Koṭṭār,[2] smashed the *innumerable forces* of the Keralas[3] and erected a pillar of victory on the sea coast. Proceeding north Kulottunga attacked Viḷinnam and Kāntaḷur[4]. But his first attempt ended in failure. So he had to reinforce his army a second time and capture Kāntaḷūr.[5] This time the defeat was final and the whole of South Travancore passed into the hands of the Colas again. Encouraged by this victory Kulottunga proceeded further north and attacked Quilon[6]. All these conquests were effected a few years before the Coḷapuram record with which we are dealing.

Now let us study the inscription in the light of the above mentioned facts. It is stated therein that the Cola army killed all the Cāvers of Kerala *i.e.* that the Ceras suffered defeat. If so, why did Kulottunga give a considerable portion of his kingdom—the whole of South Travancore north of Koṭṭār which the Colas were practically enjoying ever since the disappearance of the Āy Kings about 925 A. D.—to his inveterate enemy the Cera King. Certainly not a voluntary gift. And moreover military outposts were established on the boundaries including the one at Koṭṭār. Naturally one is led to conclude from these data that the Colas suffered heavy loss at the hands of the Cāver army, sometime after their attack on Quilon. Not only 'the Cāvers who formed a considerable section of the forces'[7] of the Ceras succeeded in driving out the Colas from the Cera country, but conquered South Travancore from the Colas. Kulottunga became alarmed at this and established military outposts in Koṭṭār and other places with

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1. The Colas Vol. II, Part, I, p. 15.
2. "दग्ध्वा कोट्टार दुर्गम्"
3. "ष्टिवा तत् केरलानां बलमतिबहलम् "

Chidambaram record.

4. Kalingattupparani—'was it not this army that destroyed Villinnam and Salai.'
5. Vikramacolan Ula.
6. The Colas Vol. II, Part I, p. 21.
7. Studies in Cola History and Administration p. 191, The Pandyas are alsosaid to have had the Cāvers in their Army. But this statement seems erroneous. It appears that the Pandyas who lost their kingdom, were staying in the Cera country because of their intimate relationship with the Kulasekharas of Mahodai. The Pandyas, about this period began to use the title Kulasekhara; the Kulasekharas who were of Solar dynasty became of Lunar dynasty like the Pandyas and the Ay Kings. The reason for all these is not clear. Some branches of the Pandya Royal Family permanently settled down in certain parts of Kerala and in course of time became local rulers.

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a view to preventing the advancing Cāvers,[1] and not 'to strike terror into his enemies.' The subsequent history too helps us to this conclusion. The Colas had to leave Koṭṭār very soon. On the 11th of Avani[2] 295 M. E. (August 1119) the invincible Cāvers conquered Koṭṭar and annexed the remaining portions of Nāncinādu to the Cera Empire. The Colapuram record[3] of 1126 proves beyond all doubt that Nāncināḍ had passed into the hands of the Ceras by that time.

Before the time of Kulottunga, we have no record about the Cāvers of Kerala. The circumstances created by the long Cola War might have provided an incentive to the establishment of the system of Cāvers by the Kulasekharas. It is possible that compulsory military training, which was in vogue till Kerala became subject to the British, was first introduced during this war. But it is evident that that did not produce the desired effect because of the overwhelming strength of the Cola army. So in the last stage of the War, possibly after the first wars of Kulottunga, Rama Varma Kulasekhara[4] the founder of the Veṇād Royal family, and the then sovereign of Kerala organised a huge army of Cāvers who succeeded in driving out, first from Quilon,[5] then from South Travancore and lastly from Koṭṭār and Kanyākumāri the Colas who were harassing the people of Kerala for about a century. Thus did the Cāvers save Kerala from further Cola aggression[6].

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1. The Nilaippadai stationed at Kottar is referred to in his 39t year inscription also. T. A. S. I, p.246.

2. This record was published by the writer in 'Dharmadesam' Birth Day Special 1946 (Malayalam).

3. T. A. S. IV, p. 17.

4. T. A. S. V, 44. The record shows that he was staying in Quilon with four Talis. From the Peruṅṅa record of this King (T. A. S. V, 38) we understand he was in Nediyatali at Kodungallur for sometime. That his palace was burned to ashes and the capital Mahodai ruined, is clear from Cola inscriptions. We do not come across the Kulasekharas at Mahodai after 1102, but we do see them ruling at Quilon. The rulers of Venād, a small principality between Quilon and Trivandrum up to the beginning of the 12th century sided with the Colas during the war and nothing is known of them afterwards. These circumstances lead to the conclusion that Rama Varma Kulasekhara moved his capital from the ruined city of Mahodai to Quilon the headquarters of the old Venād Governors. It is probable that the Ramacarita was written by this King to provide inspiration to his Cāver army. The language of the work is similar to that of the inscriptions of the period north of Quilon.

5. In the Quilon record of the King it is said that the King gave expiatory donation to the Temple as he offended the temple authorities. (Aryar means Sabhayaryar *i. e.* the assembly managing the temple affairs). Most probably his army entered the Sanketam during his fight with the Colas.

6. On the data available at present it would not be wrong to make the hypothetical statement that the women army of Kerala, recorded

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ARE TABAQAT-I-MAHMUDSHĀI, MA'ATHIR-I-MAHMUDSHAHI AND THE TARIKH-I-SADR-I-JAHAN IDENTICAL?

BY

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Gujarat is richer than any other province of India in historical data in so far as the Muslim period is concerned, and can boast of besides many secondary a dozen sources historical compositions picturing the glorious past of the province. Of these only a few namely the *Zafar-al-Walih*, the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar-shahi*, the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, Wali's *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* and the *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, have been published. Of the rest some adorn the proud archives of Europe, while the remaining have either not survived the vicissitudes of time or at least have not so far been traced anywhere. The learned orientalist Dr. Rieu in his *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Library of British Museum* (Vol. III p.p. 966-67) notices at some length an unnamed work on the history of Gujarat. The erudite compiler finding neither the name of the author nor that of the book, tries to determine these from such internal evidence and guess work as was possible. The Mss. on fol. 82a reads : "I was born on the 18th. of Rajab, the year in which my father followed Sultan 'Ala ad-din Bahmani in an expedition against the fortress of Mudkal" The reference places the birth of the writer in the year 847 A. H. (1443).

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in the accounts of the Portuguese in the early 16th century, (The King always has in his guard four or five hundred women trained from girls to be archers ; they are very active.' Description of the East African and Malabar Coasts by Barbosa, Hakluyt Society's Publication, p. 173.) had their origin in the critical days of the Hundred Years' War. This was a turning point in Kerala History. All the records of the period clearly prove that the Patriarchal system was followed in Kerala as in other parts of the Tamil country. Intermarriages betwen the Ceras, the Colas and the Pandyas were common. The language of the west coast had only dialetical difference from that of the East Coast. A gradual change to the matriarchal system is noticed from the 12th century onwards. It is, I believe, an after-effect of the compulsory military service and of the constitution of the Cāver system. I am glad to point out that Mr. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, even in the absence of many materials available to us, had arrived at the conclusion that the matriarchal system was introduced late in Kerala owing to some peculiar circumstances.

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This solitary reference in the book itself provided Dr. Rieu a clue for infering the authorship of the book. He suggested that the author could be identical with Múlla 'Abd al-Karim Hamadāni, who had long been attached to Khawjā Mahmūd Gāwān, the celebrated minister of the Bahmanis. As regards the title of the book the compiler suggests a probable identity with a history of Gujarat entitled *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* also called *Tarikh-i-Mahmudshahi.*

Dr. Rieu, on the basis of the material at his disposal, made certain hypothetical statements regarding the titles of the book. Dr. Chagtai (see *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society vol.* VI p. 17) made confusion worst confounded by suggesting as many as four alternative names of the book ; these are :

Tārīkh-i-Mahmudshāhī or

Tabaqat-i-Mahmūdshāhi or

Ma'āthir-i-Mahmudshahi or

Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan. Even Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah has not escaped the pitfall. (See *Undiscovered Source-Books of Pre-Mughul History* in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* third session, 1939 Calcutta pp. 856-72).

Among Arabic studies of Gujarat, there is a hitherto little noticed work—*Gulzar-i- Abrar*, written between the years 998 to 1022 A. H. *i. e.* (1590-1613 A.C.) by Muhammad Ghawthī be Husayn b. Mūsāash-Shattāri. It is a rare hagiological compilation. dealing with the lives of sufis of India, especially of Gujarat "The work is valuable," says Ivanow, " because of its exactitudet an dates, richness in details and its abundant information abou great many persons otherwise unknown." The author of the *Gulzar* has devoted a short note on Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim, supplying ws with some additional information about him. His full name as Maulana 'Ab-d-al-Karim b. 'Ata Allah Nim Dahi. He came to Ahmadabad in the reign of Mahmudshah I. The author of the *Gulzar* not only categorically states that Maulānā 'Abd-al-Karim wrote a book entitled *Tabaqat-i-Mahmudshahi*, but also writes a short note on the book itself. The copy of the British Museum ends abruptly with the statement that the rebel forces were routed and driven in headlong flight. "There can be no doubt," says Dr. Rieu, "however that the history of Maḥmūd's reign was originally brought down to a later period, for the author refers incidently (fol. 132a) to his account of a drought which occurred in 889 A. H." (1484 A. C.) This is corroborated by the author of the *Gulzar* when he says that the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmudshahi* was brought to the last year of the life of Sultan Maḥmūd, which was 915 A. H." This by the way shows that the British Museum copy lacks the history of the last 26 years of Sultan Maḥmūd's reign.

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Coming to the *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* it may be observed that it is not identical with the work of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim as suggested by Dr. Rieu. Here again the author of the *Gulzar* throws fresh light on the point by stating that the author of *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* is Shamsad dīn Zīrak who counted among litreates of Shīrāz. He left his native place and came to Ahmadabad during the reign of Mahmud Shah I (Begda) It appears he rose into eminence during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh II ('Āqibat Maḥmūd). He was a perfect master of similies metaphors etc. and had a very dignified style, which proves him. to be more of a literary artist than a historian.

Thus we see that the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmudshahi* and the *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* are quite different books by different authors written during the reigns of different kings.

Now coming to the *Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan* it may be said that Dr. Rieu (vol. I p. 86-87) notices an unnamed work on the general history from the earliest times to the ninth century of the Hijrā. Dr. Rieu gives the name of the author, which is incidently referred to in the Ms., as Fayḍ Allah b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Ḥusām ad-dīn, Qadī al-Quḍāt Sadr-i-Jahan. The learned compiler afterwards supplied (vol. III p. 1079) the title to this history as *Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan* from a Paris Ms. where the author is referred to as Malik al-Quḍāt Sadr-i-Jahan Fayḍ Allah b. Zayn al-Ābidīn b. Husayn Bambānī.

It is difficult to understand what led Dr. Chaghtai to offer this work as an alternative to Mulla 'Abd al-Karīm's history. Dr. A. Sprenger, writing on the *Manuscripts of the Late Sir H. Elliot* first suggested (JASB vol. xxiii p. 236, Old Series 1854) that it may be the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmudshahi* by Nāṣirkhan. Dr. Sprenger's wrong conclusion may be responsible for all subsequent statements on the subject of the title of this book.

It will not be out of place to give here a short biographical sketch, as is available of Sadr-i-Jahan, which is otherwise not known. Sadr-i-Jahān belonged to a very distingnished family of Gujarat, which gave her some of the best traditionists and ablest ministers. It was a talented and gifted family whose members continued to hold for generations the responsible posts of ministers and chief judges. Most of them were the spiritual disciples of the Bukhari Sayyids of Ahmadabad. The forefathers of Sadr-i-Jahan have been men of learning and erudition. His great grand-father Qādī Sadr-ad-din Bambani was an author of several books. Minhāj ad-din Binbānī, another member of the family was known for his scholarship and deep erudition. There arose a controversy on some grammatical problem between Minhāj ad-dīn and the celebrated grammarian ad-Damāmīni, who had to write *al-Fath ar-Rabbani* in refutation of the views of his opponent.

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Fayḍ Allah Bimbānī, the author of the history under consideration lived at Chanpaner (Gujarat) during the benevolent reign of the great patron of learning Sultan Maḥmūd Begda. He was holding high and responsible posts and was the Chancellor of Exchequer to Sultan Maḥmud Shah in the year 902 A.H. (1496 A. C.) the year in which he completed his commentary on the Holy Qur'ān entitled *Dastur al-Huffaz* and dedicated it to the Sultan. A Ms. copy of the commentary is preserved at Escurial. (Vol. III Bk. 1380) Five years later *i. e.* in 907 A. H. (A. C.) he was at Muḥammadābād Bedar, whither he had been sent as an ambassador by his soverign Sultan Maḥmud. (Rieu III p. 1079). Besides these two outstanding works he is the author of the *Khulasat al Hikayat* and the *Majma' an-Nawadir* a Ms. copy of which is preserved in the library of the Oriental College, Lahore. Dr Muḥammad Iqbal has written a useful notice on the *Majma'* in the Magazine of the said College. (August 1939).

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that aunique Ms. of the *Tarikh-i-sadr-i-Jahan* has been recently traced in a library of a madrasa in Peshawar. It is hoped that this history will throw a flood of light on contemporary events, if arrangements are made to place it at the disposal of scholars working on the history of India in general and of Gujarat in particular.

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SECTION IV

Moghul India

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

MR. SYED HASAN ASKARI

Patna College, Patna

We are living in a highly critical epoch when human civilisation is passing through bewildering and sweeping changes. People in different quarters of the world have been put to a tremendous strain as a result of the acute legacies of the global conflict. Peace and happiness are still to be attained. India has been most vitally affected in all respects by the influence of these gigantic revolutions and weighty changes including those which have come in the wake of recent political development in this country.

The period with which I am concerned was marked by achievement of political unity and effective administrative consolidation and above all by a brilliant manifestation of the genuis of the Indian people in various branches of thought and knowledge and by their extensive economic transactions conducive to the prosperity of the country. A comprehensive study of such as facts of life is particularly needed at the present moment for the re-orientation of our out-look and re-adjustment of our socio-economic and socio-religious conditions. The materials for this much-needed study are not available ready-made ; but will have to be zealously unearthed and collected, bit by bit from varied sources. The rosy pictures drawn by the court chroniclers and the shadowy descriptions of European travellers would not, unless critically assessed, be properly helpful for the accomplishment of the stupendous but necessary task. We will have to make a close scrutiny of the contemporary records in all European languages, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch because the European Companies were so intimately interested in Indian life and activities out of various consideration. We are much indebted to Sir William Foster for his monumental compilation of European factory records and to Mr. Fawcet for his supplementary volumes in this respect. They are bound to yield copious information relating to some solid economic aspects of Indian life of Mughal times.

Then again in every nook and corner of our vast continental country there are records lying still unnoticed

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and uncared for which also will yield a good deal of important historical information. They are in different languages mostly Persian, Hindi and Marathi. They await patient study of researchers to disclose unknown chapters of our country's history. Literary works in some Indian languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali etc. deserve careful consideration in this connection. The historical contents of the poems of the celebrated poet Bhushan have not yet been critically examined. Such works in Hindi, as Rana Ras of Dayal Das, Akbarnama of Sewak, Jahangir Chandrika of Keshava, Ragvilas of Mankavi Jaya, Fazil Ali Prakash of Sukhdeo Mishra, Qumruddin Khan Hulas of Ganjan, Binod Chandrika of Kabindra Udainath deserve more than a passing notice. Irvine was probably the first to draw our attention towards the Jangnama of Farrukhseyar by the contemporary poet, Shridhar alias Murlidhar I managed to procure a copy of the work which is now out of print to study the materials embodied in it the results of which came in some instalments in an Urdu magazine. It would be necessary to cull valuable incidental references from the pages of literature also to understand the social habits, customs and manners of the people, their problems of weals and woes and thoughts and aspirations.

Literature of an age is the mirror of its life. That we can get useful information in pages of comtemporary literature may be illustrated from Safar Nama-i-Delhi, from a beautiful Masnavi, in Persian, of Abdul Jalil Bilgrami describing the marriage of Farrukhseyar with the daughter of Raja Ajit Singh Rathor, and from an Urdu Masnavi named 'Gauhar-Jauhri,' still in Ms. by a poet-saint of Phulwari Sharif who wrote it in 1748. Mukund Ram's Kabi Kankan is regarded as a mirror of Bengal life in the 16th century. But a more extensive utilisation of this source will surely reward honest workers with fruitful results. The 'Diwans' and the 'Kulliats' which are in such abundance will be found to contain Chronograms and incidental references of historical importance ; and sometimes they enable us to gauge the public opinion of the time on certain matters. Shah Ayatullah of Phulwari, a contemporary of Muhammad Shah and his immediate successors, in one of his poems in Hindustani tells us of what he thought about the then Hindu-government of Bihar. Certain well known poets of Urdu of the 18th century such as 'Sauda' and 'Qaim' have made significant stricture on the political situation of the time and on the character of the ruler.

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It is also necessary to take into account the materials that the coinage and epigraphy of the period contain. The materials of history of our country are very often exposed to grave risks from our ignorance, indifference and other factors. As regards epigraphy, the inscriptions on religious buildings and other types of public edifices deserve to be exhaustively discovered and accurately deciphered to help in gathering plenty of interesting and important information. A regular epigraphic survey-work is sure to produce satisfactory results. Sometimes most casually valuable epigraphic evidences come to our notice. The late Mr. Syed-Muhammad made a detailed search for Muslim monuments in Patna City and published the results of his efforts in J. B. O. R. S. A mosque at Patna, built by an officer of prince Parvez contains a line "Mis Mar Sakht Qilai Majhaowli wa butkada" but history is quite silent on the point. The inscriptional evidence on a dilapidated Mausoleum at Champanagar (Bhagalpur) also takes us to the time when Prince Parwez was Governor of Bihar The epigraphica-Indo Muslemica is rendering a laudable and valuable service in this connection by bringing to light epigraphic materials of this and earlier periods. Zealous co-operation from other quarters will add much to our knowledge regarding our period.

A critical appreciation of the treasures of the old Art is indeed a valuable source of instruction and inspiration. The marvels of the Indian Art of the great Mughals have elicited due admiration from different quarters and there are some arrangements for their preservation too. But many are still lying uncared for exposed to the ravages of time and weather. In portraits and paintings which we find in such splendid manuscripts belonging to Oriental Public Library, Patna, as Tarikhe-Taimuria and Badshahnama which contain 11 and 12 large miniatures executed by the well known court artists of Akbar and of Shah Jahan we get nice and accurate re-production of dress, costumes, manners and customs, form of etiquette of the court, receptions and processions, postures, and military engagements as well as hunting excursions. Indeed one gets a glimpse into the social life in the high circles of the age through such portraits and paintings.

A large range of material is available in the numerous Tazkivas or biographical dictionaries of poets, saints, and scholars and in varied correspondence of our period much of which are still in Mss. and not yet deservedly utilised,

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The encyclopaedic works of Amin Razi and Muhammad Sadiq and the Tazkivas of Sher Khan Lodi, Ali Kuli Khan Daghistani, Azad Bilgrami etc. contain much that is of historical value. As for books of correspondence they are official, Semi-official, or private, directly narrating or incidentally referring to many significant facts of contemporary history. There are important letters such as those incorporated in Adab-Alamgiri, Ruqqati-Alamgiri, ably edited with an introduction by Prof. Najib Ashraf, Faiyyaz-ul-Qawanan and the letters in the Jaipore Darbar archives. They are already known and have been utilised by Sir. J. N. Sirkar and others. But there are many more in hidden corners whose discovery and study have yet to receive the attention that is due.

One of the earliest of such little known collections is Nama-i-Nami by Ghayasuddin Muhammad Bin Humamuddin alias Khund Mir. For sometime I have been trying with all my limitations to do in this respect what has so far been possible. The papers already published about Dasturul Insha (other than that by Yar Muhammad Qaladar which was utilised by famous Patna historian, Ghulam Hussain) Mufidul Insha, Insha-i- Gharib, Bal Mukundnama and the correspondence between Raja Madho Singh of Jaipore and Ahmed Shah Durrani and the Rohillas show how a painstaking search for such Mss. prove to be fruitful. My search has been mostly confined to Bihar and it is my sincere wish and earnest appeal to my friends and co-workers to pay greater attention to the utilisation of this kind of important original source in their respective areas.

Some significant notes opposed to the haretical beliefs current among the Muslims due largely to the influence of Akbar's ecclectic religion, the divine faith, are found in the pages of the Makubat or correspondence of a few highly talented and influential contemporaries. Badauni and the less known Sheikh Abdul Ghani belonged to this school of reaction. But the works of two scholar saints may be especially selected as the most typical representative. The Maktubat and the discourses of Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi who was acclaimed as the Mujaddid (the regenerator of the second millenimum) and of Sheikh Abdul Huq a saint of great piety and renown and called Muhaddise Dehalavi (interpreter of the sayings and traditions of the Prophet of Islam) throw a flood of light on one of the important tendencies of the time and give us an idea of the attitude of the writers in relation to political matter and also of the influence they

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exercised on some political personalities with whom they were in correspondence. That the Emperor Jahangir had to revise his opinion about the Mujaddid and his Maktubat which he had first regarded as album of absurdities which drag people into impiety and infidelity is amply shown by his subsequent action in granting the saint his freedom, and making several changes in matters of state so as to suit the tenets of the orthodox faith. That the religious views of Akbar's successors were strongly tinged with orthodoxy and Aurangzeb, the puratanical ruler, was the admirer and probably a disciple of the Mujaddid's son, Sheikh Masum, show the extent of the influence exercised by the saint of this School. Among the recent scholars it was probably Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who in his Tazkira was the first to call attention towards the wider significance of the Maktubat of the Mujaddid.

Dr. Nurul Hasan of Lucknow University and late Mr. Hasan Murtaza of Patna in papers read at two different sessions of I. H. C. on the same subject tried to show on the basis of his Maktubat why the Mujaddid should be regarded as a symbol of a powerful tendency of muslim reaction against Akbar's trends of thought. It has been pointed by Mr. Muhammad Ikaram I.C.S., however, that this reaction had started somewhat earlier and the Mujaddid was himself conscious of the existence of a "band of the supporters of Islam" of whom he considered himself as one. His Maktubat came at a time when a change had already occurred. The Divine Faith of Akbar had died with his death. The Mujaddid spat out invectives at the religious ideas and practices of the Emperor-reformer and was equally vociferous in his tirade against infidels and heretics in the letters that he addressed to the political personalities of his age. Taking a larger view of the question, however, it may be safely asserted that his extremism produced a reaction against what he advocated.

This was not the case with the celebrated Muhaddis Dehlavi. Quite unlike the strong and vehement denunciations of the Mujaddid, are the sober and restrained expressions of the Muhaddis and his wise and convincing arguments which he appears to have addressed somewhat earlier in time to men like Sheikh Farid, Khan-i-Khana, Sheikh Ismail and others. The Muhaddis himself refers to his "habit of having kept his words within the enclosure of caution."

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Born in 958 A. H. the Muhaddis had finished his studies at the age of twenty and for some years he was associated with Faizi, Nizamuddin, and Badauni, the historians, at Fatehpur Sikri. Let us read what he writes in a letter in Arabic about the reasons of his leaving their company and going on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 996 A. H. "When I presented myself before my Guide Sheikh Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi, I gave him an account of my past life and said "I am a person who have been brought up since the childhood in an atmosphere of education and devotion. I paid no heed to the company of the people and refrained from paying visits to them when I had acquired through the help of providence something of the good things and fulfilled my needs out of what I found there. Some privileged people incited me to go out of my way and mix with worldly men. I met the Sultan of the age and his nobles. They bestowed considerable attention upon me and exalted my position and they wished to exploit me, to add to their following and to fulfil their objects and strengthen their influence through me, an humble devotee of god. But God saved me and did not abandon me to them. He produced such a spirit in me as enabled me to come to this holy land." Badauni tells us that the Muhaddis was held in great esteem by Faizi. But due to a misunderstanding the two parted company. Elliot gives us an extract embodying the opinion of the scholar-saint about the poet-laureat of Akbar. "Faizi of Agra, reached the highest standard of literary merit. But alas that he should have drawn censure, obliqury and misfortune on himself through sinking into abyss of error and infidelity, for all men of piety and religion, and all friends and supporters of the apostolic faith refrain from uttering his name or speaking of his accursed clique. This is the strongest language that the saint has ever used and the reason is obvious.

He has dilated on the same points in the history of Medina. "Despite the peace and tranquility that I enjoyed I was led involuntarily to abandon the company of the enemies (of religion) and voluntarily left my country and friends. When I reached the sacred city I gave the re-assurance 'do'nt be afraid, now you are freed from tyrannically irreligious people." He quotes many significant verses and extracts from the Quran and adds that though he had no wish to leave the holy land, his spiritual guide commanded him to return to his original

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home so as to continue the work that he had left unfinished. He hopes that if with God's grace he could keep himself safe from evils of self and satan, he would see that in the proper path of religion what he should see and say about the ways of God what it behoved him to say. That he would never sell the eternal Kingdom for the perishable world." This was the man with a mission, who on his return in 999 A. H. addressed his letters, and through his discourses and tours acquired unmistakable hold on some important political personages including Sheikh Farid or Nawab Murtaza Khan. In a letter to Sheikh Ismail who probably wished to give up his job, the Muhaddis exhorted him not to do it, but to do his duty, "O my brother you cannot give up the distingushing qualities of Islam nor can you set your feet outside the circle of the tenets of religion. You cannot reconcile yourself with the ways of the vicious companions. What for is this hesitation ? What are you worried about ? What has became of your spirit and zeal for Islam ? Where has the ardour for religion gone ? What calamity has befallen you ?"

By far the most important of his letters, however, are those addressed to Sheikh Farid Bukhari, a devout Muslim and an unflinching supporter of Jahangir. Time and occasion do not permit a consideration of the suggestive sentences in various letters. But I consider it worth-while to quote a few from the letter which the Muhaddis wrote to Sheikh Farid especially from one written just on the death of Akbar. After speaking in eulogistic terms about the new Emperor and praying that all, specially the muslims, might remain immune from "calamity and detestable things", he writes, among other things, "wantonness and worldly vanity and pride of sovereignty drag people in such a state as to make them lay claim to the prophetic office and even to divinity...It is pride and lust for world dominion, and sovereignty which led Pharoah to claim divinity. Pride and folly are inherent in the nature of some and deprive them of true understanding and capacity for discrimination. Despite their wisdom they do commit acts of madness. They are however, not mad but appear to be so. Prophetic office is not based on predominance and sway of majesty." After this observation whose implication is obvious the Muhaddis remarks, "every one has to do his duty, and instead if forsaking the world, people should tread the path of truth

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restrain feelings and passion and follow the path and examples set by religion and divine law so as to remain apparently in the world but really aloof from it. Every one 'like the addresse' who does things prescribed by religious law for the sake of God attains this world and also the next." In another letter to the same saintly noble, the Muhaddis offers his thanks to God for his recovery from illness and concludes "all virtues and all perfections depend upon two expressions 'honouring the words of God and being compassionate towards his creatures. In another letter to the same personge and on the same subject he writes "there is nothing superior to this that one makes ones best efforts in strengthing the faith and community and in propogeting and aiding religious ceremonials one should strive one's utmost in that direction even though one may find oneself absolutely alone in a whole world."

After this digression where I have endeavoured to illustrate how interesting and significant facts relating to certain trends of thoughts of the past and some ideas of obvious political implications can be gleaned from Maktubat and religious discourses, I would now turn to the main theme of this address. It is to be regretted that Risala Nuria Sultania of the Mudaddis which treats of the regulations of the government, its statutes and institutions, the ways and means of its just administrations and the conduct and managements of its important affairs which was dedicated to Emperor Jahangir is not available. One could have found in it many things of historical importance. It was a kind of Dasturul-Amal which generally contains minute statistical, topographical and administrative information. There must be lying here and there copies of Dasturul-Amal besides those which have been already known to us.

Sometimes interesting information is available in the pages of old Bayaz or scrap books. Day to day diaries and notes and scribbling of important state officials or others which may have had chances of coming into contact with state activities besides chronograms and notices of poets and scholars of the time are found in them. Some such copies have come to my notice and a few have been already brought to light. I am confident that a search for such works in other places would prove fruitful. Very often one is agreeably surprised at getting matters of historical value in works which are not professedly historical in nature. The Miratul-Istalahat or the mirror of forms of speech by

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Anandram Mukhlis, a historical personage, who wrote it in 1156 (1743) tells us among other things about the rules and regulations of administration of Hindustan, contains notices and anecdotes of several notable persons, and provides us with detailed description of the famous peacock throne of Shah Jehan. Lastly ballads and folk-lore sometimes contain very valuable incidental references regarding socio economic aspects of human life. It is our duty therefore to collect from different quarters such ballads, stories and folk-lores, some of which may have been preserved in written manuscripts and some may be sung or recited from memory.

The time has come when the previously written works on all aspects of human history have got to be carefully revised in the light of material that have been since then unearthed. Some old conclusions and views not adequately warranted by correct data deserve to be carefully scrutinised and accurately interpreted. While we duly admire the value of the admirable volumes of Elliot, Smith and More land there is no doubt that they require revision and many of their opinions are capable of more sober and different interpretation. Dr. Hodivala's recent work has shown that there is a need of correcting the given translations of the Persian historical texts in Elliot's monumental volumes by a proper verification with the version in the available copies of original Mss. His laudable venture deserves to be supplemented by more exhaustive search and study of other Persian Mss. as well as their translations. This sort of comprehensive utilisation of Persian historical texts would demand a conscientious team work for which a spirit of cultural fellowship has got to be sufficiently cultivated and developed.

There are some gaps and Lacunae in our knowledge of the history of some important tracts of India in the age of great Mughals and also during the last days of Mughal rule. Delhi and Agra and their environs and other places near about being closely associated with Imperial metropolis and connected with Imperial affairs have mostly engrossed the historian's, chronicler's or traveller's attention. I would like to emphasise on the needs of comprehensive and detailed historical work relating to the eastern and the then the richest Subas of the Mughal Empire. The political condition and vicissitudes and their reaction on Imperial politics, their aristocracy and the part they played

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in contemporary history, their varied economic activities and products famous for their quality throughout the world and the main currents in social and cultural life.

Our knowledge of the high-spirited Afghans in Bihar and Bengal either before Sher Shah and after him is still very inadequate, though the part played by them in the history of India in those days was by no means inconsiderable. About the Rajputs also whose role in Indian history during the period under review was remarkable and who made remarkable contribution through their military prowess and political genuis to Mughal Imperial government, we know as yet very little. Few works dealing with them may be counted on fingers, the most notable of them being Rajputana Ka Itihas by M. M. Gauri Shanker Ojha. As regards Tod's Rajasthan, the author himself says that it was never his intention to treat the subject in the serious style of history. Therefore, the information recorded in it must be scrutinised and accepted after testing it with sound canons of historical criticism. The land of the Chivalrious Rajputs contains in its distant and secluded corners not only valuable and inspiring relics of fine culture and architecture of the past but source material of history which when properly studied will enhance our knowledge regarding it.

The land south of the Narmada is full of abundant source material. The history of Deccan Subas of the Mughal Empire deserves to be more exhaustively and critically studied from different points of view. The Maratha scholars have rendered conspicuous service in regard to the Maratha sources for the history of the region. But the materials in other languages of this region as well as in Persian and in some European languages are yet to be properly unearthed and utilised.

All this entails tremendous responsibility on us. It is well known that the Imperial histories or chronicles make rather scrappy references to provincial affairs and mainly narrate what particularly concerned the Empire. We have, therefore, to look for other sources which are not yet easily available. They have to be hunted up with great diligence, patience and zeal. As such ventures can be expected to be successful, if only they are to be co operative, the Government, the Universities and the enlightend citizen have to come forward, offer their fullest support and assistance in this respect. Their importance can hardly be over estimated, They will, to a large extent, serve to

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remove many of our ungrounded prejudices and to revolutionise our outlook. Their discovery and utilisation have therefore, a claim for recognition at the hands of those who have justly felt the need of giving a reorientation to our outlook and culture in view of sweeping changes of Modern time.

THE POLICY OF THE GRAND MUGHALS VIS-A-VIS THE RĀJPUT STATES

BY

MR, H. GOETZ, BARODA.

What distinguished the Mughal Empire from all other Muslim states in India, was the far-going conscious use made of Hindu soldiers, officers and high officials. It would, however, be foolish to believe that the Grand Mughals could rely on the Rājpūts as followers of unquestioned reliability and servile loyalty. As a matter of fact the Rājputs were very difficult vassals who could be controlled only by the utmost tact and a clever policy exploiting their national weaknesses. They were the best soldiers of the empire, although they could not compete with the efficiency of the Muslims in military technique, nobility and strategy. They provided the garrisons for innumerable Mughal forts, froms the Deccan to the Khyber Pass and the swamps of the Brahmaputra. But this same dare-devil bravery made them likewise extremely sensitive in all matters of honour and etiquette and of personal ambitions; and more than once Rājput nobles were massacred even at the imperial court because they started dwelling in the midst of a darbār.

For the same reason they were divided amongst themselves, the more as they knew no loyalty outside their clan or their marriage relations. In order to control these unruly warriors, the Mughal emperors had to exploit their virtues and weaknesses, their loyalty to bonds of blood, their clannish particularism and their mutual jealousies. This policy has so far never been studied in its entirety, although both Akbar's and Aurangzeb's relations with the Rājputs have been dealt with in detail by various historians, sometimes arriving at contradictory conclusions. These contradictions were unavoidable because of the want of a clear and over all picture of the Mughal policy *vis-a-vis* the Rājput states which, again, was due to the fragmentary treatment of the affairs, of these states in the Muslim chronicles. But a considerable complementary material lies embedded in the Rājput bardic songs and chronicles which have so far been hardly explored. It is true

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that this material is not less onesided than the informations provided by the Mughal chronicles.

The Rājput states regained their independence during the disintegration of the Tughluq Empire. They originally found loose feudal conglomerations, stronger in resistance than in attack, and long disregarded by their Muslim neighbours. But a serious clash was inevitable the moment they became sufficiently consolidated to represent a threat to the communication lines of the centralized Muslim Empire. This general consolidation was attempted by Rānā Kūmbha and Rānā Sanga of Chitorgarh, and Rāo Maldeo of Jodhpur. When Bābur invaded Northern India he could not think of advancing beyond Agra before he had defeated Rānā Sanga at Khanua and Medinī Rai at Chanderi (4527). The victory was so crushing that soon afterwards (1534) Bahādur Shāh of Gujārat could storm and sack Chitorgarh, and that in 1536 Humāyūn found no opposition on his march through Mālva into Gujarāt.

In a feudal society the position of the suzerain was always precarious. The disasters of Khanua, Chanderi and Chitorgarh had broken not the Rājput nation, but merely the leadership of Mewār. This was now usurped by Rāo Maldeo of Mārwār whose father had fought under Rānā Sanga at Khanua and whose great grandfather Ranmall had lived as a refugee at the court of Rānā Mokal. During the struggle between Humāyūn and Sher Shāh he attacked the surrounding states and took Dhūndhār (the later Jaipur), Ajmer, Bikāner, Siwāna, Jalor, Sirohi and parts of Mewār and secured these conquests by mighty forts. He could not keep out of the struggle for supremacy between the Suris and Moghuls despite an ambiguous policy of double-crossing and treachery, and he suffered a crushing defeat from Sher Shāh in 1544. But Sher Shah's death before Mālinjār soon afterwards and the quick disintegration of the Sūrī Empire saved Maldeo.

The aggression of Mewār, then of Mārwār created apprehension in other Rājput states with regard to their future. Therefore, Biharī Mall of Dhūndhār became a mansabdār of Humāyūn, and Bhīmrāj, brother of Kalyān Mall of Bīkāner first entered the service of Humāyūn, then of Sher Shāh.

Akbar's early policy followed the traditional lines. But when Maldeo had sufficiently recoverd from the effects of the defeat, his position appeared to threaten the safety of communication lines to Mālwa which Adham Khān had conquered in 1560. In 1561 Akbar attacked Mārwār, took in 1562 the strong fortress of Mertā and forced Maldeo into vassalage. It was on this occasion that Bihārī Mall and his son Bhagwāndās were presented to Akbar. It seems that it was Bhagwāndas who suggested to Akbar the new policy of an alliance with the Rājputs ; for in all the following years he appears not only as Akbar's loyal follower, but also as his principal negotiator

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with the Rājput princes. His adopted son and heir Mān Singh became one of Akbar's most influential generals and governors, and soon afterwards Akbar married a Dhūndhārī princess at Sāmbhar. In 1568 Man Singh assisted Akbar in the famous siege of Chitor ; during the siege of Rānthambhor in 1569 he negotiated the submission of the Rāo of Būndī, in 1570 at Ajmer that of Rāo Kalyān Mall of Bikāner and of his son Rāi Singh, and of Rāval Har Rai of Jaisalmer. In 1573 he even brought Umrāo Singh, son of Rānā Pratāp into Akbar's service. The conditions of submission were very honourable, though the reception of a princess of each of these states into Akbar's zenāna met with some resistance, in spite of Akbar's fargoing religious tolerance. Nevertheless that latter measure was important and proved valuable in the long run. For as in a feudal society the bonds of blood relationship form the strongest source of political loyality. And probably the Rājput alliances would have broken down much earlier under the strain of growing religious estrangement if Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb had not been nephews, cousins and uncles of the Rājput princes.

These alliances completely reversed the balance of power between the Rājput states. For Dhūndhār, Būndī, Bīkāner and Jaiṣalmer had so far been weak states, with difficulty maintaining their independence against the overwhelming superiority of Mewār and Mārwar. Now, as Mughal generals and governors they could not only reckon on the support of the imperial authority but also had at their disposal enormous revenues from war booty, taxes and other exactions. For instance Rāi Singh of Bikāner had on the zenith of his influence ten times the income of his father Kalyān Mall. Mān Singh, as governor of Bihār and Bengal was not less better off than his adoptive father Bhagvān Dās. But as price they had to serve as Akbar's henchmen to keep the still recalcitrant Rājput states in check, which proved the easier as the marriage alliances had added social animosity to the already existing political conflicts. For the diehards treated Akbar's allies not merely as traitors, but as social outcasts.

Thus Mān Singh of Amber (Dhūndhar) could be set against Rānā Pratap and defeated him in the bloody battle of Haldīghāt in 1576 whereafter the Sisodias were reduced to a precarious existence as guerilla leaders. Likewise was Rāi Singh of Bīkāner used to wear down Mal Deo's successor Chandrasen and then Rāo Sūrthān of Sirohi, from 1572-1581 he was the actual lord of Mārwar. Rāo Sūrjan of Būndi, finally, was employed in conquering the Gond Rāj in 1576. In the Panjāb Himālaya Bakht-Mall of Dhameri was played out against Jai Chand of Kāngrā.

Of course, Akbar knew very well that such a policy was not without dangers. He, therefore, always gave the Rajput generals a Muslim colleague or deputy who would control him. But in the long run this policy could not work. In case the

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Rajput opposition collapsed, the loyal rājās might become too powerful and even think of rebellion as it actually happened later in Jahāngīr's and Shāhjahān's reigns. Of recalcitrant states, the policy of setting one party against another was restarted. Thus prince Udai Singh in Mārwār was supported against Chandra Sen, as later on Sagra was set up by Jahāngīr against Paratāp Singhs son Amar Singh I. Moreover, the continued guerilla war, even when successful, undermined the position of the rājās; the aristocracy, even when continuing to oppose the Mughals.

When Chandrasen died in 1581, Udai Singh made his peace with Akbar. Thereupon Rāi Singh had to return Mārwār, with the exception of Nāgaur and Phalodi which had formed only recent acquisitions of the Jodhpur kingdom. Rāi Singh was recompensated with high posts in Afghānistān, Gujarāt and Khāndesh and fiefs comprising almost half of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. Similarly was Mān Singh made governor of Bihār, Bengal and Orissa when the Mewār campaign had ended in a temporary stalemate, partly in consequence of the inaccessibility of the inner Aravallis, partly because of a temporary estrangement between the emperor and Mān Singh. But these posts and fiefs, however glamourous they might appear, were outside Rājputānā.

Udai Singh of Jodhpur and his son Gaj Singh had to prove their loyalty by fighting the indomitable Sūrthān Singh of Sirohi, Muzaffar III of Gujarāt and finally Rānā Amar Singh of Mewār. But the Grand Mughal could not grant more and more lands to his vassal rājās. As the rājās were played out against each other so they were held in balance by the great Muslim nobles. A solution of this difficulty had already been prepared by the switch-over from an aggrandizement of the loyal states to a rise in the personal rank and estates of the loyal rulers. With their death these honours relapsed to the crown.

The succession quarrels which later on ruined the Mughal Empire, weakened also the Rājput states. They were the common curse of polygamy otherwise a useful institution where bonds of blood were tantamount to political bonds. Besides, the long absence of the rājās from home in the imperial service facilitated intrigues by ambitious sons, ranis and other relatives. These disputes offered to the emperors opportunities for resuming former grants, either as a punishment, or as price for acknowledging succession, but also for partitioning a kingdom or at least for splitting off some bits as independent principalities. This game was further complicated by transferring parts of one kingdom to a branch of another dynasty. By this device not only good old neighbours could be turned into deadly enemies, but also parallel branches of the same dynasty, each dreaming of reuniting the kingdom of their ancestors, could be played against each other.

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This new policy began to take shape during the last decades of Akbar's reign, and became pronounced under Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān. It was first put in action against Rāi Singh of Bīkāner. Father-in-law and friend of Salīm, he was denounced to be a rebel by his own son Dalpat Singh and minister Kram Chand. Rāi Singh crushed the intrigues of his minister, but thereby he disobeyed Akbar's orders asking him to go to the Deccan with prince Dānyāl. Thereupon the Northern half (Bhatner) of Bīkāner State proper was given to his son Dalpat Singh. When Jodhpur was asked to keep an eye on Mewar, Gaj Singh and Jaswant Singh rose high in the Mughal military service. Consequently after Rāi Singh rose death Phalodi was also retransferred to Mārwār ; and when Dalpat Singh was deposed and killed in an internal revolution his successor, Sūr Singh, though regained Bhatner, lost Nāgaur.

The transfer of Nāgaur formed part of a policy of splitting up the Jodhpur dynasty. Bīkāner had already been the product of a secession in the 15th century. Now between 1596 and 1611 Kishangarh was founded on Amber territory after the disgrace of Mān Singh. Ratlam was founded on the Mālwa border as a frontier outpost against Amar Singh I of Mewār. Finally in 1634, twenty years after also Mewar had submitted and proved loyal, Nagaur was bestowed on Amar Singh, Gaj Singh's exiled eldest son. It was the most dangerous of all these "favours", for the Nāgaur principality set at defiance not only Jodhpur and Bīkāner, but as the Nāgaur dynasty represented the disinherited senior branch of the Jodhpur Rathors, it was also a permanent threat and thorn in the side of the now ruling younger line. As Akbar had once set the Rāthor Rāi Singh of Bīkāner over Rāthor Jodhpur, Aurangzeb was after the death of Jaswant Singh to play out the Rāthor Indra Singh of Nāgaur against Ajīt Singh. And even later, in the 18th century Nāgaur under Bakhat Singh was to contest the supremacy of Jodhpur under Abhai and Rām Singh.

Amber did not necessitate interference. Mān Singh had died in 1615. His next successors Bhāo Singh (1615 21) and Mahā Singh (1621-25) were weak debauchees. And the great Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh I (1625-67) still was a young boy at the time of his accession to the gaddi. Only later he rose in the imperial favour as one of Aurangzeb's chief supporters in the civil war, especially against Shāh Shujā and Dārā Shikoh. But his governorship in the Deccan proved a failure. Though in 1665 he forced Sivājī at Pūrandhār to surrender, his arrangements with the Marātha leader were disavowed by the emperor, his expensive campaign against Bījāpur was unsuccessful, and he died in 1667 at Burhānpur, heartbroken according to the Mughal, poisoned according to the Rājput records. Būndī was weakened in A.D. 1625 when Kotāh under Ratan Singh's younger son Mādho Singh was separated from the mother state under Ratan Singh's grandson Chhattarsāl.

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This policy would in the long run have resulted in the dissolution of the Rājput kingdoms into a galaxy of petty principalities which then might easily have been turned into ordinary fiefs, and their rulers into average Mughal officers. But with the absorption of the former Muslim kingdoms the Mughal Empire under Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb became more and more the expression of Muslim power and Muslim ideology. The Rājputs could only hope to be tolerated, at the best, in the middle and lower ranks of the army and administration. Such apprehension, growing with the years, altered the attitude of the Rājput princes *vis-a-vis* the favours granted by the imperial court. What was the use of all those sacrifices in toil and blood if all the honours and grants ended only in being resumed, and the state left weakened and divided ? As the imperial favour could not be trusted, why not secretly turn the powers and estates granted by the Grand Mughal into real possessions and to defend them even against the emperor ? At every succession the empire broke temporarily up into factions. Might it not disintegrate, as in the 14th and 15th centuries, into minor kingdoms amongst which a daring Rājput adventurer may also find a place ?

Such ideas might have caught the imagination of the Rājput princes during the later part of Akbar's reign ; they led to minor revolts during Jahāngīr's reign, immediately after his accession and later during the rebellion of prince Khurram and the coup d'etat of Mahābat Khan. The risings were more serious under Shāhjāhan. The rājās of Orchhā had profited from the fall of Medini Rāi whom Bābur had in 1527 attacked and killed at Chanderi. Rudra Pratāp, Bhārati Chand and Madhukar Shāh became the virtual lords of Bundelkhand ; Madhukar Shāh (1554-92) submitted to Akbar only after several rebellions. His successor Rām Shāh was a weakling. The more ambitious was his brother Bīr Singh Deo who ingratiated himself into the favours of Salim. He assassinated Abul-Fazl 1602 and was by Jahāngir placed on the throne of his brother. Bīr Singh Deo used the imperial favour to build up a mighty and splendid kingdom in Bundelkhand. Shāhjahān, however, had no similar reasons for indulgence towards Bīr Singh Deo's son Jujhār Singh (1627-34) and started to investigate into the charges preferred by the new rājā's brothers. After a short visit to the court Jujhār Singh rebelled ; but confronted with a conspiration of his brother Hardava Singh with the rānī, he had to submit to Shāhjahān. In 1633 he deserted again from the Deccan front, fell upon the Gondwāna, and was finally hunted down by Shāhjahān's troops. Bundelkhand was annexed, but continued to be in a state of latent revolt until Aurangzeb's intolerence blew the smouldering embers of sedition into flames.

Dhameri, later renamed Nūrpur, had been played out against the obstinate rājās of Kāngrā. Rājā Bāsu (1580-1613) took part in

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sultān Khusrau's rebellion ; his successor Sūraj Mall (1613-18) defended the imperial cause against the rājās of Kāngra ; but later broke out into rebellion. Jagat Singh (1619-46) and his son Rājrūp were more cautious. They used Sultān Khurram's rebellion only for an expansion of their state, then rose high in the imperial favour, fought in Wazīristan and the Deccan and were at last made governors of Bangash and the Kāngrā Valley. In 1640 they made themselves independent. And in order to reduce them to subjection again, Shāhjahān needed two years of hard fighting, with the co-operation of the surrounding hill states, especially Mandī, Chambā and Basohlī.

Both rebellions were crushed after lengthy campaigns and must have aggravated the intransigent tendencies on both sides. The lesson was too obvious : Though Shāhjahān could afford to be lenient, it was evidently necessary to weaken the states further. The rājās could not be dispensed with as the loyalty of the Rājput soldiers depended on them ; but hundreds of petty rulers would serve this purpose much better than a few strong states. Though the great Rājput princes remained loyal, it had, on the other hand, been proved that the imperial power was not invincible.

Such was the situation on the eve of the civil war among Shāhjahān's sons, (1657-59). Sentimentally most Rājput rulers tended to side with Shāhjahān and Dārāshikoh who had been tolerant, even friendly to their Hindu subjects, in contrast to Aurangzeb whose intolerant Muslim extremism was already well-known. The rājās of Jodhpur, Būndī and Kotāh fought in Dārā's armies at Dharmatpur and Samūgarh ; the rānā of Udaipur, though in sympathy, hesitated until the decision had fallen. Jai Singh of Amber, Karan Singh of Bīkāner and Champat Rāi of Bundelkhand, however, supported Aurangzeb. But, soon after his coronation Aurangzeb had to suppress a rebellion of several princes who just before had supported him. Their motives are not mentioned. Some probably had hoped for the opportunities offered by a prolonged civil war, and were disappointed at finding a harder fist than before. Others probably had expected a reward which was not granted. With Jodhpur as the champion of Dārā Shikoh, could not Bīkāner expect the return of Nāgaur and Phalodi ?

Except Jai Singh of Amber, no prominent Rājput ruler had proved loyal to him ; and even the exception was doubtful. Certain remarks attributed to Jai Singh create the impression that he was not moved merely by loyalty, but by long-term Macchiavellian calculations very similar to those of the Orchhā and Nūrpur princes. Thus Aurangzeb transformed what so far had been not more than a cautions exploitation of opportunities offered by the princes themselves into a systematic policy of weakening and destroying the Rājput states. And this policy was even openly proclaimed. The suppression of the Hindu fairs, the destruction of the Hindu temples, the introduction of the poll-tax, the campaigns against

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Satnāmīs, Jāts, Sikhs, etc. formed the general background. The oppression of Bundelkhand, the degradation of the successors of the great Mīrzā Rājā, the offer of several Rājput gaddis to apostates, the deposition of Karan Singh of Bīkaner and of Bahādur Singh of Shekhavatī, the alleged attempted or achieved assassination of several princes, the instigated attacks of Ātmarām Gaur of Sheopur and of Pahār Singh of Indrakhī on Anirudh Singh of Būndī, of Amar Singh of Jaisalmer and Banmālīdās, an illegitimate son of Karan Singh, on Bīkāner, of Indra Singh of Nāgaur on Jodhpur, the disgrace of Jaswant Singh and the arrest of his family, the occupation of Khandela and of Mārwar, the invasions into Bīkāner and Udaipur formed the more specified features in the same picture. And in this picture the traditional role of the Rājputs in the Mughal political system likewise appeared in an ominous light : To fight the emperor's battles was not an honour, but part of a devilish seheme of extermination ; for had not the Muslims made it always quite clear that every dead Rajput was one more Hindu gone to hell.

But just because this policy was so glaringly blunt, it did not work. Like so many other masters of the petty political intrigue, Aurangzeb did not realize the great forces he had thrown out of balance. When he needed the Rājput soldiers more than ever, he forfeited their loyalty and had to rely on a predominantly mercenary army. When his war expenses rose to the limits of what the empire could bear, he ruined the economic life of whole country by the guerilla war into which he drove an exasperated population. Nothing is so ruinous to a country than a war between plundering guerillas and marauding armies without pay, separated by a broadening gulf of distrust and hatred. The situation must in fact have been much more serious than is generally assumed. From the Rājput records it appears that the paralysis of the imperial forces, and their defeats in the Deccan and Afghānistān were in a considerable measure due to sabotage of the Rājput contingents still serving in the Mughal army.

Thus in the interval between the occupation of Mārwār and the conquest of Bījāpur and Golconda Aurangzeb had again to revise his policy *vis-a-vis* the Rājput states. With Bundelkhande Mewār—allied with prince Akbar—and Mārwār in rebellion, th, popular masses of the North seething with revolt, the Marāthas raiding in the South, the emperor had to return to the initial policy of Akbar, *i. e.* to keep in check the rebel Rājputs by other loyal Rājput states. These states were Amber under Bishan Singh and later Sawai Jai Singh, Bikāner under Anūp Singh and Būndī under Anirudh Singh. For this purpose he had to make tacit concessions, especially to stop the interference with the religious affairs of these states. To these must be added also Mewār after Rānā Jai Singh had concluded peace with the emperor in 1681. As a result all these states became havens

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of refuge to Hindu religion, literature and science which experienced a renashnce under Sawai Jai Singh, Anūp Singh, Aniruddh's successor Budh Singh, and the Rānās Jai Singh and Amar Singh II.

Of course, Aurangzeb had never regarded these concessions as more than a makeshift. Yet tied down in the Deccan in an ever-expanding, seemingly victorious and yet never conclusive, but exhausting war he could no more revert this decision. Neither could his successors do anything else. No genuine new policy could be evolved, because, the whole, carefully built-up balance of power within the too vast empire had been so thoroughly shaken that it was difficult to find even the foundations on which to reconstruct it. The administration was slipping from the hands of the emperors ; it was disintegrating. In Farrukhsiyar's time it definitely became the instrument of a dictatorial party. But because the now predominantly Muslim army was the last instrument left in the hands of the emperors, their Rājput policy proved an utter failure. It vaccilated between desperate and temporarily successful attempts to crush the Rajput opposition by force, and concessions because the army was urgently needed elesewhere. Thus the victories won broadened the gulf, without laying any foundations for a permanent authority. The Rājput rulers gave in, but, were merely playing for time in order to consolidate their position at home. Rājput troops were for some time still available for other theatres of war, but the Rājput states could no more be played against the other in the name of the emperor. When at last Muhammad Shāh tried to employ the most prominent rājās apparently still loyal to his court, they did so only in their own interest. Instead of using the Rajput princes as its tools, the imperial court had now been reduced to an occasional object of their policy.

Bahādur Shāh who as his father's commander-in-chief in the North had always been more preoccupied with the Rājput affairs, first crushed Ajīt Singh in 1707 and occupied Jodhpur and Amber, but then had to leave the field to him in order to deal, in the Deccan, with Kām Bakhsh, returned 1710 to Ajmer, but *vis-a-vis* the new Rājput League had to acknowledge the *de facto* situation, especially the restoration of the Mārwār kingdom, because the threat from the Sikh leader Banda proved much more serious. Again in 1714 Husain Alī Khan overran Mārwār and forced Ajit Singh to submission, but was called back by the intrigues against his and his brother's dictatorship. Instead, Ajīt became governor of Gujarāt and Sawai Jai Singh settled the Jāt rising near Delhi ; and both had their hands in the assassination of Farrukhsiyar. Under Muhammad Shāh the game was repeated, Ajīt Singh rebelled in 1721, was attacked in 1722 and murdered in 1724. His successor Abhai Singh came in 1726 to Delhi, and was appointed governor of Gujarāt. Likewise Sawai Jai Singh was in 1719 appointed governor of Ajmer and then of Agra, at last of Mālwa in 1732. However,

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neither Abhai Singh nor Sawai Jai Singh cared much to defend their provinces against the advancing Marāthas but regarded them mainly as temporary additions to their own power and revenues. But these struggles were a threat for the other states. Būndī was coveted by Amber-Jaipur, Bīkāner by Jodhpur. Thus the other rājās had to return home in order to look after their own affairs. By the time that the first Nizām assumed the governorship of the Deccan, all of them had left their garrisons.

A revival of imperial policy was tried under Ahmad Shāh. In 1750 the Bakhshī Salābat Khan undertook an expedition into Rājputānā in order to interfere in the triangular struggle between Bakht Singh of Nagaur, Ram Singh of Jodhpur and Sawai Iśrī Singh of Jaipur. The expedition was a complete failure. Two years later the help of Mahārājā Gaj Singh of Bīkāner had to be summoned for restoring the imperial authority in the Hissar district, which proved abortive because of Ahmad Shah Durrānī's invasion of the Panjāb. On the other hand the emperor lost at that time one of his best prerogatives, that of coinage, though the name of Shāh Ālam II was preserved on the states coins even longer than in British India.

The relations between the Grand Mughals and the Rājput states, thus, developed according to a very definite pattern, very similar to that of the relations between the great Mediaeval and the centralized national monarchies, in 16th and 17th century Europe, or those between the British crown and the Indian "Native" States. It does not matter that a system of vassalage officially did not exist, that the Rājput princes as rulers in their own right were treated merely as great zāmīndars, that as members of the Mughal state they formed part of the mansabdārī system. For the Mughal administration represented an abortive attempt at transforming a feudal aristocracy into a military bureaucracy, and the story of the relations between the imperial authority and the Rājput states is part of the very story of this failure. But this failure can only be understood by penetrating beyond those legalistic constructions into the sphere of power relations. Successful government must take in account both the lofty ideals and aspirations, and the sordid and brutal urges of mankind. It can work the first only by paralyzing the latter by a balance of power, and it can overcome the frustration caused by the latter only by a successful appeal to the first. And again such an appeal can only be successful if these ideals can fulfil the hopes and needs of the time.

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SOME IMPERIAL FARMANS ADDRESSED TO THE RULERS OF JODHPUR

BY

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The Rathor rulers of Marwar are well known for their heroism, bravery and independent nature. Rao Maldeva (1532-1562 A. D.), who was the mightiest ruler among all the Rajput rulers of his time, extended the boundaries of Marwar up to the borders of Delhi and Agra, capturing Hindaun, Bayana, Fatehpur, Sikari and Mewat. His son and successor Rao Chandrasen (1562-1581 A. D.), a forgotten hero of Rajputana, was the first among the princes of Rajasthan to refuse even the nominal allegiance of Emperor Akbar, who repeatedly offered a number of favours for it. His trodden path was followed by Maharana Pratapsingh, the well-known hero of Rajasthan, after a period of about 10 years. But unfortunately after the death of the said Rao, the circumstances all round deteriorated and they compelled Raja Udayasingh to fall in line with the other rulers of Rajasthan, such as Amber, Bikaner etc. and to acknowledge the supermacy of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. This supermacy in actual or nominal form continued up to Maharaja Bijayasingh, who ruled Marwar from 1752-1793 A. D.

We give here extracts of some of the Imperial Farmans preserved in the Office of the Mir Munshi of Jodhpur State and hope that they will throw some light on hitherto unknown historical events.

The Farmans mentioned below were issued by Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A. D.), Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.), Shah Alam Bahadurshah (1707-1712 A. D.), Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719 A.D.) and Muhammad Shah, who was seated on the throne of Delhi by Maharaja Ajit Singh and the Sayyad brothers on 15th Zilkad 1131 A. H. (18th September, 1719 A.D. or Nij Ashvin Vadi 1, 1778 V. S.), after the death of Rafi-ud-daula and he died on 27th Rabi-ul-Akhir 1161 A. H. (15th April, 1748 A. D.—or Vaishakh Vadi 14, 1805 V. S.). He started his regnal year from 9th Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1131 A. H. (18th February 1719 A. D.—or Phalgun Sudi 10, 1775 V. S.) when Emperor Farrukhsiyar was imprisoned, and did not acknowledge Rafi-ud-darjat and Rafi-ud-daula as Emperors. Further, they were addressed to Raja Udayasingh (1583-1595 A. D.), Maharaja Jaswantsingh I (1638-1678 A. D.), and Maharaja Ajit Singh (1707-1724 A. D.) as from 1679 to 1706

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A. D. Marwar remained under the control of Emperor Aurangzeb himself.

Farman No.[1] *1.*

This was issued by Emperor Akbar and it states the grant of village Savai, District Narana, under the Sambhar administration, to Khwaja Husain, in charity.

This Farman being torn no date is available. It is impressed with Emperor Akbar's seal as well as it bears his name in Tughra script. Further no name of the addressee is found in it.

Farman No. 2.

This was issued by Emperor Aurangzeb, in his first regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Jaswantsingh I of Marwar and acknowledges the complaint submitted against Megharaj, the landlord of Halod. It further states that estate, which was held by Megharaj had been bestowed on Jhala Rayasingh. The Maharaja should help the latter in taking possession of it by driving the former away. It also shows that Rajkumar Prithvisingh, son of the Maharaja, was present at the court.

Aurangzeb, after imprisoning his father Emperor Shah Jahan in the fort of Agra ascended the Mughal throne on 1st Zilkad 1068 A. H. (23rd July 1658 A. D.=Sravan Sudi 3, 1715 V. S.) and celebrated his coronation ceremony on 24th Ramzan 1069 A. H. (5th June 1659 A. D.=Ashadh Vadi 11, 1716 V. S.). This may be taken as the beginning of his second regnal year. This Farman is dated 25th Jamadi-ul-avval, which falls on the 8th February 1659 A. D. or Phalgun Vadi 12, 1715 V. S.) But according to Alamgir-Nama Rajkumar Prithvisingh was called by Emperor Aurangzeb at his court in 1659 A. D. (or 1716 V. S.).

Farman No. 3.

This was written by prince Moizuddin, son of prince Mohammad Muazzam, second son of Emperor Aurangzeb, in the name of Maharaja Ajitsingh, in the 46th regnal year of his grandfather (Aurangzeb) or in 1113 A. H. (1702 A. D =1759 V. S.), which also bears an impression of prince's own palm. It acknowledges the letter of the Maharaja, sent through Padma Singh, and announces the bestowal of special robe of honour, a flag, personal rank of 7 thousand and 7 thousand horse, along with the estate of Jodhpur, etc. It further requests the Maharaja to come with 20 or 30 thousand horse and similar number of foot soldiers to Delhi, where the prince himself was arriving. It adds that after the Maharaja

1. This might have been addressed to Raja Udayasingh of Jodhpur.

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has accepted his services further rewards would be granted and all his requests would be acceded to.

It is dated 29th Zilhij, which corresponds to 16th May 1702 A. D. or Jyeshtha Sudi 1, 1759 V. S.

Farman No. 4.

This was sent by Mohammad Azam, the third son of Emperor Aurangzeb, to Maharaja Ajitsingh, in his first regnal year or 1118 A. H. (1706 A. D. or 1763 V. S.). It proclaims Mohammed Azam as Emperor and the grant of the title of 'Maharaja' and a personal rank of 7 thousand and 7 thousand horse to the Maharaja. It is dated 6th Safar, which falls on 9th May 1706 A. D. or Adhika Jyeshtha Sudi 8, 1763 V. S.

But as Emperor Aurangzeb ruled up to 28th Zilkad 1118 A.H. (20th February 1707 A.D. or Phalgun Vadi 14, 1763 V.S.), the aforementioned 2 farmans prove that the second and third sons of Emperor Aurangzeb were conspiring to follow in the footsteps of their father.

This Farman contains the seal of Amir-ul-Umra.

Farman No. 5.

This was issued by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, the second son and successor of Aurangzeb, in his third regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajitsingh. It states that this Farman has been sent on the recommendation of Asafuddaula Nizamul Mulk and assures the Maharaja of Royal favours. It is dated 17th Rabi-ul avval (16th May 1709 A.D.=Jyeshtha Vadi 4, 1766 V. S.).

Farman No. 6.

This was written by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, in his fourth regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajitsingh. It acknowledges the petition received through the prime minister Moazzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan and announces the Royal pardon and the grant of a Farman bearing the impression of the Royal palm. It further states that Jodhpur had been given to him on the promise of further obedience. Merta was amalgamated in the Khalsa (Imperial land), and the Mansab (rank) would be bestowed on some furtther suitable occasion. It also points out that Bakhshi Mahabat Khan had been ordered to arrange the delivery of this Farman to the Maharaja and to present him at the Imperial court.

It is dated 1st Rabi-ul-avval, which falls on the 19th April 1710 A. D. or Vaishakh Sudi 2, 1767 V. S.

It also contains the seal of Asafuddaula.

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Farman No. 7.

This was sent by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, in his fourth regnal year, and was addressed to Maharaja Ajit Singh. It states that a farman, bearing the impression of Royal palm, containing the order of the bestowal of Jodhpur, etc. and a Special symbol with the same impression had been sent through Bakhshi Mahabat Khan.

It is dated 9th Rabi-ul-akhir, which corresponds with 27th May 1710 A. D. = Jyeshtha Sudi 11, 1767 V. S.

Farman No. 8.

This was sent by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, in his fifth regnal year, to Maharaja Ajit Singh. It invites the Maharaja to the Imperial court and informs him to send his petitions in future through Bakhshi Mahabat Khan instead of late Khan-i-Khanan, whose sad episode was the will of God.

It is dated 5th Safar (14th March 1711 A. D. = Chaitra Sudi 6, 1768 V. S.)

It too contains the seal of Asafuddaula.

Farman No. 9.

This was also issued by Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, in his fifth regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajit Singh. It mentions the bestowal of Faujdari of Surat, which was in the district of Ahmedabad and was previously held by Iradat Khan, and asks the Maharaja to make suitable administrative arrangements, collect revenue by peaceful and ageeable methods, punish the miscreants and mischief-mongers and guard the high ways, roads and by-paths.

It is dated 12th Shavval, which was on 12th November 1911 A. D. = Kartik Sudi 13, 1768 V. S.

It also contains the meal of Asafuddaula.

Farman No. 10.

This was writted by Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in his first regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajit Singh. It proclaims the pardon of his faults and bestowal of his former rank and estate as was shown in the order of Sayyad Hasainali Khan.

It is dated 11th Safar, which falls on the 15th February 1714 A. D. or Phalgun Sudi 12, 1770 V. S.

On its reverse is inscribed the name of prince Alishan Jahangir Shah with a number of adjectives as was the usual way of Persian writers of the Imperial Court.

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Farman No. 11.

This was issued by Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in his third regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajit Singh. It announces the grant of the Governorship of Ahmedabad to the Maharaja, which was previously held by Daud Khan and asks for the good management of the Provincial affairs, good treatment of the people, restriction of the things not accepted by the moral codes and the intoxicants, removal of dangerous and harmful things, justice in disputes, punishment of the wicked persons and culprits and recovery of revenue by agreeable and peaceful methods.

It is dated 23rd Zilhij, which falls on 9th December 1715 A. D = or Paush Sudi 10, 1772 V. S.

It contains the seal of Sayyad Abdulla Khan.

Farman No. 12.

This was sent by Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in his fourth regnal year, to Maharaja Ajit Singh. It states that the Maharaja had been granted a robe of honour, studded Sarpech and Balaband (ornaments which are tied over the turban), dagger with studded hilt, and an elephant with golden caparison.

It also announces the defeat of the followers of Nanak (Sikhs). It is dated 10th Safar, which falls on the 13th January, 1717 A. D. = or Magh Sudi 12, 1773 V. S.

Farman No 13.

This was issued by Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in his fifth regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajitsingh. It announces the grant of Nagaur district to Maharaja, which was then under the province of Ajmer, and requests him for its better management, protection of its boundries and highways, punishment and resettlement of rebels, appeasement of tax-payers and increasing its population.

It was written on* Rabi-ul-avval. In this Farman the Maharaja has been acknowledged as the best among the ruling princes.

Horizontally written lines of this Farman show that this district was granted to the Maharaja with a special robe of honour and 2 Iraqi horses, which were received as present by the Emperor from the king of Iran.

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* The portion of the paper when the date was written is missing. But it might be 1st of Rabi-ul-avval (2nd February 1717 A. D. =Phalgun Sudi 2, 1773 V. S.) when Farrukhsiyar's fifth regnal year commenced.

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Farman No. 14

This was written by Emperor Farrukhsiyar to Maharaja Ajitsingh. It contains the signature of the Emperor himself on its reverse and acknowledges the letter of the Maharaja stating that he had soon returned from Dwarka and leaving Ahmedabad, without any halt, reached Jodhpur and that though owing to scanty rains the fodder and grain were scarce, yet he after collecting the things required for his journey, had left for Delhi to pay his respects to the Emperor. Further the Emperor states that it would be a great pleasure to him to meet the Maharaja soon, who was a true friend of his. He further writes that his forefathers were the advisors of the late Emperors, while the Emperors were free to indulge in the worldy pleasures. But though he had the same cordial relation with the Maharaja, yet he was always worried about the affair of the country, and the management of the cities of this side. The reason would be explained to him personally. The Maharaja, who was his esteemed friend might be knowing what he could achieve in this affair. He, who was the best among the rulers of Hindustan, after completing all arrangements, should reach here immediately. He should not account for the years, which he had lost up till now in expectation of the Royal favours. All his anxieties would be removed on the very day he arrived here. Other particulars would be known to him from the letter of Aitamaduddaula Mansur Jang.

(Though this Farman is not dated, yet it might have been written by the Emperor just after his quarrel with the Sayyad brothers in 1718 A. D. or 1774 V. S.)

Farman No. 15.

This was written by Emperor Farrukhsiyar in the name of Maharaja Ajitsingh. It acknowledges the receipt of the petition of Bhandari [1] and states that he noted the Maharaja, who was best among the Rajas of Hindustan, was leaving for Delhi on the 12th of this month to present himself in the Royal court. Aitamaduddaula Mohammadkhan Begh was deputed to punish the Dakkhanis and Mevatis, who had encamped this year in Malwa and had roamed hither and thither uptill now, and to capture and defeat Dilavar and Dost Mohammad Khan,—Afghans, who with some of their followers, had plundered the districts of the Khalsa and at the instigation of the Khans on the other bank of the river had assembled at Sikandara and Khurja. Except the former troops which were under the command of

1. He might be Bhandari Raghunath, the minister of the Maharaja.

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Rajadhiraj, many others have also been deputed to this task. Abdulhamid Khan, along with his son, had been permitted to go to his province.

The Emperor was then going for a hunt but as the number of followers was less and the rank of a leader was vacant the Maharaja should reach post-haste without delay.

This Farman is also not dated, but from its contents it appears that for some reasons the Maharaja could not start after writing the letter mentioned in the previous Farman and therefore after receiving a letter from Bhandari the Emperor again issued this Farman after some days of the issue of the previous one.

Farman No. 16.

This was issued by Emperor Nasiruddin Mohammad Shah, in his first regnal year, in the name of Maharaja Ajitsingh. It announces the handing over of the management of the province of Ajmer to the Maharaja, which was previously held by Sayyad Nusratyar Khan and an increase of 300 horse in his rank making in all 2500 horses drawing double or treble allowances for each. It further asks the Maharaja for the appeasement of the rent payers, punishment of the mischief mongers, restriction of the import of intoxicants and prohibited articles, removal of dangers and crimes and judgment of cases according to the accepted law.

It is dated 19th Zilhif 1131 A. H., which falls on 23rd October 1719 A. D. or Kartik Vadi 5, 1776 V. S.

Below are given two letters addressed to Maharaja Ajitsingh.

Letter No. 1.

It states that the Divani (post of revenue Officer) was granted to the writer of this letter (whose name is not traceable) and he got Barkhurdarali Khan appointed as his assistant and sent him to the Maharaja to take charge of the job. But as reports had been received about his misconduct, Mir Amanulla Khan had been sent in his place and he (the writer) hoped that the Maharaja would instruct the staff to carry out his instructions so that he might take charge of the houses, gardens, the mint and...etc. and be able to perform his duties well. This would be taken as a special favour to him (writer) and a source of pleasure to Nawab Kudasia Sahibuzzamani (principal queen of Emperor Mohammadshah) and the Nawab Bahadur (Javid Khan .

(It is not dated but it might have been written after the handing over the management of Ajmer to the Maharaja.

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Letter No. 2.

This was written by Emperor Mohammadshah to Maharaja Ajitsingh. It states that Mohammad Mukim Khan, who was a personal friend to the Maharaja, had been sent to him that he would convey his (Emperor's) verbal orders to him (the Maharaja). On his (Maharaja's) arrival at the court he would be bestowed Royal favours, which would be example to others.

(It is also not dated, but it might have been written after Sayyad Husainai was killed in 1720 A. D. or 1777 V. S. to appease the Maharaja.)

A CONTEMPORARY CORRESPONDENCE DESCRIBING THE EVENTS AT DELHI AT THE TIME OF NADIR SHAH'S INVASION

BY

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Facts of comtemporary history are sometimes found lying unnoticed in hidden corners. Much has been written about Nadir Shah's invasion but nobody has taken notice of what a Persian immigrant[1] says in his voluminous 'Tazkira' about the part played by Saadat Khan, the founder Viceroy of Oudh in the battle of Karnal and in the events thereafter. Who knows about a manuscript copy of Yuzuf Zulaikha[2] of Jami which contains a valuable despatch of Raja Jugal Kishore,[3] servant to N. Shujauddoula of B. B. & O. whose agent he was at Delhi regarding the post-Karnal affairs? In a paper read at the Peshawar session of the I. H. R. C. the present writer analysed the historical contents of a valuable Bayaz[4] of the historian, Yusuf Ali K., a son-in-law of N. Alauddoula, Governor of B.B. & O. and referred to a journal of Nadir Shah's transaction in India. An attempt has been made in the following lines to give a literal translation of the journal which is unfortunately incomplete.

We do not know who wrote it and to whom. But he was an eye witness and appears to have been an observer and a well informed news-writer. He refers to his earlier despatches

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1. Ali Quli Khan Wale Daghistani, author of Reyazul Afkar and a historical porsonage of some repute.
2. The Ms. belongs to the library of Anglo Arabic School, Patna City.
3. A well-known figure about whom a separate paper can be written.
4. It belongs to the library of Nawab Jabir Ali Khan of Husainabad who died recently.

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to some Nawab which probably did not reach their destination. In the first part of his journal the writer gives a resume of what he wrote in details before containing a bare outline of the occurrences between the 15th of Ziqad 1151 or 13th Feb. 1739 and the 6th of Muharram 1152 or 7th April 1739. The second part contains a more detailed account of what happened between the 6th and the 19th Muharram and it ends abruptly with a sentence which is incomplete, some pages of the journal being missing. There is much in the document which tallies with facts already known to us from other sources but it also discloses some new and significant facts and gives us an idea of the contemporary public opinion about the character of some leading nobles of the court. This document and also the other two referred to above provide a strong and conclusive evidence regarding the cause of the death of Saadat Khan[5] and shows the danger of relying, as some recent writers have done, on the gossipy versions given by some later or interested writers. The prevalent apprehension regarding Jugal Kishore's[6] fate as a consequence of his unholy co-operation with the invader is revealed here in an interesting manner. The figures of casualties and also of the booty[7], exaction of ransom and the accounts of the sufferings of the people are well worth our attention. The information about the defiance of a Magistrate of Delhi and of the attitude of resistance shown by some Jat chiefs is new and requires corroboration. The journal which speaks for itself runs as follows:—

"Previously I wrote a detailed account of the transaction and occurrences which happened in this region upto the 6th of Muharram and which I sent on that very day through hired messengers to the Nawab Saheb of auspicious fortunes. But as my earlier despatch containing the news of the Darbar and sent through a paid messenger had been seized and plundered on the way by wicked inhabitants and highway men, on account of the general confusion and choas that prevails in the Empire and the messenger returned almost barebodited and weeping. I have little hope that that messenger reached there in safety. I, therefore, put down here a bare outline of the transactions of the Durbar and again send it to you in the hope that through the grace of God it may reach its destination so that my labours may not go in vain.

I have already written before about the following facts: That Burnahul Mulk Bahadur and Amir-ul-Umra faced Nadir Shah

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5. The first two Nawabs of Oudh by Dr. A. L. Srivastava

6. It would be interesting to read what Jugal Kishore himself says about the part he played on the occasion. His despatch would be published elsewhere.

7. M. Najmul Ghani in his Tarikh-i-Oudh quotes the figures given in Tarikh-i-Taimuria and these tally with those given here.

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on the 15th[8] of Ziqad near the town of Karnal, that Amir-ul-Umra was killed[9] along with Muzaffar Khan, Yadagar K., Shahdad K, Ali Asad K, Ali Hamid K., Aqil K. and other omras whose names would unnecessarily lengthen this account; that a large number comprising about 29,000[10] veterans on this side, and about 7,000 including Haji Beg K., the Commander of the vanguard and of other gallant chiefs on the other side were engaged; that Burhanul Mulk, Rustam Jung and Nisar Khan Bahadur Sherjung were badly wounded and were taken prisoner by the men of Nadir; that Asaf Jah and Etamaduddoula and other misguided chiefs in spite of what had happened to Burhanul Mulk and Amir-ul-Umra abstained themselves from fighting; that Nadir Shah opened negotiations with Asaf Jah and excited his cupidity[11] and held out inducements of settling the affairs according to his wishes; that Asaf Jah did not respond to the call for fight from the Emperor, being powerless to resist the invader; that the greedy Asaf Jah put on the robe of the office of Mir Bukshi on the 19th after the death of Amir-ul-Umra; that on the 20th he induced the Emperor to set out towards the camp of Nadir Shah to establish friendly relations by representing that the Persian King had no wish to take possession of the territories and wealth of the Emperor, and a visit to him would add to the dignity and enhance the reputation of the Emperor among the rulers of the world; that the Emperor was attended by a son of Asaf Jah, a son of Etamaduddoula, and 3 eunuchs; that the emperor returned with safety from the camp of Nadir Shah; that grain and fodder had become so scarce that wheat and rice could not be had at the rate of 5 or 6 rupees per seer and grass was not available at the rate of 2 seers a rupee; that the greedy Asaf Jah of evil disposition, being svmmoned by Nadir Shah left for his camp again on the 24th and the old wretch was virtually taken into custody at 2 or 3 stages from his camp; that he wrote[12] an Arzi to the Emperor that if he paid another visit to Nadir Shah the latter would be induced to return to his country; that the Emperor proceeded on the 26th towards the camp of Nadir Shah

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8. The dates given in this document are all correct. I would request the reader to consult the Journal of Mirza Zaman, Secretary to Nawab Sarbuland Khan translated by Frazer in his History of Nadir Shah.

9. He was mortally wounded and died later.

10. Different figures have been given by others.

11. The writer had formed a bad opinion about Nizamul-Mulk, the founder of the Hyderabad state, and probably belonged to the anti-Mughal party.

12. Surbuland's Secretary is silent on this point but other authorities say that Nadir forced Asaf Jah to write such an Arzi. It is significant that the anonymous writer of the present despatch has said nothing about the change in the attitude of Saadat Khan as a result of his disappointment at the news of the Nizam's appointment as Mir Bukhshi.

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and was detained and guards were placed around his tent; that on the same day troops were detached to the Imperial camp to take possession of the treasury, jewellry, artillery, and other things belonging to the Emperor's household and to the camps of Asaf Jah and Etamaduddoula; that the devilish Nasaqchi musketeers were ordered to surround the Imperial camp so closely as not to allow N. Malka Zamani, her female attendants, and the Prince Imperial to escape anywhere; that on the 27th of Ziqad Nazir Roz Afzun K. with 21 Nasakshis[13] was sent to escort N. Malka Zamani and the Prince and other female attendents; that the brutal Nasakchis carried Etamaduddoula alone to Nadir Shah; that a general confusion and disorder arose in the Imperial camp and in the camps of Asaf Jah and Etamaduddoula and many of the numerous nobles, soldiers, musketeers, and men of skill and craft who attempted to escape from Karnal towards the capital city were either killed or confounded by the Zamindars and professional highwaymen; that Nadir Shah conferred the office of the Vakil-i-Mutlaq of Hindustan on the valorous Burhanul Mulk Bahadur and sent him, on the 27th, along with Tahmasp K. and 5 other chiefs with 10,000 Mughal warriors to take charge of the Imperial capital and protect the Imperial properties stored in the citadel; that Burhanul Mulk arrived at Delhi on the 29th and immediately proclaimed a general amnesty in the streets and bazaars of the capital and he also called upon the religious people to recite the Khutba in the name of Nadir Shah in Friday prayer; that the gate of the fort was thrown open to the hat-wearing Mughals who were to keep guard over the Imperial goods and effects and furniture and the Imperial Qiladar was ejected from the fort; that arrangement were made for the reception of the Shah in the garden of Shalimar where he arrived on the 7th of Zihijja; that on the 9th of the same month Nadir Shah entered the city with a large army and went to Diwani Khas and then to the Palace of Mirror within the garden of Hayat Buksh of the fort; that new coins of the old weight including rupees and gold mohars were struck bearing the inscription "Nadir, the lord of the auspicious conjunctions and king of kings is the most powerful of the rulers of the earth"; that Burhanul Mulk Bahadur who had been suffering from a chronic illness from a long time died of it in the night of Id-ud-zoha; that in the calamitous night of the 11th Zihijja on the spread of false report that Nadir Shah had died of cholera[14] the idle vagabonds and mischief makers of the city rose and killed about 1000 Mughals of Nadir Shah; that the Shah in great grief and wrath entered the mosque of Raushan-uddoula, the deceased, situated near the Kotwali chabutra and

13. An officer generally sent to regulate different orders and make siezures.

14. There were all sorts of rumour. Some said that Nadir had been taken prisoner while others said that he was poisoned.

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issued orders for a general massacre of the citizens of the capital as a punishment for their misdeeds ; that the blood-thirsty and men-oppressing Mughals killed about 80,000 men and women, old and young, big or small, of Delhi ; that the slaughter and plunder of goods and properties worth lakhs and crores and the burning of shops and residential houses of bankers and merchants lasted till midday; that Jugal Kishore, the Vakil of the Subedar of Bengal, paid a visit to Nadir Shah while the slaughter[15] was going on and made an offer of 3000 gold mohars and 7 elephants on condition of his life and property being saved ; that the same was granted and the said Vakil escaped from his predicament of murder and pillage ; that on the entreaties of Etamaduddoula[16] Nadir Shah issued orders for the stoppage of slaughter and rapine after so much blood had already been shed not only of vagabonds but also of the gentries of the city ; that the Shah ordered the execution of Syed Nisar K., a son-in-law of Etamaduddoula, of the Nazir of Diwani Khas, and of Shahsawar Khan Mughal on the ground of their complicity in the carnage of his Mughals in the previous night; that Nadir Shah sent Nisar Muhammad Khan Bahadur with a robe of honour to Abul Mansoor Khan, on the 14th. to bring the treasure of Burhanul Mulk, the deceased, and he was given 40 days time for the purpose ; that the Shah seized 3 crores and 50 lakhs in cash from the estate treasury in the citadel; jewels worth 15 crores from the first and second Jawahir Khanas, plates and utensils of, or set in, silver or gold worth one and a half crores, peacock throne and moving throne set in gold and silver worth 3 crores, goods and implements worth 15 crores from Qur Khana, Farrash Khana, Abdar Khana, Khushbu Khana, Bavarchi Khana, Sukhsij Khana, Karkari Khana, and Zin Khana, that 500 elephants and 2300 horses were taken out from the Fil Khana and royal stable respectively ; that the effects of the nobles such as Burhanul Mulk, Amir-ul-Umra, Mozzaffar K., and other Umaras together in cash and kind yielded about 15 crores of rupees ; that altogether 70 crores worth of goods and effects were seized ; that Nodir Shah sent Murid K. with letters and farman to Shujauddoula and Alauddoula Bahadurs, the Nazim and Diwan respectively of Bengal Subah on the 12th of Muharram; that the Persian King imposed a treaty which bore the seal of the Emperor and was dated 14th of Muharram, 1152, whereby the territories east of the river Sindh, *i.e.* the Attock river, was left within the dominion of the Emperor of Hindustan while the territories to the west of that river were annexed to the kingdom of Iran which means the Subahs of Kabul, Thatta, and Multan were lost to the Emperor of Hindustan, by this treaty ; and that the young son of the Shah, Mirza Nasrullah, was married with the

15. Jugal Kisore himself admits it but says someting more.

16. Another contemporary writer, Lal Brindaban Das, Khusgo, gives the credit to a Persian poet, Mirza Zaki, Nadim, for approaching the terrible Persian King and appeasing his wrath.

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daughter of Yaz-dan son of Izad Buksh son of Murad[17] Buksh whom the Emperor and Nawab Malka Zamani had taken under their own protection.

(As regards what followed) it was on the 7th of Muharram 1152 that Tahmasp K., the C. in C. of the Kingdom taking Shah summoned Jugal Kishore, a Vakil of the Nazim of Bengal Subah and beat him with his sticks and put him to indignity on account of the dues assessed on the citizens of Delhi. On the 8th the Shah of good fortune told Etamaduddoula "Pay from your own house the amount of 2 crores 12 lakhs fixed upon the citizens of Delhi into our treasury so that I may take my departure from here." He replied "Where is the money with me, your devoted servant, so that I may discharge my duty in this connection?" Thereafter the incomparable King sent for Raja Majlis Rai, the Diwan of Etamaduddoula and ordered him to prepare a list of goods and effects in cash and kind belonging to Etamaduddoula and his father, Muhammad Amin K., the deceased, who had taken possession of the despatches of Syed Abdullah Khan and Hasan Ali Khan worth crores of rupees and also to prepare a list of the goods of his own and of the houses of the clerks and agents of Etamaduddoula. The Rai submitted "the proceeds of the jagir of Etamaduddoula fell below his expenses. The papers containing balance sheet of income and expenditure are ready with me, your slave. As regards the private belongings of this slave of your Majesty they were not separate from those of Etamaduddoula." This deceptive reply provoked the world. shattering Shah so much that on a hint being given one of his commissaries immediately cut off one of the ears of the unfortunate Rajah[18]. The King then said to him "Prepare and write down a list of the goods and effects of the above mentioned persons and bring it soon to me, otherwise I will order your belly to be ripped open" The Registrar of the collection submitted that unless Moharram Khan and Farrash K., the eunuchs and confidants of Etamaduddoula, were put under torture, the real facts about the private properties of Etamaduddoula might not be ascertained in details.

It was on the same date that 3 daughters of Muzzaffar K. and 7 other females of his Mahalsara who were noted for their charms and beauty were taken by the Shah in his own Harem. Out of a contribution of 2 crores and 12 lakhs levied on the 9th of Moharram on the wealthy people of the capital city including nobles, Khans, accountants, traders, and excluding Asaf Jah, Etamaduddoula and Lutfullah[19] Khan Sadiq, Rai Khushal Chand,

17. Frazer's Journal refers to Kam Buksh.

18. Surbuland's scretary says that the unfortunate loyal "taking the above usage to herat killed himself afterwards on the 12th.

19. A well known pesonage whose grandson, Muhammad Ali Khan, the author of Tarikh-i- Mazaffari and Bahrul Mawwaj, gives some more facts.

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the Peshkar of Mir Bukshi, was assessed at 2 lakhs 75 thousands. Sita Ram the royal treasurer and the farmer of Khalsa Revenue had to pay 3 lakhs, Rai Nanda, the Peshkar and the clerk of the Khalsa and his two sons had to offer 2 lakhs 75 thousands, Jugal Kishore, the Vakil of Bengal Subah, who had been responsible for igniting this fire, had his quota fixed at 2 lakhs 50 thousands, and Sujan Rai, the Vakil of Ali Dost Khan, and the Afghans of the Deccan, were taxed at 1 lakh 50 thousand rupees. Similarly other Mutasaddies and merchants and respectable people of the city including even the chief Qazi and the men whose duty it is to issue fatwas and other religious persons had to pay for the banqueting business of the Shah. Asaf Jah, Etamaduddoula, Sarbuland K., Azimullah K., and Murtaza K. were appointed to collect the amount and they were to be assisted by revenue collecting devilish Nasakchis. Nadir Shah ordered them to collect this amount within a week or at least 10 days and deposit the same in his treasury so that he may take his departure for Iran after placing his "dear brother, Muhammad Shah" again on the throne of Hindustan. He added that if they failed to do so they would bring a calamity on themselves.

On the 12th of the current month the King of Iran bestowed a robe of honour of 3 pieces on the eldest son of Muzzaffar K., the deceased, and showed him other favours. On the same day Asaf Jah and Azimullah K., the wicked one, assisted by the blood thirsty tax-gathering Nasakchis practised severities upon the Umras, Khans, and the wealthy people and merchants for paying off the banqueting amount. Those who were not in a position to pay their quotas killed themselves with their daggers or by taking poison. As for instance, Allah Vardi K., the Qarawabegi, drank poisoned water and died; Sher Afghan K., alias Bande Ali K. killed himself with his dagger and Ghairat K., his son-in-law, wounded himself with his dagger and is at present gasping in the agonies of death. As Jugal Kishore, the Vakil of the Bengal Subedar, was responsible for fixing the amount of the ransom upon the wealthy and respectable people and consequently, raised the sighs of grief, so his crime is about to recoil upon him. He is being cursed by all, big or small.

Out of a contribution of 7 lakhs, and according to another version 9 lakhs, levied upon Muhammad K. Bangash for banqueting business of the King 3 lakhs were deposited in the King's treasury and one week's time has been granted for the payment of the remainder. On the 14th of the current month Nadir Shah sent 9 Iraqi and Arabian horses and 75 trays of fine choicest cloths of brocade and foreign made woollen cloths to the Deorhi of Asad Burj for the Emperor, and Saaduddin K., the Chief Artillery Officer, was enjoined upon not to continue the stationing of police guards and musketeers around the femlae palace and households of the King's "dear brother, Muhammad Shah".

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Of the officials[20] of the Persian King, the highest in rank is Tahmasp Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, who gets a monthly salary in cash of 2000 rupees. He keeps a personal regiment of 3000 valiant Mughals. Other nobles and Wazirs are below him in rank and get less salaries. Abdul Baqi K., the Prime Minister, gets a monthly salary of 1700 and Muatabarul Mulk, the second Vazir, draws a salary of 1500 a month. The salaries of other Vazirs and Khans vary according to the rank from 1000 to 100 rupees. At the time of deliberation and consultation on matters, political and financial, none of them dare differ from the King and are virtually non-entities. Though the King holds consultation with them, they have simply to carry out whatever falls from the lips of the King and they dare not deviate from it to the least extent. The allowances of the Yuzbashis or the Commanders of 100 horsemen is from 70 to 50 rupees while that of the chiefs of ten called Dahbashis is from 30 to 35 rupees. The average salary of the soldiers is fixed at 30 rupees. But all these nobles and Vazirs are granted, in keeping with the rank and position, from the Sarkar, rations of pullow rice, fowls and clarified butter and even fodder and grass for the horses. Almost the whole army consists of cavalry and each soldier gets half seer of grain, 1/4 of a seer of oil (ghee) and ten seers of grass for his horse. When the horse of a trooper gets disabled, he is immediately provided with another. As regards the booty captured in war, a trooper is allowed to retain that which is worth not more than 20 rupees but if it is more he has to deposit it in the treasury of the Sarkar. If any one does to the contrary and his misappropriation is found out he is immediately chastized by being hanged or strangulated. It was after the conquest of the Indian territory that the King sent news of victory to outside regions of Iran and Turan and in thanks givings for such an unexpected success he exempted the tribute paying subject of his dominion from paying anything for 3 years and one year's pay of all the Umra and Vazirs and thes oldiery which amounted to 60,000 was given beforehand.

On the 15th Lutf Ali K. the Topchibashi[21] of Nadir Shah, having received orders went out of the city and encamped in the garden of Shalimar carrying inestimable wealth with him and attended by 12,000 horses. On the 16th having received orders to this effect they brought out lofty tents and carpets from the Imperial wardrobe within the citadel and pitched them on the sands beyond Lahori Darwazah. Orders were also issued to a detatchment of the Mughal cavalry which had been stationed around the residential houses of Khan-i-Dauran and Saadullah K. and on the sands around the fort to make a move towards the garden of Shalimar. Nasakchis were appointed to the gates

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20. These facts are not generally met with elsewhere.
21. The Master of the Ordnance.

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of the walled city and were instructed not to allow any Mughal to take out a single woman.

All those big or small who had been assessed to the extent of 2 crores 12 lakhs for banqueting business at the instance of Jugal Kishore, the Vakil of Nizam of Bengal, and were unable to pay the same have had to experience great oppressions and general massacres occurred before and now the virtual slaughter of individuals is going on. Cries of lamentation are arising from every house. Anu Basant Rai, the Peshkar of Naqdi practised jauhar upon his people and then killed himself with the dagger. Khaliq Yar K. put a period to his existence through the point of his poniard. Muhammed Mah, nephew of Shaikh Saadullah, Diwan-i-Tan, drank poisoned water and died and Kamyab K., the father-in-law of Etamaduddoula, poisoned himself to death. The Qazi-ul-Quzzat suffered indignities at the hands of Sazawals. Similarly several Mausabdars and Mutasaddies, merchants, and wealthy bankers, are on the point of death. Ease and happiness have departed from the capital city.

It was reported to the King that Nisar Muhammad K., brother's son of Burhanul Mulk, who had been sent to bring the treasure of the deceased to Abul Mansoor K. had set out for the camp on the 11th. On the 17th news was brought that Shujauddoula Bahadur, Nazim of Bengal, who was a just and subject-cherishing ruler had died and Alauddoula, his son, who was known to be better than his father in justice and generosity had taken charge of the administration. His Majesty, the shadow of God, felt sorry at the death of the father and was pleased to hear of the accession of the son.

The amount of 2 crores and 12 lakhs, which Jugal Kishore, because of his wicked disposition had fixed upon the citizens of Delhi and had conseqnently thrown a world into calamity, was enhanced twice or thrice. Now the Mutsaddies like Khushal Chand, the Peshkar of Mir Bakshi, Shaikh Saadullah, Sujan Rai, Rai Nand Rai, the Vakil of Etamduddoula, Rai Nand, the Peshkar-i-Tan and other clerks of Bayutati, Khansamani as also wealthy merchants and bankers, Khans, and eunuchs in the Empire are being kicked and whipped by the evil natured Mughals and are losing their honour and prestige. Now all, big or small, of the city and the court, even the eunuchs and the favourites of the Emperor, are thirsty for the blood of that shameless Vakil and it is probable that after the departure of the Persian King Jugal Kishore would have to face the agony of calamity and would become the target of just vengeance.

Fauzdar K.,[22] the Magistrate of the capital city, paid 1 lakh out of 7 levied upon him and taking recourse to subterfuges

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22. "Foujdar Khan Foujdar-i-Gird-i-Darul Khilafa." I am not sure that my reading is quite correct here.

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escaped from the presence to his native place which is Farrukhnagar, situated at a distance of 25 miles from the capital. Having reached there he fixed fire-emitting cannons on the walls of the town and gathered a large force and is showing refractoriness and defiance. Although many letters were sent through Etamaduddoula and conveyed by Nasakchis and all sorts of temptations were given no effect was produced upon him. He sent an Arzadasht pleading his weakness and age and his inability to make a move. Similarly Thana[23] Rai and Badal Singh Jat, the Zamindar of Chitwarh, have stationed themselves, assisted by the gallant Jats upto sarai of Bakhtiar Khan while the chawki of Nadir Shah does not extend beyond the tank of Kishundass. The Mughals have no access towards that quarter. On the 19th of Muharram a heavy fire broke out in the Imperial lumber room within the citadel of the capital and effects and grains worth 1 crore or more were burnt to ashes. Now almost nothing of the sky touching pavilion, tabernacles, tents and tent ropes could be saved.

The King is waiting in expectation of the receipt of the banqueting money and for the arrival of the treasures of Burhanul Mulk. As soon as he gets them he would make no delay in moving on the standard after restoring the Emperor to the throne. There is nobody among the renowned Umrah and high stationed Vazirs of the Empire except Asaf Jah Bahadur and Etamududdoula, who is capable of shouldering the heavy responsibilities of government and administration and conquests. As for these two persons they are themselves confounded and heedless. Avarice and stinginess are so ingrained in the nature of Asaf Jah Bahadur that he does not want that any one besides his bad self should derive benefit from the court. This is a grave defect in one who has to manage political affairs and matters of administration and conquest. In these days of importance and wretchedness among those who have access to, or are in favour of, the Emperor, none exerted himself so as to redeem the state and bring lustre and splendour on it. Two nobles and three eunuchs namely Ishak Khan and Amir Khan and Rezazun Khan and Jawad Khan are unequalled in their assiduousness and devotion and are regarded as faithful friends of the shadow of God. It is probable that after the restoration of his Majesty their prestige would incerease greatly and their ranks would become higher and higher.

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23. The facts mentioned in this paragraph are quite new.

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PRINCIPLES OF LAW IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

BY

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The law of the Empire :

Ordinarily a Muslim jurist would divide the law as follows[1] :

(*a*) Religious Law *i.e.* laws against breaches of God's injunctions called *Ahkam-i-Shariyah.*

(*b*) Common law *i.e.* laws against breaches of public nature such as laws against adultry, wine selling, *Qanun i-Ammah.*

(*c*) Laws against breaches of royal regulations called *Qanun -i-Shahi.*

(*d*) Laws against breaches of customs called *Qanun-i-wrf.*

Theoretically Aurangzeb accepted the following sources of law in a Muslim state as has been mentioned in his *Hedayah* pp. xxv-xxvi :— (Grady's 2nd edn. Hamilton)

(*a*) The Qur'an

(*b*) the *Usal ul Usul* (base of bases and *i.e. Sunan,* practice of the prophet)

(*c*) the opinion of the Prophet. Fatawa.

(*d*) the concensus of opinion, *Ijman ul Ummal* also known as Hedayh

(*e*) the individual judgment of the Qāḍīs, sanctioned by Abū Hanīfah—the Qāḍīs could act on the principles of *Istihsan* (public good), *Istislah* (public policy) or *Istisbah* (concord).[2]

Law of the Mughal Empire was not what it was in other Muslim countries. The majority of the subjects being uncompromising non-Muslims, the Mughal sovereigns had to allow the laws of the non-Muslims to continue more or less the same as they found there. Law is after all social consciousness codified ; the mediaval Hindus were too conservative to part with social customs. If the Mughals had been the first Muslim conquerors of India they might have introduced either the laws of the Shari'at, or a kind of laws mixed up with native Turki customs as it was in Samarqand. But being successors to the Turko-Afghans, they had to accept the legal system of their Muslim predecessors as they found it in India. Further, India was not conquered at one time, and therefore a wholesale change of the laws of the country was impossible.

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1. The division has been mentioned by Baseeruddin in his Administration of Justice in Mughal India, pp. 70-75.

2. Fatawa-i-Alagiri III. p. 383 Sharah Vaqayah IV. pp. 396-98.

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Laws as practised in the Mughal India may be divided into

(*a*) Religious laws.

(*b*) Adminstrative laws.

(*c*) Criminal laws.

(*d*) Laws applicable to the non-Muslims who were not subjects but had come to India for trade and other purposes.

In Islam, ordinarily there is no Government but that of God and therefore Islam according to the orthodox interpretation hardly provided any sanction for separation of Shariat from State laws. Abu Hanifah was the first Muslim scholar who advocated separation of purely religious laws from those that guided the daily life of an individual, though he ascribed divine origin to both and he pleaded for equal obedience to both. So far as the religious laws were concerned the King had no choice. In the absence of any provision for a king in the Quran, nor of particular rules for his guidance, King was bound by the same laws as any other member of the community. He could claim no immunity from the ordinances of the Holy law nor could he alter it. He had to give decisions within the limitations of the sacred texts nor was he the creator of any new law. Strictly speaking he could not promulgate any religious dogma, nor could he enforce any civil law contrary to the spirit of the Holy law. If any interpretation was to be given, he had to seek the assistance of the 'Ulāma' and Muftis[1]. But in this department, the personality of the king was a great factor and the precedents created by the early Arabian Khalīfas were often cited. The four jurists Imām Abu Hanīfah, Imām Shafi'i, Imām Mālik and Ahmad bin Hānbāl were followed though abu Hanifah was preferred. In India, the Māliki laws were also applicable to the Sunnis though other schools were not un-recognsied. Questioned as to the permissibility of Mutah marriage in the Ibādat Khānah Badauni said, "Imām Mālik and the Shīas are unanimous in looking upon the Mutah marriages as legal ; Imām Shafi'i and the great Imām look upon the Mutah marriages as illegal. But should at any time "Cādī of the Mālik sect decide that a Mutah is legal, it is according to the common belief, even for the Shāfis and Hanafis. Every other opinion on the subject is idle talk." Badauni finally gave his opinion that decisions given according to any of the four laws might be aceeptable.[2] Akbar was the first monarch to appoint a Shīah Qādī Nūrullāh at Lahore who was authorised to give decisions according to Maliki law.

In administrative laws, the Mughals had recognised that the status of a subject depended not so much on the acceptance

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1. Khosla, Mughal Kingship and Nobility, pp. 150-52.
2. Badauni, op. cit. pp. 212-213

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of the religion of the state as on the offer of loyalty to the throne.[1] Of all the countries conquered and ruled by the Chagtais, Hindustan was really the longest administered country on a regular administrative basis. In India, for purpose of administration, new codes were created under the name of Dastur-ul-'Amals, as Frederik the Great had done in Prussia. From time to time, Shāhī Farmāns were issued under the seal of the Emperor in the form of instructions dealing with general principles of administration or with individual cases and events. Thus a peculiar kind of laws and regulations was evolved in the Mughal Empire known as "Ains" or "*Ahkams*" which has been described by W. Husain as *Jus Gentium*" of the Mughal Empire. These were an eclectic and elastic body of laws sometimes systematised, sometimes not, sometimes adding to and sometimes subtracting from the existing laws. These "Ains" dealt with different branches, of administration and included law, justice, finance, revenue army and all that. A clear view of the nature of these laws may be obtained from Malfuzātī-Timūri, 'Āin-i-Akbarī, Dalsut-ul-'Amal-i-Akbari, Waqiat-i-'Ālmgīri, Fatāwa-i-'Ālmgīri and in Ahkam-i-Ḥamīduddīn[2].

Applicability of the laws :—

The convenant of 'Umar with the Dhimmis which has quoted in the Kitāb-ul-Umm states, "you be under Muslim laws and no other.....If you any other non believe asks for judgment we shall give it according to Muslim Law"[3]. The Judicial structure in Mughal India was based mostly on Islamic traditions. The Muslim laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance were applied to the Muslims. Laws of evicence and contract were Islamic but these were applied to the Hindus too. So far as the Hindus were concerned, Hindu Law was applied in matters of inheritance, marriage[4] and affairs of a semi-religious nature

1. Akbar introduced a new Oath of Fealty where sacrifice of property, life, religion and honour were passport to recruitment into state service. The significance of this oath has been discussed by Badauni (II, 314) and following him by Dr. V.A. Smith (Akbar, p. 215). They have connected the oath to the Din-i Ilahi. I don't agree with them. The oath was introduced after the rebellion of Bengal in 1579 in which his Dewan Shah Mansur was implicated while his half-brother Mirza Hakim was on revolt in Kabul, being encouraged by Shah Tahmasp of Persia. Akbar was forced to demand an oath from all officers on duty, on furlough and even from dismissed officers. Badauni connected this oath with the Din-i Ilahi which came a year after. (For a fuller discussion see. Din-i-Ilahi pp. 240-43).

2. Sarkar in his Mughal Administration has translated the Ahkams. See Dabistan, Shea and Troyer, III. p. 121-138. In Bijapur a Dastur-ul-Amal was prepared under instruction of Muhammad Adil Shah.

3. Kitab-ul-Umm, p. 4, 118. Monserrate. op. cit. p. 219.

4. Badauni, Lowe op. cit. II. pp. 406-07.

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like burning of a *Sati* and dedication of a *Devi-Dasi*. So far as the converts were concerned, the Mughals did not inflict on them the religio-social laws of Islam, they were allowed to have their customary and tribal laws if they so liked as was the case with Bohras and Khojas of Gujarat, and Mumins in central and eastern India[1]. The liberalism of the Mughals in matters social is often in striking contrast with the tradition of the Arabs who conquered eastern countries in the early days of Islam.

In civil disputes between Hindus and Muslims, the law applied was Muslim, and Hindus suffered immense difficulty. As to matters concerning religion where Hindus were involved such as taking out materials collected by Muslims for building Mosques[2] and *vice-versa*, or a Hindu keeping Muslim woman, a Hindu selling wine publicly—they were decided by Qadis[3] according to the Muslim Law.

In disputes between one Hindu and another generally the Hindu '*Panchayet*' decided ;[4] the caste organisation was so rigid that not only civil but even some ordinary criminal matters came within the perview of the caste '*Panchayet*.'

In criminal matters, Muslim law as modified by the Mughals was applied both to the Hindus and Muslims. Sometimes Qādis were helped by Hindu *pandits* in interpreting the Hindu law in matters which concerned the Hindus only. Sher Shāh first introduced this procedure and it was followed by Akbar.

The law of procedure and of evidence was purely Islamic. Of course except in the time of Akbar, when the whole imperial structure was centralised, the judiciary was slack and was often guided by personal equation.

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1. Titus, Indian Islam p. 74. "No Sati could be burnt without the permission of the State," Palsaert says that on receipt of petition for 'Sati,' the faujdar was to dissuade the widow but if she insisted, the permission could not be withheld. Remonstranti, pp. 78-79. (Moreland, ed. & trans.)

2. Badauni, Haig. op. cit. Vol. III. Trans. p. 129 M. Husain, Administration of Justice, pp. 14, 23, 55.

3. For details regarding spirit of Mughal Laws, see Fatawa-i-Almgiri VI pp. 141-206 ; for general view see, Amir Ali's Spirit of Islam, p. 249 and his Muhammadan Laws. p. 351.

4. When the Christian of Najran and Aqabah and the Jews of Khaibar and Maqna submitted, Muhammad "conceded to them the judicial autonomy where the parties are of the same community. Of course when one of the parties was Muslim, the case was tried by the State courts." Monserrate p. 219 "Brahmanae govern liberally through a Senate and a council of people...". Here he gives instances of both civil and criminal laws. Ibn Hasan op. cit. pp. 339-344.

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KINGSHIP AND NOBILITY IN MEDIEVAL MARWAR

BY

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In every Rajput state the ruling class belonged to one particular Rajput clan which was numerically a minority in the population[1]. The humblest members of that clan considered themselves along with the ruler as the sons of the same father, enjoying their patrimony by the same right as the ruler himself. Thus the State did not belong to the ruler—it belonged to the clan as a whole, which was politically represented by the *sardars* or chiefs. In his relations with the chiefs the ruler was little more than *primus inter pares*[2].

This statement applies with particular force to Marwar. Tod says, "The aristrocracy in Marwar has always possessed more power than in any of the sister principalities around. The cause may be traced to their first settlement in the desert ; and it has been kept in action by the peculiarities of their condition ; especially in that protracted struggle for the rights of the minor Ajit, against the despotism of the empire. There was another cause,... which arose out of the laws of adoption[3]".

Our information about the early history of the Rathors, from the time of Siha to the accession of Chunda in or about 1381 A. D., is extremely meagre ; but a critical study of the annals brings out some important features. The Rathors were multiplying in number and wandering in pursuit of land. Conflicts naturally followed, not only with the Muslims who had occupied important posts like Nagor, but also with the Rajput clans like the Parihars of Mandor, the Bhattis of Jaisalmer and the Chauhans of Jalor, as well as with the aborigins like the Bhils. The struggles arising out of the pursuit of land were not always conducted by the head of the clan, *i.e.*, the ruler of the new-born Rathor State ; it seems that the Rathor chiefs, specially enterprising members of the collateral branches of the ruling family,

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1. Tod says about Marwar, "The Jits constitute five-eights, the Rajpoots two-eighths, while the remaining classes, sacerdotal, and servile, make up the integral number". (*Annals of Marwar*, chap. XVI).

2. In their complaint to the British Government against Raja Man Singh of Marwar the *sardars* of Marwar declared, "Sri Maharaja and ourselves are of one stock, all Rahtores. He is our head, we his servants. When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord ; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land".

3. *Annals of Marwar*, chap, XIII.

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fought in many cases for themselves, and looked upon as their own any estate which they might conquer by their own prowess. In such cases the allegiance to the ruler was purely nominal. Thus the central authority in the Rathor State was weak from its very birth.

To that weakness another factor contributed. Up to the 14th century the principle of primogeniture did not regulate succession to the headship of the Rathor State. The most successful member of the ruling family secured the headship of the State, and in those days of strife and turmoil nobody cared for mere right of birth. Even in the 17th century Jaswant Singh, the second son of Gaj Singh, succeeded his father in suppression of the claim of his elder brother Amar Singh. This violation of primogeniture was due to the desire expressed by Gaj Singh on his death bed, which was confirmed by Emperor Shah Jahan ; but the significant fact is that it was not opposed by the *sardars*, who were probably satisfied with the succession of *any* member of the ruling family.

In the 16th century Maldev made an attempt to strengthen the central authority at the expense of the *sardars*. At his accession the authority of the ruler of Jodhpur was practically limited to the districts of Jodhpur and Sojhat. Collateral branches of the ruling family controlled the districts of Bikaner, Phalodhi, Mairta and Mallani, over which the paramountcy of the head of the State was hardly recognised. Maldev temporarily succeeded in imposing his authority over his over-mighty subjects, but the suspicion evoked by his policy in the minds of his *sardars* was largely responsible for his failure in the struggle against Sher Shah. It was really difficult to determine the exact relationship between the head of the Rothor State and his *sardars*. The ruler might claim their full allegiance and effective authority over their estates, for he was the head of the State and of the caln as well. The *sardars* might resent the interference of the ruler in the affairs of their estates, which they or their ancestors had conquered with little or no assistance from the central authority. Such a constitutional problem arose in every Rajput State, and nowhere was a working solution discovered. The moderation of the rulers and the principle of *swami-dharma* or loyalty to the lord, which was an active force in Rajput life, averted dangerous crises.

The establisment of Mughal suzerainty disturbed the political equilibrium within the Rajput States. "The autocracy at the imperial capital supplied the incentive to the Rajput prince to play the autocrat in his more limited sphere of action". It was the influence of the Mughal court which transformed the leader of the clan into 'the irresponsible bureaucrat of the 18th century.' Tod clearly shows that in his days the Rajput prince was much more than the nominal leader of his clan. He observes, "Throughout Rajasthan the character and welfare of the States depend on

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that of the sovereign ; he is the main spring of the system—the active power to set and keep in motion all these discordant materials ; if he relax, each part separates, and moves in a narrow sphere of its own".[4]

In the case of Marwar we can trace this development as early as the reign of Uday Singh, who submitted to Akbar and gave Jodh Bai in marriage to the Emperor. Tod says, ".....the emperor not only restored all possessions he had wrested from Marwar, with the exception of Ajmeer, but several rich districts in Malwa, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own fiscal domain. With the aid of his imperial brother-in-law, he greatly diminished the power of the feudal aristocracy, and clipped the wings of almost all the greater vassals, while he made numerous sequestrations of the lands of the ancient allodiality and lesser vassals ; so that it is stated, that, either by new settlement or confiscation, he added fourteen hundred villages to the fisc."[5]

Apart from the confiscation of the estates of the *sardars* on various excuses, another effective measure to strengthen their own authority adopted by the Rajput princes of the Mughal period was to introduce within their respective States some *sardars* who were foreign[6] in country and blood'. The epithet *kalaputta*, or 'black grant', was applied to all grants of land to 'foreign' *sardars*, whose encroachment was naturally resented by the sons of the soil ; but the latter found the power of the princes too strong to be assailed by protest against the importation of 'foreigners'. Among the eight *sardars* of the first class in Marwar one (the Bhatti *sardars* of Khejurla) was a 'foreigner'.[7] Naturally the position of these 'foreign chiefs' was less secure than that of the *sardars* of the indigenous clan, and the prince could place more reliance on outsiders having no root in the soil and absolutely dependent on himself. But the importance of this factor must not be over-emphasized. The prince was never free to dispose of any substantial portion of the patrimony of the clan in favour of the 'foreigners'. Tod says, "Though in all these estates there is a mixture of foreign Rajputs, yet the blood of the chief predominates". The clan system was too strong to be broken.

It is clear that the attempts of the Rajput princes to curtail the powers and privileges of the *sardars* were more or less successful primarily because they could count upon Mughal support in

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4. *Sketch of a Feudal System in Rajasthan.*

5. *Annals of Marwar*, chap. IV.

6. The clan system encouraged the parochial outlook to such an extent that a Guhilot was regarded as a 'foreigner' by a Rathor, and *vice versa.*

7. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XVI.

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case of internal rebellion. After the death of Jaswant Singh a new situation arose in Marwar. The Rathors had to fight for their existence in the name of their minor prince, Ajit Singh. Just as the Maratha war of independnce encouraged feudal tendencies and increased the power of military chieftains, so also the long war of the Rathors against Aurangzeb removed all limitations upon the powers of the *sardars* and eclipsed the central authority which was practically non-existent for a quarter of a century. After Aurangzeb's death Ajit Singh was restored to power and for some years occupied a prominent place at the Mughal court; but his repeated rebellions, and the progressive decline of imperial authority, made it impossible for him to crush the Rathor nobles with Mughal support. In the second half of the 18th century Marwar was torn by civil war and devastated by the Marathas, and the rulers could not consolidate their power. So the *sardars* of Marwar remained more powerful than their brethren in the neighbouring States, and the Rathor princes could not make themselves 'irresponsible bureaucrats.'

"The Rajpoot Premier," says Tod, "is the military minister, with the political government of the fiefs; the civil minister is never of this caste.....He becomes a most important personage, as dispenser of the favours of the sovereign. Through him chiefly all requests are preferred, this being the surest channel to success. His influence necessarily, gives him unbounded authority over the military classes, with unlimited power over the inferior officers of the state. With a powerful body of retainers always at his command, it is surprising we have not more frequently our 'mayors of Burgandy and Dagoberts', our 'Martels and Pepins', in Rajasthan".[8] In Marwar the premier was called *Pradhan* and this post was occupied by the Champawat *sardar* of Ahwa. Tod adds that the *Pradhans* 'have always been millstones round the necks of their princes".

In the 18th century some Rajput princes began to maintain mercenary soldiers for various reasons. The principal motive was probably to deal with internal troubles caused by 'overmighty subjects'. The mercenary force maintained by the rulers of Marwar consisted mainly of Rohilla and Afghan infantry, armed with muskets and matchlocks. Having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body, they were formidable to the Rajput cavalries. In addition to the Muslim mercenaries there was in Marwar a brigade of 'monastic militants' or fighting *sannyasis*. These mercenaries were not satisfied with monthly pay alone; lands to a considerable amount were granted to the commanders. The result was ruinous to the State. Tod says, "The existence of such a species of force,[9] opposed in moral and religious sentiment to

8. *Sketch of a Feudal System in Rajasthan.*

9. At one time the ruler of Marwar maintained a force consisting of 11,000 men.

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the retainers of the state, has only tended to widen the breach between them and their head, and to destroy every feeling of confidence."

FRESH LIGHT ON THE BATTLE OF AMJHERA : NOVEMBER 29, 1729.

BY

MAHARAJ KUMAR DR. RAGHUBIR SINGH, M.A., D. LITT., LL. B., *Sitamau.*

The publication of the Marathi records in the Peshwa Daftar made it possible to decide upon the correct chronology of events in Malwa during those years of invasion and constant trouble, 1728-1730. A close scrutiny of the same resulted in deciding it once for all that the fateful battle in which Girdhar Bahadur, the governor of Malwa, was killed, was fought between Amjhera and Tirla on Nov. 2[illegible], 1729, and that Girdhar Bahadur's cousin, Daya Bahadur, the Commander of the Imperial forces in Malwa, was also killed in this bloody battle.

Since the publication of my work "Malwa in Transition" in 1937, another careful search by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the Jaipur State archives has resulted in bringing to light many more valuable papers of primary historical importance particularly dealing with the period of these later Mughals. In this mass of new historical material six letters, in Persian, have been discovered, which give contemporary account of this eventful battle. They not only comfirm the various conclusions arrived at by me before, but supply many additional details of vital importance, which go to complete the story of the battle.

These letters tell us that Raja Girdhar Banadur had been encamping at Mandsaur during the rainy season of 1728, and on hearing about the raid of Kanthaji Kadam on South-Western Malwa he moved down to Amjhera, and encamped there lying in wait for Kanthaji, who was then near Banswada. Here he was suddenly surprised by the Maratha forces led by Chimna Ballal and Udaji Pawar, and he, along with his army, were completely annihilated With a view to stop any help reaching Girdhar Bahadur from Muhammad Umar, the faujdar of Mandu, then encamped at Dhar, a small force was left by the Marathas near Dhar.

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These letters give us some important details about the battle itself. Rao Gulab Ram and Jamadar Salabat Khan led the van in its attack on the Marathas, while Raja Anand Ram (better known to the Marathas by his original name, Daya Bahadur) and his younger brother, Shambhuram, commanded the main army. When Raja Girdhar Bahadur saw the Marathas overwhelming the Imperial army, he threw himself into the fight with all the vigour and personally carried on the fight, while riding an elephant, till he was killed by a musket shot. The Maratha victory was complete. Rao Gulab Ram and Jamadar Salabat Khan were killed in the battle. Raja Anand Ram, alias Raja Daya Bahadur, was severely wounded, and he along with his brother, Shambhuram, were taken captive ; but luckily Anand Ram did not survive long after his being taken captive and died soon after in Amjhera itself (c. 29 Nov. to 2 Dec. 1728). Shambhuram and other leading imperial commanders. of whom the most notable were Dolabhji and Chaube Kavindra, were kept prisoners by the Maratha, who demanded heavy ransoms for their release.

The news of this defeat soon reached the Imperial court from the reports sent by Bhawani Ram, the second son of Chhabile Ram, and the younger brother of Raja Anand Ram.

Bhawani Ram, the younger son of Raja Chhabile Ram, was the eldest member of the family now surviving, and he at once took up the control of the administration of the province. He not only retained the soldiers previously in the service of Raja Girdhar Bahadur, but enrolled more men and organised the defences of Ujjain, which now became the main target for attack. Letters for help and military aid were sent not only to Delhi, but also to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, who was the nearest powerful noble who could possibly give any aid. Letters of condolence were duly received by Bhawani Ram from Delhi as well as from Jaipur. But this was not what Bhawani Ram wanted. The Emperor sent a farman granting Bhawani Ram the title of Raja Chimna Bahadur and vesting in him the management of the province. The farman was received in Ujjain on Dec. 21, 1728. But Bhawani Ram wanted financial and military aid, which was not forthcoming. He was told that Saiyyad Najumuddin Ali Khan and others, then stationed at Sironj, had been ordered to go to his help, but none cared to move from Sironj. Thus Bhawani Ram continued to engage more fresh soldiers and continued to report the clamour of his soldiers for money, which Bhawani Ram did not possess. The story of the siege of Ujjain is already well known and need not be repeated. During the last weeks of the siege the Marathas had asked for the payment of necessary ransom for release of the various commanders of the Imperial force taken captive by them in the battle of Amjhera. Raja Anand Ram had already died and negotiations for the release of others, who were not equally important.

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were still going on while the siege continued and hotly contested battle were fought day after day.

These letters, however, enable us to correct some of the current mistakes and important omissions relating to the relationship and other details about the various members of this Nagar family of warriors. The geneological tree has been reconstructed on the basis of details supplied by these letters, and resulting from another thorough study of '*Ajaib-ul-Afaq*' in the light of these details. It is given at the end of this essay. The various important points raised by these letters in respect of the different members of this family can thus be summarised.

Raja Anand Ram alias Raja Daya Bahadur—The identification of Raja Anand Ram as being the same person who was the commander of the Imperial forces in Malwa, and who was better known to the Marathas as Raja Daya Bahadur, has not been an easy task. All Persian histories, save one, mention of Raja Daya Bahadur, son of Raja Chhabileram, and do not speak of Raja Anand Ram. Mirza Muhammad is the only Persian historian who mentions about Raja Anand Ram being killed in the battle along with Raja Girdhar Bahadur. He, however, merely speaks of him as a relative of Girdhar Bahadur, and does not clarify their exact relationship, (*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, by Mirza Muhammad Harisi, B. M., Or. 1924, in Irvine, II, p. 243), nor does he ever separately mention the name of Daya Bahadur among those killed with Girdhar Bahadur. In the same way these letters too do not mention anything about Daya Bahadur, and only speak of Raja Anand Ram, Rao Gulab Ram and Salabat Khan as the prominent personalities among those killed. Raja Anand Ram apparently being the most important and the coveted prize, the Marathas took him captive, even though badly wounded in the fight. The Marathi records definitely state that Raja Daya Bahadur was present with the imperial army, and not only fought bravely but was actually killed in the battle. *Ajaib-ul-Afaq*, which is the collection of official letters received by the heads of this Nagar family from time to time, also does not even mention the name of Daya Bahadur in any place. The official title, Anand Ram, occurs in some place. He is titled as Rai in one place, while Raja in another place, which appears to be due to his gradual rise in the official hiarchy of the Imperial titles. (*Ajaib* ff. 30a, 47b.)

Bhawani Ram, Raja Chimna—These letters correct the current mistake that Bhawani Ram was the eldest son of Raja Girdhar Bahadur. He appears to be the second son of Raja Chhabile Ram. *Ajaib-ul-Afaq* too supports this correction (*Ajaib*, 4b.)

Shambhu Ram, brother of Raja Anand Ram.—There appear to be two persons of this name in this family at the time of the battle of Amjhera. There is a definite mention in letters of one as the brother of Raja Anand Ram, who was present on the

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battle-field and was taken captive by the Marathas. The other one, a younger son of Raja Girdhar Bahadur, was at Ujjain, and consoled the soldiers when the news of the defeat and death of Raja Girdhar Bahadur was received at Ujjain.

Rao Gulab Ram.—There are good many references about this person in *Ajaib-ul-Afaq*. He was appointed with the Imperial army in Allahabad Subha (f. 32b). He seized the fort of Shakirgarh from the rebels (35b). He was appointed the qiledar of Allahabad (f. 36a) and later was sent as faujdar of Benares and Chunar (f. 42a.) There is also a letter from Rao Gulab Ram addressed to Raja Girdhar Bahadur congratulating the latter on his appointment as the Governor of Malwa (letter No. 181, f. 68a). But nowhere in that letter-book there is any reference showing exact relationship of Gulab Ram to this Nagar family. In his Gujarati biography of Raja Chhabile Ram Bahadur and his other relatives, Man Shankar Pitambar Das Mehta has discussed the various geneological trees of families connected with Raja Chhabile Ram and his other relatives and finally concludes that Rao Gulab Ram was married to one of the daughters of Chhabile Ram. In his Hindi poem '*Jang-Namah*' poet Shreedhar has mentioned Gulab Ram as having taken a prominent part in the battle of Agra (December, 31, 1712). Mirza Muhammad mentioned Rao Gulab Ram having been killed in the battle along with Raja Girdhar Bahadur, and described him as a relative of Girdhar Bahadur. (*Tarikhi-i-Muhammadi* in Irvine, II, p. 243).

Dolabhaji.—This name does not occur in any other Persian or Marathi historical work or document. In the geneological tree printed by Manshankar Pitambhardas Mehta, on pp. 33-34 of his life of Raja Chhabile Ram Bahadur, he has mentioned of one Durlabhji, a son of Kunwarji, married to Beni Kunwari, a daughter of Dayaram Nagar. Similarity of these names leads one to identify Dolabhji, with Durlabhji of that geneological tree. Daya Ram Nagar, the maternal grand-father of Dolabhji was evidently the father of Girdhar Bahadur, and not Daya Bahadur, son of Chhabile Ram.

Sons of Girdhar Bahadur.—All accounts confirm that Girdhar Bahadur left behind him at least three sons, whose names are specifically given in various contemporary authorities. They were Binai Ram, Bijai Ram and Shambhu Ram. In letter No. 2 Bijai Ram's name is missing, instead there is a mention of Mohan Ram. Mohan Ram's name is not mentioned anywhere else. It appears that after the death of Girdhar Bahadur, his eldest son, Binai Ram was given the title of Raja; he is mentioned as such in *Ajaib* (f. 4b). He was also given a khilat, *sarpech* (jewelled ornament for head-wear) and a jewelled ornament (*padak*) (f. 70b and 72b). His younger brothers, Bijaram and Shambhuram too, received khilats and other similar rewards (f. 70b). Shambhuram has also been mentioned as 'Raja Shambhuram' in *Ajaib*, (f. 6a.).

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Letter No. 1.

Letter to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur from Muhammad Sai Khan, Diwan of Malwa.

(*c.* Dec. 3, 1728)[1].

Mahammad Umar Khan, faujdar of Mandu, wrote that on 7th Jamdi-ul-awal, Saneh 10[2] [Nov. 28, 1728], Chimnaji Pandit, brother of Baji Rao, Udaji Pawar and others with a big force came near Naupura,[3] 7 *kos* from Dhar.

On the 8th of this month [Nov. 29, 1728] they rushed to the *lashkar* of Raja Girdhar Bahadur, who was encamped at Amjhera town, 5 kos distant from Dhar town, in the Sarkar Mandu, and there destroyed whole of his army. Since then it is being continuously reported that Raja Bahadur[4] with Raja Anand Ram,[5] Salabat Knan and others have sacrificed their lives.

These villains entertain evil intentions for Ujjain. By the time this news reaches the Emperor and an army is sent from there, the tide will submerge everything here. Therefore, I request you to arrange immediately for the protection of this *subah* and specially for the city of Ujjain; either march down yourself or despatch an army forthwith. The time is very limited. I am doing my best and am prepared to sacrifice my own life.

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1. This letter seems to have been written soon after the first information about the result of the battle of Amjhera reached Ujjain. The distance between Amjhera and Ujjain, as a crow flies, is about 64 miles.

2. Should be Saneh 11, which commenced from 9 Rabi-us-Sani = Nov. 1, 1728.

3. In the map there is no village of this or similar name at the distance indicated here. There is one village of this name about 5 m. SES of Dhar. Nalchha itself is about 14 m. SES of Dhar, where the Marathas had encamped on 6 Jamadi-ul-awwal (Nov. 27, 1728). It most probably refers to advanced force which must have moved 12 miles further up towards Dhar a day earlier. to check-mate the forces in the Dhar fort.

4. Raja Girdhar Bahadur was generally referred to as Raja Bahadur, (alo see *Ajaib.* f. 1b).

5. The official title of Raja Daya Bahadur, the eldest son of Raja Chhabile Ram Nagar.

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Letter No. 2.

Keshoram's[1] *Arzdasht* to Sawai Jai Singh.

(*c.* Dec. 5. 1728)[2]

The events of Malwa are reported herewith, which must have already been known to you. First of all Kanta [or Kanha ?] Maratha[3] with 10,000 horse wandered in Malwa, and then moved on to Gujrat. On hearing this news about his wanderings, Raja Girdhar Bahadur, then encamped at Mandsaur, sent his family, servants, and heavy baggage to Ujjain, and taking his own force, Raja Anand Ram and Rao Gulab Ram[4] with him, turned his attention to chastise the villain. The villain had gone from Malwa to Gujrat ; he now stayed in the boundaries of Gujrat near Banswada.

Raja Bahadur encamped near Amjhera. Chimna Pandit, brother of Baji Rao, and Uda Pawar and others with a force of 22,000 horse crossed the Narmada all of a sudden, covered 30 *kos*, and on the 8th Jamadi-ul-awwal, Saneh 11 [Nov. 29, 1728], left some soldiers near Dhar fort lest Muhammad Umar Khan, then stationed at Dhar, might not come from the Dhar fort to join Raja Bahadur. The rest gathered round the (Imperial) army. In the beginning Rao Gulab Ram and Salabat Khan *jamadar* killed most of the villains, but there is no remedy for fate ; they were killed. Raja Anand Ram received two musket wounds, and he along with his brother, Shambu Ram,[5] were taken captives by the *ghanim* (plunderers).

The Raja Bahadur discharged arrows with his own hands and when he had emptied four quivers on his elephant, he suddenly

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1. News-writer and an important official agent of Jai Singh of Jaipur, stationed in Ujjain.

2. This letter seems to have been written a few days after the previous letter, when full details regarding the battle had been received. There is no mention in this letter about the Marathas moving towards Ujjain. The Maratha force remained encamped at Amjhera for three days following their victory on Nov. 29, 1728.

3. Most possibly refers to Kanthaji Kadam Bande. The published Marathi records do not throw any light on the details of this raid, which seems to have taken place in October-November, and was quite different from the one mentioned in S.P.D., 13, No, 11. It was probably before Kanthaji started on this raid that the Peshwa deemed it necessary to tell him definitely on September 24, 1728, not to disturb nor to create any throuble with Malhar Holkar, who was then staying at Talode village in the Sultanpur pargana. S.P.D., 22, No. 24.

4. A brother-in-law of Daya Bahadur, married to the daughter of Chhabile Ram Nagar.

5. The third son of Raja Chhabile Ram, and not the same person of this very name, who was son of Raja Girdhar Bahadur.

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received a bullet in his chest and thus his life was sacrificed in the Imperial cause. From the day he had girded his loins for the work till now, he remained with honour, and now he has passed away with honour.

Now you (the Maharaja) are in the place of Raja Bahadur, and should take care of Kunwar Bhawani Ram, son of Raja Chhabile Bam, Binai Ram, Mohan Ram and Shambhu Ram, all sons of Raja Bahadur, and their other relatives.

At that time, all the four princes consoled their men and retained them in their services as before, and began to enrol more men. They gave 500 horse and 1,000 foot to Raja Durjan Sal [Bundela] of Chanderi, and 300 horse and 500 foot to Said Muhammad, Diwan of *Subah*, and in similar manner made other appointments as well. New men are being appointed to guard the city.

Letter No. 3.

Kesh oram's *Arzdasht* to Sawai Jai Singh.

(*c.* Dec. 8, 1728)[1]

I have already submitted the details of the events here and the anxiety that arose from the same. You must have read therein about Raja Bahadur being killed along with Rao Gulab Ram, Salabat Khan *jamadar* and others of the Imperial army in the battle against the plunderers, who were more numerous than ants and locusts : and also about Raja Anand Ram, who had received two musket wounds, being taken captive along with his younger brother Shambhuram, and the treasure elephants and other goods having been plundered.

All these events have made Kunwar Bhawani Ram, son of Raja Chhabileram, who died long ago, and Binai Ram, Mohan Ram and Shambhu Ram all sons of Raja Bahadur most anxious. They have not only collected much force, but have given 500 horse and 1,000 foot to Raja Durjan Singh, the *zamindar* of Chanderi, 300 horse and 500 foot to Muhammad Saiyyad Khan [the Diwan of Malwa], and have similarly helped others also, They have kept in their service all the former employees, who had been helping them, and more men are being enrolled.

I have further to request you this day that as all these princes have no other shelter and refuge than yourself, you should request the Emperor with the blessedness of your help and favours, and give them your kind attention and care. All these men have for long been associated with the Raja Bahadur.

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1. This letter was written within a couple of days after the last letter. No mention is made of the approach of the Marathas near Ujjain, which definitely shows that it was written some time before the siege of Ujjain began on Dec. 10, 1728.

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and even now they should all remain together as before. It is hoped that by your grace and favour, orders for their appointment and increments in their ranks be issued so that their honour and absolute power may continue. The plunderers are making great row, and hence it is absolutely necessary that they should be awarded all the previous honour and full powers. You are closely conue ted with all this honour and help.

Letter No. 4.

Keshoram's Arzdasht to Sawai Jai Singh.

(*c.* Jan. 2, 1729).[1]

Your *parwana* with the letter of condolence to Raja Chimna,[2] about Girdhar Bahadur sacrificing his life in the cause of the Empire, has been duly received. It was mentioned therein that proper requests have been submitted through the vakil or *Durbar-i-Mualla* for the proper care of the sons and nephews of Raja Bahadur. It is known from the letters from Delhi that his *vakils* requested the Emperor and the nobles in a befitting manner, and efforts are being made to meet the demands. For all this favour he submits his respects to you. Your care and favours for Raja Bahadur are now being repeated towards his sons and nephews.

Your letter of condolence has been handed over to Raja Chimna ; he will send its reply later ; just now he is very busy because of the row the Marathas have caused here. The news of this place is that for more than one month the trenches round the city are being kept up ; all his soldiers have also been retained in service. From 19th Jamadi-ul-awwal [Dec. 10, 1728] the armies of the plunderers are near Ujjain. Every time the villains attacked the trenches, they were mostly killed or wounded with bows and muskets. The battle is still going on. During this time 7,000 horsemen and 10,000 foot have been taken in service, and more men are still being enrolled. It is hoped that due to favours of Maharaja Dhiraj and the Imperial felicity the villains would feel ashamed.

A *farman* bearing the signature of the Emperor has been issued in the name of Raja Chimna. After due condolence, it invests him with absolute power in respect of this *subah*, and orders him to chastise the villains. It also mentions about orders

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1. This letter has been written about a month after the receipt of the first information regarding the defeat and death of Girdhar Bahadur at Ujjain. Siege of Ujjain was in full force at this time.

2. Bhawani Ram, son of Raja Chhabile Ram, was created Raja Chimna by the Emperor, on the death of Raja Girdhar Bahadur and Raja Anand Ram.

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issued to Saiyyad Najmuddin Ali Khan to render necessary help to Raja Chimna, and deals with similar other matters. It was received here on the 3rd of this month[1] [Dec. 41, 1728] for its orders being duly enforced. But as yet no army has come down here for our help [from the Saiyyads and other Imperial servants stationed at Sironj]. In spite of all that, every possible effort will be made to protect the city, and thus to prove the fidelity to salt. The letters from other people will amply describe in detail what anxious consideration has been shown and what great efforts have been made here. It is not desirable to write in self-praise.

It is hoped that due to Maharaja's favours necessary care and attention will be shown for Raja Chimna, the son of Chhabile Ram, Kunwar.....[blank], Kunwar Bajai Ram and Kunwar Shambhuram, all [three] sons of Raja Girdhar Bahadur.

Letter No. 5

Letter from Raja Chimna Nagar to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur.

(*c. Jan. 10, 1729*)[2]

Your kind letter is duly received, and it gave comfort to the grieved heart. There is none left as our superior who can show similar kindness like you. You are showing me greater favours than what you did to Raja Girdhar Bahadur. Recently a *farman* with the Imperial favours and grant of the title of Raja Chimna has been received; this shows your kind patronage for me, and I hope the same will continue for ever.

The villains are besieging the city in large numbers and have evil intentions towards this city. For last 5 to 8 days hotly contested battles are being fought. The evil-hearted foolishly stand in a line and come near the trenches every day with a view to attack. On our side the brave fighters of the Imperial army come out of our trenches, with courage and bravery, to face and repel the attackers, and after slaying many of them they drive the rest to their camp and immediately after that return back to their own trenches. In the melee about three to five hundred enemies have been killed or wounded, while some of our men also gave up their lives and became martyrs. By the blessings of God

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1. By 'this month' he means *Jamadi-us-Sani*. My statement in *Malwa* (p. 166) that the news was received in the middle of Jan. 1729 is thus proved to be incorrect. *Rajab* did not begin till a week after the siege of Ujjain has been raised, *i.e.* Jan 20, 1729.

2. On January 13, 1729, Raja Chimna led his men in a direct attack on the besiegers. After this battle the besiegers raised the siege and withdrew first to Kaliadah and then moved northwards. This letter seems to have been written some time before this final battle of the siege, and the letter refers to the fight put up by the defenders on earlier days.

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and the felicity of the Emperor, the villains are duly chastised, and are making their faces black.

Both old and new soldiers are clamouring for their pay. They are all watching the city. Details cannot be put down in writing. Release from this crowd cannot be effected without your help. We want and await your help in every respect.

Letter No. 6.

Keshoram's *Arzdasht* to Sawai Jai Singh.

(c. January 11, 1729)[1].

Your kind *parwana* about the wanderings of the *ghanim* (plunderers) near Ujjain, their incessant fight and attacks on our trenches with bows and muskets, our anxiety about these trenches round the city, our efforts to retain the soldiers, and our hopes about the care and support to the sons and nephews of the deceased Raja Bahadur, has been duly replied before. You must have already seen that reply.

The latest news that I have to report is that the brother of Baji Rao, Uda and other sardars attacked the city of Ujjain on all sides many times with a view to enter it ; fight ensued, and the bows and muskets were used in such a way that all the villains were either killed or wounded, while on our side too some were killed and wounded. At last they were ashamed and returned to their homes[2]. In this way more than one month has passed since the villains first besieged the city and the fight is still going on daily.

The number of soldiers is much greater than what has been authorised ; moreover in such a struggle the necessary increase in the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of war have to be mentioned. It is hoped that you must have known all about it from other letters. I have no hesitation in submitting that in view of the claims of the salt and the honours bestowed on me, I am ready to sacrifice my life and property in the hope of receiving due help from you.

So far none of the Imperial servants, like Muhammad Umar Khan, the faujdar of Mandu, and Sayyad Najmuddin Ali Khan have reached the city. In view of the favours fromthe Maharaja Dhiraj (Sawai Jai Singh) and the Imperial felicity, I shall not fail in my duty in showing anxious consideration to the affairs

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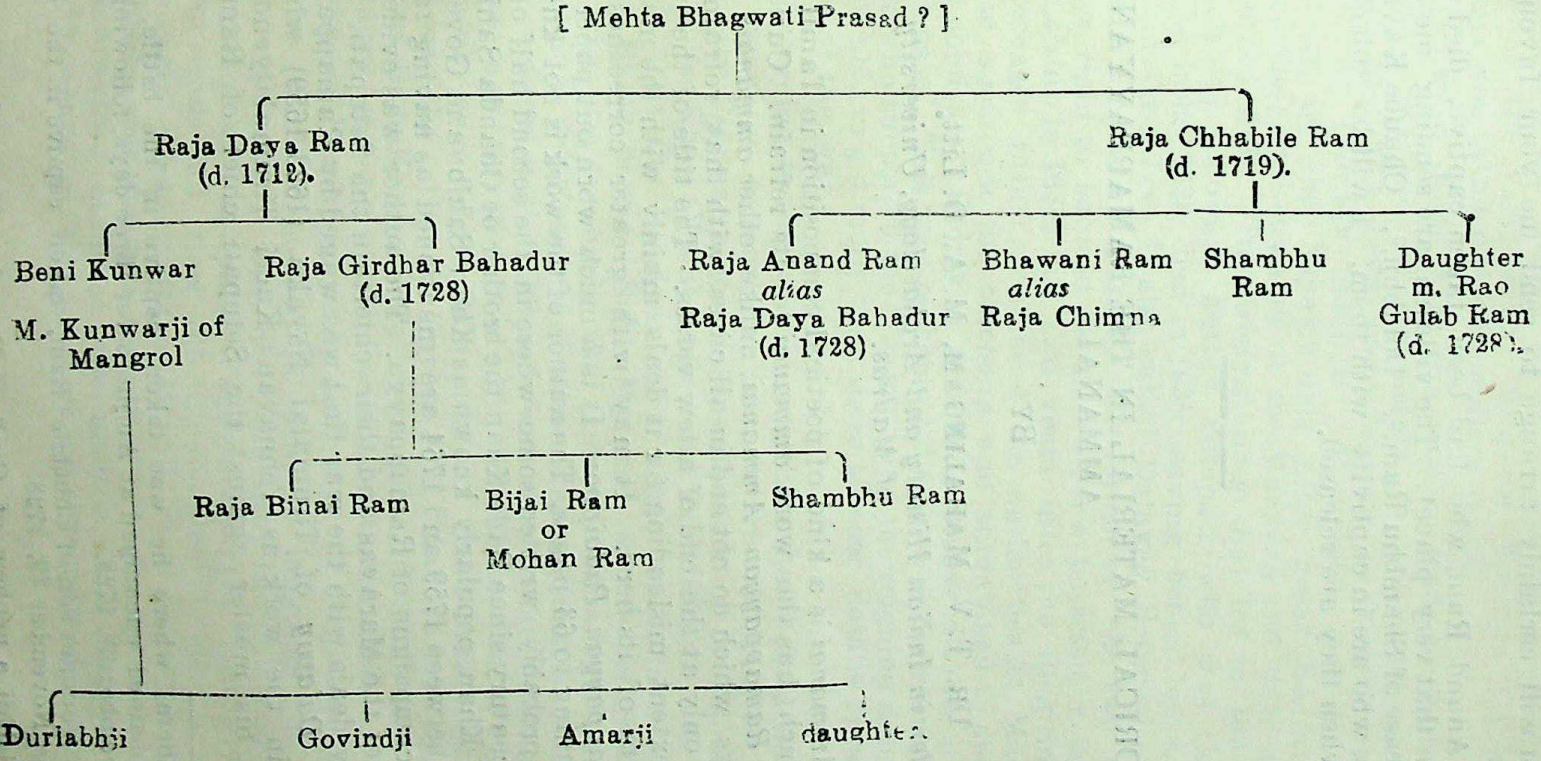
1. This letter was written sometime after a month has passed since the beginning of the siege on the 19 Jamadi-ul-awwal (December 10, 1728). The siege was continuing at this time.

2. Apparently he only means that they returned to their camp.

GENEOLOGICAL TREE OF THE NAGAR FAMILY



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here. You will certainly arrange to send me your favours as usual.

Raja Anand Ram, who had been taken captive, died of his wounds on that very place[1]. The villains are sending messages for the release of Shambhu Ram,[2]. Dolabhji,[3]. Chaube Kavindra, and others, who are in captivity with them. I will be submitting the news when they are released.

HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE RAMAPPAYYAN AMMANAI

By

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The *Ammanai* is a kind of poetical composition in Tamil each verse of which has the word *ammanai* for its refrain. Curiously enough the *Ramappayyan Ammanai*, unlike other *ammanais* consists of songs which do not end in all cases with that refrain, but it is found only at the end of a few verses. The title of the work is to some extent misleading for it deals mainly with the martial achievements of its hero. It may with greater correctness be called *Ramappayyan Padaippor*. It is a much worn out paper manuscript running to 63 pages. The author of the work is not known, but it was probably written some where in the second half of the eighteenth century since Bade Khan the brother of Chanda Sahib (d. 1752) Yusuf Khan, popularly known as Khan Sahib and Governor of Madura between 1759 and 1764 are mentioned as having taken part in the campaigns of Ramappayya. The author was evidently an admirer of the Maravas and their chieftain the Setupati. The poem largely deals with the war that was waged by Ramappayya, the famous *Dalavay* of Tirumalai Nāyaka (1623-1659) who is referred to in the work as Tennavan Kacci Tirumalaiyendiran on behalf of his master against the Setupati chief of Ramnad.

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1. Amjhera, where he was taken captive in the battle. The Marathas remained encamped at Amjhera for three days, following the battle on November 29, 1728.

2. The younger son of Chhabile Ram, taken captive in the battle of Amjhera on November 29, 1728.

3. Durlabhji, a nephew of Girdhar Bahadur, being the son of his sister, Beni Kunwar.

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It also gives an account of Rāmappayya's successful fight on behalf of the Vijayanagar Emperor Venkata III against the Muslims who invaded the Bangalore region.

The work opens with the request made by Ramappayya to Tirumalai Nāyaka for permission to undertake an expedition against Sadaikka Teva who is known to history as Sadaikka Teva II or Dalavāy Setupati Permission was given for the expedition by the Nāyaka only after great hesitation for he realised the great strength of the Maravas and their capacity for determined fight. The circumstances that led to the war were probably as follows. Kūttan Setupati who was the chief of Ramnad from 1623 died in 1635 leaving behind him a legitimate son, Sadaikka Teva II also called Daḷavay Setupati and an illegitimate son called 'Tambi'. The former of the two who had a greater right to succeed to his father's possessions succeeded to the chiefship in 1635, but two years later the illegitimate son of the deceased father convinced the authorities at Madura of his right to succeed to the chiefship and threatened to dethrone the ruling chieftain. Sadaikka Teva was prepared to resist and fight out his case. This very probably led to a war between the Madura Nāyak who supported the 'Thambi' and the reigning Setupati. We are not able to get more than these slender details regarding the genesis of the war.

According to the work among those that helped Ramappayya in his campaign against the Setupati are said to have been Sivile Māran, the Pāndyan ruler of Tenkāśi, the king of Colombo besides Shah Abbas Khan (Yusuf Khan) and Bade Khan. Of these it is possible that the Pandyan ruler alone could have been of any help to Ramappayya. Sivile Māravan who is referred to in the work was very probably the same as Varaguṇarama Pandya Kulaśekhara Somāśyār one of whose inscriptions dated A. D. 1616 has been discovered[1]. Colombo was then in the hands of the Portuguese, and therefore it is quite improbable that a ruler of that place could have helped Ramappayya. Shah Abbas Khan (Yusuf Khan) was the ruler and Governor of Madura between 1759 and 1764 and Bade Khan the brother of Chanda Sahib also could not have taken any part in the war, since their periods are separated from that of Ramappayya by a century or even more.

The work describes in graphic language the march of Ramappayya along with his large army through such places like Cinna Ravuttar Paḷaiyam, Vaṇḍiyurk-koṭṭai, Tiruppuvanam, his bringing into full view the Rajagambhīrankottai a stronghold of an early Bāṇa chieftain Māvali Vāṇa Rāya which had been submerged under the thick growth of a dense forest and his reaching Vānaravīran Madurai, the modern Mana Madura, Sadaikka Teva who heard of the invasion of his country by Ramappayya

1. Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 148.

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held a war council and appointed his own son-in-law Vanniya Tevan as the leader of his forces. We have an account of the disposition of the forces and the different stages in the war, at everyone of which Ramappayya was defeated. At the end of four days of hard and terrible fighting however Sadaiyakka is said to have become very much fatigued and therefore he was safely moved to the island of Rameśvaram with all his army and treasury by his nephew and son-in-law Vanniyan. Ramappayya who was also in need of rest is said to have continued at the place of battle for about twenty days.

It was at this time that, according to the work, Ramappayya was ordered to proceed to Bangalore to help Venkaṭa III against the Muslims who had invaded the Karnaṭaka country as far as that place. We are considering this portion of the manuscript at the end of this paper. After his return from the north he marched to the south, and camped at Vānaravīran Madurai. He then proceeded towards Rāmeśvaram where the Setupatti had entrenched himself. Ramappayya is said in the work to have emulated the epic hero Rama by the construction of a causeway across the straits in a short period of a week. While the Nāyak general started taking his army along the dam and encircling the island of Rameśvaram the Marava leader Vanniyan mounted his cannons, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and opened fire on the enemies. Rāmappayya was defeated and forced to withdraw.

It was then that the Nāyak general was awakened to a full realisation of the serious danger that threatened him and he became convinced of the fact that unless he secured the help of a naval force he would not be able to reduce Saḍaikkan and his subordinates to submission. Hence, in consultation with his lieutenants Koṇḍappayyan and some others he opened negotiations with the Portuguese in Ceylon, Colombo, Mannar, Kandi and Cochin, and promised them the freedom of the channel as well as the entire island of Rameśvaram in return for their help to win the war against the Setupati. The Portuguese were only too willing to take advantage of the opportunity that presented itself before them. According to the work they had long been suffering from the oppression of the Maravas who levied heavy taxes on them and other islanders whenever their ships passed through the Pamban Channel.

Now to the account of the war itself. In the course of the terrible naval battle that was fought, the Setupati general Vanniya Teva came out successful. But worn out by the war he died soon after advising his father-in-law to surrender to the Nāyak king. However when the Setupati submitted to his overlord he was ill-treated and imprisoned. According to the work on account of the efficacy of his prayers his fetters broke, and Tirumalai Nāyaka released him from prison and sent him home to rule in peace. But the real reason for the release of the

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Setupati was in fact different. The 'Tambi' who was supported by Tirumulai Nāyaka to succeed to the chiefship of Ramnad was very much disliked by the people. The country was thrown into confusion and disorder, and hence Tirumalai Nāyaka, apparently realising that the Dalavay Setupati was the person who could restore order in the region released him from prison and accepted him as the rightful chief. The over lordship of Tirumula over the region under the Setupati is indicated by an inscription of 1641 at Vembanguḍi which records a grant for the merit of Tirumulai Nāyakkarayyan[1].

Nelson says that Ramappayyan died before the conclusion of the campaign against the Marava chieftain. But this statement is not supported by the evidence of the *History of the Carnataca*[2] *Governors*, an important manuscript in the Mackenzie collection or the *Ramappayyan Ammanai*. An inscription of 1638 mentions him along with Tirumalai Nāyaka[3]. As said earlier he went to Goa in August, 1639 as his master's ambassador. Hence he must have died some years after the successful conclusion of his war against the Setupati. From the fact that an inscription of 1648 refers to an agreement "in the time of Ramappayyan"[4] we may draw the conclusion that he must have died by that year.

A part of the manuscript, as said earlier describes Ramappayya's successful war in the Bangalore region against the Muslim invaders on behalf of Venkata III the Emperor of Vijayanagar (1620-1630). It is said to have been undertaken by him during the short period that intervened between his first campaign against the Setupati and the second one.

According to the work under reference while he was staying in the south after his first stage of his campaigns against the Setupati he received a message from Tirumalai Nāyaka calling him back to Madura for he had heard from Venkaṭa III that the Mugil Paccha (Mughal Padshah) had come down with 30,000 horse and taken Vanavay, that the Golkoṇḍaiyām (the ruler of Golkoṇḍa) was plundering Vijayapura, Vellore and other territories of the Rāya, that the Nayaka's territory itself was threatened to be invaded and that Rāmappayya must start on an expedition against them. The Nāyak general, after giving instructions to his lieutenants to be watchful returned to Madura, and under orders from his master, started northward to help the Emperor against the Muslims. He is said to have marched through Solavandān, Vaḍamadurai, Dindigul, Manapparai, Iraṭṭaimalai, Trichinopoly, Srīrangam, Samayavaran Kaṇṇanūr, Vāli-

1. M. E. R. 120 of 1910.
2. Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*. II p. 175.
3. 59 of 1916.
4. 521 of 1916.

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koṇḍapuram and Velūr and reached Bangalore where he had an interview with the Rāya. Taking orders from him he joined forces with Ikkeri Venkiṭa Kṛṣṇayya and defeated the enemy, and returning back to the Raya, reported to him about his success. Then having been duly honoured by the Rāya for his services he is said to have returned back to Madura through Velūr, Vijayāpuram, Anogondi, Uttāttūr, Valikoṇḍapuram, Kannanur, Srīrangam, Trichinopoly, Maṇapparai, Tekkumalai, Dindigul, Soḷavandān, Tovarimān and Pillaiyārpaḷaiyam.

Though the above account contained in the work is too graphic and detailed to be dismissed easily many statements made in it have to be doubted from the historical point of view.

The incidents that are said to have happened in the Bangalore region may be assigned to the period between 1638 and 1639, a confused one in history of the Karnaṭakas. The main political events relating to it may be reviewed as follows. In 1636 a treaty was concluded between the Mughal Emperor and the Adil Shah of Bijapur, according to one of the terms of which the latter accepted the overlordship of the Padshah. Subsequent to that the Sultan of Bijāpūr extended his power over the Karnāṭaka country. Randaula Khan, the Bijapur General invaded the Ikkeri country and forced its Nāyak Vīrabhadra to sue for peace according to the conditions of which he was to surrender his claims to the conquered forts and retain the remaining territory as a subordinate of the Sultan of Bijapur. Randaula Khan then marched towards Bangalore at the head of 9000 man with a view to take the city, which was then ruled by one Kempe Gauda, a subordinate of Venkaṭa III. Finding his own position weak and his force inadequate to resist Randaula Khan the Emperor appealed to his feudatory Nāyaks for help.[1] But before any help reached Venkaṭa from them Randaula Khan took the fort of Bangalore, appointed Shahaji as its governor and besieged Seringapatam for a month at the end of which he raised it probably on receipt of an indemnity of five lakhs of *hons* from its Governor Kanthireva Narasa, and returned to Bijapur. Taking advantage of the general's return to Bijapur Kenge Hanuma, the ruler of Basavapaṭṭaṇam revolted against the Bijapur overlordship, but Randaula Khan once again brought the territory under subjection[2]. Thus the invasion and conquest of the Karnataka country appears to have been undertaken only by the Bijapur General. Therefore the statement made in the work that the Mughal Padshah invaded the south as far as Bangalore with 30000 horse is open to doubt.

It was probably somewhere about the time of the Bijapur General's invasion of the Bangalore region that Venkaṭa made

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1. Macleod *De Oest Indischie Campagnie*, II. p. 173.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, pp. 344-45.

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a piteous appeal to his subordinate Nāyaks in the south. The appeal could have had the desired effect, and even the distant Madura Nāyak seems to have sent a contingent of troops to help the Emperor. Though, in the latter portion of his regin Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madura showed signs of insubordination to the Vijayanagar house he appears to have been loyal to it till at least about this period. The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III (1634) for instance refer to Tirumalai in respectful terms. That inscription mentions a grant made by Venkaṭa acoording to the wishes of the glorious prince Tirumala"[1]. Venkata was able to have at his command early in 1639 an army of 1,30,000 soldiers. With it he marched to Bangalore, with a view to recapture the fort, but being foiled in his attempt, he returned back to Vellore in the middle of 1639. A few months later, taking advantage of the fact that the Bijapur General had gone back to his capital he started once again with an army of 2000 to take Bangalore, but hearing that the latter had come down once again to the Karnataka country having subdued the rebellion of Kenge Hanuma, returned back to Vellore.

Ramappayya probably took part in the first invasion of Bangalore by Venkata III, for it was only then that the emperor had with him a large force supplied by his feudatories. Mention has been made earlier that he was at Goa on the 13th August, 1639 as the ambassador of Tirumalai Nāyaka, and it is doubtful if he would have been able to lead his forces to Bangalore during the second expedition of Venkata III to the place. But with regard to the success of his expedition against Bangalore the *Ammanai* makes too tall a claim for the hero. The contemporary sources do not bear out the statement. According to some of them Venkaṭa III was foiled in his attempt to take Bangalore then. Further it is hard to believe that a person who found himself unable to conquer the Setupati could have come out with such brilliant success against the army of the Sultan of Bījāpūr. Again the predating of the march of Rāmappayya as far as Bangalore and assigning it to the period that intervened between the two stages in the campaigns of the Madura general against the Setupatī both of which took place in 1637 is again historically inaccurate, for, as said above, the Portuguese Governor was thanked in August, 1639 for his help to the Madura Nāyak two years earlier in his campaigns against the Setupati. Besides the statement made in the work that the Mughal Padshah invaded the Karnaṭaka country in 1639 is difficult to be accepted. Furthermore the Sultan of Golkonda did not participate in the expansion of the Muslim power over the West Karnataka during this period. He entered the political arena of the Karnataka, and that the eastern portion of it comparatively late. Lastly the author of the *Ammanai* betrays lack of knowledge of the geographical position of the places to the north of Trichinopoly and Srirangam mentioned

1. Epi. Ind. Vol. III, p. 255.

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in the work. For instance it is stated in the work that Ramappyya returned from Bangalore to his place through Velūr, Vijayāpuram, Ānegondi, Uttāttur etc. Certainly he could not have gone to Bijāpūr and Anegondi on his way to Madura from Bangalore.

Thus after a careful study of the whole work, one is led to the conclusion that the *Ramappyyan Ammanai* is not historically so valuable as it is claimed to be, particularly the portion dealing with the expedition of the general to Bangalore.

THREE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHESHVAR

BY

MR. D. V. DISKALKAR, *Indore.*

At the Hyderabad session of the Indian History Congress, Prof. B. D. Varma of the Fergusson College Poona read a paper on the Persian inscriptions at Maheshvar of the time of Akbar and threw light on the history of the Mughal emperor and of the province of Malwa. The followoing three Sanskrit inscriptions throw additional light on the same points.

One of the inscriptions is dated in V. S. 1622 (1566 A. D.) and refers to the glorious rule of the emperor Akbar whose two officers named Aziz Beg and Khoja Suleman were governing the place. It further states that Mandloi Devadas of the Porwad community and inhabitant of Māhishmati on the bank of the Narmada near Manṭapāchala in the province of Malwa repaired the temple of Maheshvar at the sacred place called Agni-tirth and the Kālāgni-rudra-Kshetra. This temple is, no doubt, to be identified with the modern temple of Jaleshvar at Maheshvar.

The other inscription is dated in V. S. 1626 (1570 A. D.) and refers to the glorious reign of the emperor Akbar and to the regime of Khavasa Aziz Beg and states that Sujanrai and Lakshmandas (the brother and son respectively of Devadas) caused repairs to the temple of Kāleshvara situated on the northern bank of the Narmada in Māhishmati in Mālavadesha.

The third inscription is dated in V. S. 1627 1571 A. D.) and also refers to the rule of Akbar and the governorship of Aziz Beg, and states that Mandloi Sujanrai also called Sivadāsa repaired the Jain temple of Ādinātha.

Mention may be made in this connection of fourth Sanskrit inscription at the Markati-Saṁgama on the confluence of the Vedā and Narmada at a distance of about six miles to the south-east of Maheshvar on the other side of the river. It is

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dated in V. S. 1635 (1579 A. D.) and states that in the glorious reign of the emperor Akbar, Mandloi Jagannāth, son of Vāsūdeva repaired the temple of Siva.

These inscriptions are historically very important for the following reasons :—

In the first place, they show how on the disappearance of disorder and the establishment of the peaceful reign of the emperor Akbar the Hindus and the Jains reasserted themselves and began restoring their temples, which had been destroyed in the time of the Sultans of Mandu.

Secondly the Mandloi family of Maheshvar, which was Jain, as his descendents still are, repaired not only the Jain temple but also the Siva temples which shows the tolerent mentality of the Hindus. It may be supposed that the Mandloi family at the time of Shivadasa was a follower of Saivism but became Jain afterwards.

Thirdly the designation Khota of the family, which is generally found in Maharashtra, specially in Konkana, shows that the province of Nimad, in which Mahishmati is situated, had been influenced by Maharashtra. As I have shown in my history of Maheshvar, Nimad, before the time of the Paramars of Malwa, was more influenced by southern India than by northern India. It requires to be noted the Maheshvar is said to be situated in the Malavadesa in the inscription. It seems that the province of Nimad in which Maheshvar is situated is a local name of the small province on both sites of Narmada but it was politically included in the larger province of Malwa probably from the time of the Sultans.

Fourthly, the names of the officers of Akbar, governing Maheshvar, as found in these inscriptions were not known before. One of the Persian inscriptions of the time of Akbar above referred to, mentions some officers at Maheshvar, but the date of the inscription not being known, it is not known when they were reigning.

But the greatest importance of the inscriptions, specially of the first, lies in the fact that they enable us to prove conclusively the identification of ancient Mahishmati with Maheshvar, which is yet a subject of dispute, as some scholars still believe that Māndhātā represents the ancient Mahishmati. Three opinions are there regarding the identification. Some identify the ancient city with Mandla in the Central Provinces, some with the well-known Omkār-Māndhātā and the others with Maheshvar, the well-known capital of Ahilyabai in the Holkar State. Its identification with Mandla has been given up, as the place does not properly satisfy the description of Māhismatī as found in the ancient as well as modern literary sources. Mandhata and Maheshvar both satisfy it in many respects both being situated on the bank of the river Narmada, both being famous fords on the river, both being archaeologically and historically famous from

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the early times to this day. But still there are some points more in favour of Maheshvar than of Mandhata. Archaeological finds in Maheshvar are very much older than those in Mandhata. Archaeological finds of a Buddhist establishment, assignable definitely to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C. have been found in a large number at Kasrawad which is in the neighbourhood of Maheshvar, though on the other side of the river Narmada. Some of the archaeological finds in Maheshvar are very similar to the finds in Kasrawad. From this period to the modern period, almost a connected history of Maheshvar can be related. Maheshvar had actually been ruled in the 4th and 5th century A. D. by a local royal family, at least one of whose members named Subandhu was inclined towards Buddhism. A number of references are found, of travellers, pilgrims and soldiers, crossing the river Narmada at Maheshvar. One of the Persian inscriptions of Akbar states that in 1008 at the conquest of the Deccan and Dandesh, Akbar repaired to the Deccan and in 1009 passing through the place was returning to Hindustan. This shows that in his time Maheshvar was the most famous ford on the Narmada. In the Maratha days also, Maheshvar was used for the same purpose. In the medieval period also Maheshvar seems to have been an important ford. Mr. S. K. Dikshit in his paper read at the third or Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress has shown that the continuity of the local tradition that Maheshvar represents the ancient Mahishmati, which does not exist in the case of Mandhata must decide the case in favour of Maheshvar. He has quoted literary references from some of the Puranas, the Mahābhārata and the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājshekhar, showing that a temple of S'iva named Jaleshvar had existed in Mahishmati, that the Fire-god is the protecting deity of Mahishmati and that the name Jaleshvar owes its source to the event of the destruction of the demon Tripur by means of fire by S'iva, at Mahishmati.

To these literary evidences may be added the epigraphical evidence contained in the above mentioned inscriptions, which are of a definite date. Two of the inscriptions make a clear mention of the place as Mahishmati, though the third mentions it only as Maheshvarnagar. This shows that the Puranic tradition was uninterruptedly continued down to so late a period as the sixteenth century A.D. But the most conclusive evidence is contained in the first inscription, which mentions the sacred spot where the inscription was found as Agni-tirth and Kalagni-rudra-kshetra. Two temples of S'iva commemorating the legends seem to have been built, probably in the Paramara period (10-14th cent. A. D.) under the name of Jāleshvar and Kāleshwar. They were destroyed in the time of the Sultans of Malwa but were repaired in the time of Akbar.

As this tradition, contained in the literary and epigraphical sources does not exist in the case of Mandhata, we have to suppose that the ancient Mahishmati was located at modern Maheshvar.

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SECTION V

Modern India

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

BY

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The Period (1748-1948)

Two centuries from 1748 to 1948 cover the period of the beginning and the end of British rule and politics in India. It is, I think, appropriate on this occasion to understand and evaluate its process and the legacy it has left behind.

The period from 1748 to 1948 may be divided into a period of conflict, conquest and consolidation from 1748 to 1848, and a period of settlement, subjection and security from 1848 to 1948. The British historians describe these periods as those of liberation and fulfilment in the shape of conquest, consolidation and settlement. Indian historians are not at all agreed in this interpretation of the process of British conquest and rule in India. It is time now to analyse and estimate these opinions and arrive at some historical judgment on this long-continuing event and process. It must be stated and admitted here that the end of British rule in India does not follow any period of collapse or corruption of British power. It had all the political, military and financial strength to continue that rule. But it is due to the mental and moral revolution both in England and in India that this bloodless and happy political event has come about. It is an unwilling abdication and not a forced desertion like that of the Roman rule in Britain, nor it is the creeping and crippling paralysis like that of the Mughal rule in India.

It is also necessary in this connection to estimate the achievements of the Maratha empire in India in order to appraise those of the British rule, when one revolution is ending and the other is pending.

I start with this thesis that there is an underlying unity and continuity in Indian history given by its geography and culture, by the spirit and achievements of its civilisation. The events which occur in time and place and which may be of temporary or long-range importance, receding in force or continuing in consequence have still to be

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valued in that light. Do they strengthen her unity and continuity, and do they elevate her spirit and culture, or do they disunite and disintegrate her long-enduring existence and vital growth ? India has had a vigorous cultural and advanced religious life, and material prosperity throughout ages.

Character of the 18th Century

The eighteenth century was not only a time of political stress and excitement, but was a great and decisive century in our national development. It was a revolt against foreign rule and authority. For the first time after 300 years Maharashtra was living under a native dynasty. If that dynasty had not been star-crossed by the cruel fate of an empty nursery, if one of his wives had given Shahu a son as vital and powerful as his father, or as statesmanlike, politic and popular as his grand father Shivaji, what would have been the future course of Indian history ? Would Maratha affairs have been guided by a powerful warrior and a great statesman in their wars with the new foreigners from 1744 to 1818, would not the British have been debarred from their subsequent ascendancy ? This would be a futile and pure speculation. What made Indian history in the 18th century? Was it only the newly developed Sardars or noble class. Who made it ? It was, no doubt, the landed gentry, increased and enriched by the confiscations and usurpations of the encroaching Maratha power on the decaying foreign Mughal empire, that was enthroned in the government of Swarajya districts by grants of lands and feudal rights, and that had resolved to exercise a voice and share in the Central government of the Marathas. It was this daring and fighting class which saw in independence the safety of their culture and religion. They wanted to shape the Maratha commonwealth according to their ideas. It was the cultivating classes of Maharashtra who were also its fighting classes that were resolved to lead a freer life than a mere serf's life under foreign feudal lords. It was the assembling of these factors—the ruler, the noble and the cultivator—and their ambition during the century, and it was the action and interaction of these factors during its course that made the century momentous in our history.

By the beginning of the 18th century the elements of a fresh political grouping, richer and more various than the old medieval grouping had appeared. By the end of the century a system of balance between these elements in Maharashtra—a system which adjusted them all to one

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another and to the monarchy had been achieved. That system was to endure till 1818. The cauldron boiled and bubbled during a turbulent and creative century. Now this shape and now that seemed to emerge from its vapours as the forces and figures of the new Maharashtra that was to be. Now it was the face of Shivaji's Swarajya, now it was that of a Maratha Samrajya governed by the Peshwa from Poona. Now it was a dictatorship of Sindhia from Delhi. Now there seemed to be the menace of a new despotism of foreigners like that of the Persian Nadir Shah, or the Turk Nizam-ul mulk or the Pathan Ahmad Shah or the usurper Hyder Ali. The shape which would ultimately have appeared was however destroyed by the English, and a new foreign despotism came to be established first by the side of them and then by absorbing them. Before the British finally succeeded, a dyarchy had been established by the side of an effete Maratha monarchy, that is, a dyarchy of the Peshwas at the centre and Sardars at the periphery of the empire. During their rule religious intolerance and political discrimination of Aurangzeb had disappeared. His attempt to restore or found a pure Islamic state was smashed. Anyhow there was a lull in the religious fervour which at one time had seemed likely to enthrone Maulvis and Kazis on local thrones as political officers or royal coadjutors, or to institute a myth of ruler-saints. There was one golden thread in the Maratha struggle and that was an ideal of civil and religious liberty propounded and acted on by Shivaji and his successors. It was an ideal very soon realised. Jaziya, Temple destruction, service monopoly, and religious citizenship passed away. Thus the Martha fervour of the early 18th century established a Swarajya in Maharashtra and the empire of the Hindus in India. In guaranteed a good deal of religious and social freedom to all.

The 18th century is the century of political revolution in India. It is perhaps the most dramatic century of all. It has new ideals and new characters, a fresh and forward out-look. It is no doubt a history of the decline and fall of the Mughals from their Adbarian ideals.

Makers of the 18th Century

Who brought about these changes ? They were certainly the Marathas. They replaced the Aurangzeebian theocracy and despotism by an oligarchy of princes and nobles. Many will urge that the overthrow of the Mughal despotism was the work of feudal reaction, that a national paternal

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policy was discarded for a corrupt and greedy class domination, and that there was less government and worse government in all that concerned the social and economic welfare of the people. These are pertinent criticisms but they judge the results of the age in isolation, and omit the vital consideration, that whatever might have been, Indian religious and civil liberties were in fact based on the foundations laid by the politicians of the Maratha camp. There government was flexible and beneficent, and they had no exacting standards of behaviour based on a foreign faith and code.

The foundations of Maratha greatness were laid in the 17th century in their political struggle and religious reformation. You must see them in the direct historical perspective of that period. The foreign rulers had failed in creating a secular state in India. The key-note of the 17th century was a revolt against foreign authority in India. The age of a new political experiment was treading upon the heels of the age of medievalism and dogma. Turkish and Mughal sovereigns considered themselves as God's appointed missionaries or annointed instruments in conquering the heathens and kaffir lands of Hindustan. They had very little sympathy with Hindu culture and religion, temples and traditions. They destroyed them recklessly and remorselessly. There was no identity of interests and culture between the rulers and the subjects. The question of religious understanding, freedom and comprehension did not arise after the death of Akbar. Dara's attempt was futile and sterile. If there was tolerance it was unwillingly practiced out of political necessity.

The Maratha Revolution

Though by the end of the 18th century Marathas had largely succeeded in establishing their paramountcy in the country and in liberating many of its parts from the Mughal control, they were overpowered by the military power and machiavellian diplomacy of the British power at the end.

In almost everyway the demands of the Marathas were conceded by the Mughals at Delhi and their help sought in times of danger. The world had the unprecedented surprise of seeng a defeated and apparently shattered people rise from its ruins, face the greatest Mughal power on terms of absolute equality and win from the humiliated victors of the great war every one of their national demands. The Marathas gained recognition and respect, power and prestige, independence and security, and deprived the

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Mughals of the domination which they had long been establishing and had still to complete and to confirm. The Marathas got respite from foreign invasion which they used for the expulsion of foreigners, for the stopping of internal rebellion and for the forming of a new governmental structure.

Politics of the 18th Century

India in the 18th century was full of struggling states. Rivalry of these states, mutually repellant yet unable to establish complete independence, was to cause the ruin of the country. Too equally balanced to allow the supremacy of one, too jealous of each other and too divergent in the character of their peoples and the form of their governments to unite in a federal bond, they lost all sense of common national interest. The existence of numerous petty states between their frontiers, which could only hope to survive by dexterous intrigues excited their cupidity and thickened the thread of treacherous diplomacy, which was now to call the foreigner into India. If their quarrels prevented any permanent coalition, the condition of the people destroyed all hope of successful resistance.

In reading the social history of India during the 18th century two lessons are forced on us : first, the fatal effect of the loss of liberty and that of political faction on the moral fibre of the people, and secondly, the danger of luxury and of sole devotion to art and literature, not chastened by the religious spirit. Where all political liberty had been destroyed, the only weapons of the oppressed were those the tyrant had taught them, namely, intrigues and assassinations or warfare. States were torn by deadly feuds. People were actuated by mutual suspicion and deep political hatreds. There was no feeling of nationality, no patriotism for city or country, but only imperative instinct of self-preservation. The worship of success replaced devotion to principle and obedience to authority, while cleverness and selfishness existed at the expense of morality. Moreover to protect themselves or to pursue their schemes of conquest, the tyrants introduced mercenary soldiers. They were no trained soldiers, but half disciplined militia. Of war these made a game, with no interest in the quarrels beyond their wages or their individual ambitions. They loved the battlefield in which they lived, yet did not wish the battle to be decisive. Ever ready to change sides at the dictation of self-interest or for higher pay, they set up and

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overturned states and spread confusion around. In such political atmosphere Maratha heroes had to play their part.

Marathas and Mughals

We are dealing with a revolution before the French Revolution. Marathas did more than conquer India. They converted her to Swarajya. Victorious after their defeat by Aurangzeb they won over to their ideas of independence the Sikhs, the Jats, the Bundellas and the Rajputs. The Mughal Indian Empire in the 18th century was neither Mughal, nor Indian nor Empire. To the extent it was Indianised, it was not Mughal, to the extent it was Islamised by Aurangzeb it was not Indian. To the extent it was split up in the provinces and disintegrated at the centre, it was not an empire. It became merely a ghost of its former self. Its symbol remained, but its spirit was lost. Yet its gigantic frame still sprawled across India, and its wheels, rusty though they were, they continued to revolve. Its nominal emperor issued orders and firmans, but its princes and subahdars, its Nizams, and Nawabs, set up their various courts and capitals and made a show of allegiance and obedience. Its smaller nawabs and amirs spread in hundreds over the map. The Mughal empire in fact became a concentration of anarchy and factionalism of Irani and Turani parties, Pathan and Rajput particularist ambitions in the 18th century. There was not one loyalty to the emperor, but a number of loyalties of rebels against the throne. The creeping paralysis of an institution which had once filled India with fame, prowess and awe was rapid. The empire had virtually ceased to exist, but it seemed unable to die. Its survival in spite of its picturesqueness was politically weak and morally rotten. Its spirit of procrastination, venality and corruption made it too weak to strike at powerful offenders or overmighty subjects in the north, the east and the south. People lost sympathy with the system as it did not afford protection and security. The Mughal empire was sick and was in need of a physician. The blood-baths of dynastic civil war and ministerial usurpations proved the beginning of anarchy within the empire and of resistance from neighbouring foes. The cobwebs of Mughal politics proved too weak against external aggression and internal encroachment.

It was the Marathas who gave the first blow to this tottering system. The victories of Shivaji, the spirited

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resistance of his successors and the martial character of the Marthas awoke India from her slumbers, supplied the national bards with an inspiration and with daring exploits which they had hitherto lacked, and aroused respect for Maratha power and ideals throughout India. They created a new epoch in Indian history.

The Mughal empire could not be saved. It could not be reformed. It presented a pathetic spectacle of political decrepitude. It was wrecked by an incurable religious particularism, economic selfishness and political weakness. It was past mending. It had to be pulled down. Bajirao I and his sardars did it. The supreme need of the time was to revive the courage and to mobilise the resources of the people for a new government. The tyranny of foreign rulers gave the Marathas and others in India the idea of a nation. But it could only be created and maintained by first establishing a strong central state. Shivaji attempted to do that. But his successors could not do it till 1707 and would not after 1707. Without a strong state no nation could be created in India and without national solidarity democratic centralism could not come and be even contemplated.

Maratha aims

But under Shivaji's inspiration and success a people who seemed to be dead had arisen to a new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it, showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny. But after Shivaji, trying and troublous times came. The greatest danger arose to the very existence of Maratha swarajya in the grand design of imperialist Aurangzeb. Only the spirit of national resistance and aggression could save it. The Marathas must not only resist but also advance, if they were not to perish. Inaction was immoral and submission would prove fatal. Sambhaji and Rajaram laid the foundation of that policy of resistance and aggression and Bajirao I carried it out. He advocated in Shahu's Darbar in 1721 : "The Mughal empire is lying prostrate, it is nearing its end, it is torn by factions and internecine feuds, the emperor desires to bolster up his throne with our support. You speak of the Nizam breaking the agreement and commencing hostilities. But he is of no account..... ... You now occupy the throne and are assisted by noble councillors. Our aid is sought by the Mughals and by its means emperors

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are made and unmade. Is not this moment when you should attempt to seize the supreme political power, I undertake to hold the Nizam in check as well as effect a north-ward drive.....The great Shivaji's dream of the conquest of Hindustan had remained unfulfilled to this date. Balajipant has prepared the ground work, establishing friendly relations with the Hindu Rajas. Now is our time to drive the strangers from the country of the Hindus and acquire immortal renown. Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree, and the branches will fall off themselves. By directing our effort to Hindustan, the Maratha flag shall fly from the Krishna to Attock." Shahu replied "You shall plant it beyond the Himalayas. You are indeed a noble son of a noble father."

Bajirao's campaigns in the North and his dash on Delhi in 1713 confirm his aims. Similarly Raghunathrao's letter dated 4th May 1758 from Lahore and received on the 18th June 1758 by the Peshwa expresses the same aim of establishing Maratha rule beyond Attock including the subahs of Kabul and Kandahar. The same aim persisted till the end of the 18th century. Govindrao Kale, a Maratha envoy at Nizam's court writes in 1795 after the deafeat of the Nizam at the battle of Kharda thus: "All this territory from the river Atak to the Indian ocean is the land of the Hindus and not of the Turks. These have been our frontiers from the times of Pandavas down to those of Vikramaditya. The achievements are not limited to the acquisition of territory and regaining our kingdom but include the preservation of Vedas and Shastras, rehabilitation of religion, protection of cows and Brahmanas, establishing of suzerainty and the diffusion of our fame and victory." With this aim, the Nizam in the south and the Mughal in the north were defeated, Bengal and Punjab were overrun, Nadirshah and Ahmadshah were opposed, the French and English were resisted, the Portugese and Sidis were conquered, and in that aim the new Maratha empire was created and the Mughal empire was destroyed. The Marathas found not a Government in the Mughal provinces, but a military camp of its governors and commanders ruining the life of the people in their military activities and political ambitions. To the Marathas there was only one course open and that was to smash the military power of these Mughal subahdars and Nawabs who were ruining both the empire and the people. Their historical role was to liberate the people from this decadent and deletarious grasp of military adventurers and keep them in awe or subjection to its power.

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When this was the only course open and desirable there was no good in counting up its dangers. When its possibility was seen the way of making it successful and inevitable was found out. The credit of this new bold stroke in the historical politics of India goes to Bajirao I, because he was the first to chalk out the course and follow it to success by his bold policy, plans and achievements. He knew by instinct the necessity of the moment. There lay his statesmanship. Wherever his own and his Sardar's power was not established, there the French and the British adopted the same course and were more than successful. If Balaji I established the Swarajya as a base Bajirao I succeeded in giving a dominant position to the Maratha power. After his blows the Mughal power could not recover. Thus under his able leadership a new nation had arisen in the 18th century which in spite of all its trouble was fully alive with ambition, industry and movement.

Maratha achievements

The eighteenth century was an age of new powers of India. Those were days which required restless spirits and strong characters. The old order was breaking. A new one was developing. If India were again united politically she would escape from foreign rule and achieve political unity under an indigenous power. The Maratha attempt was to call back to life and action a nation which for centuries has been shut in a tomb of political and cultural slavery. There was only one solution to all this and that was the might of the sword. Bajirao I wielded it successfully. Marathas wanted an ideal to fight for, a leader to fight under, and a foe to fight against. Bajirao I gave all these to them. The seventeenth century was the period of contest of Mughals against others. The eighteenth century became the contest of Marathas against others. This was the change they brought about in the politics and political map of the country. If Turks and Mughals based their claims on the theory of conquest and descent, Marathas overturned them by their theory of reconquest and of national sovereignty. No doubt their prestige stood high at the time. They were feared by all. What was lacking in them were internal unity, strong diplomacy, and modern scientific knowledge in its various aspects. What was threatening them were new foreigners united and militarily advanced. Marathas could not withstand or finally defeat

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them. Therefore the Maratha revolution was left uncompleted and a new foreign power succeeded in establishing its rule and supremacy in India, and thus the Marathas lost the empire of India.

But Maratha voice was the voice from within. Its national consciousness stirred by Shivaji and inspired by Ramdas inaugurated a larger movement for renationalisation amongst other peoples of India. "Over our country brooded the might (Mongol) of Asia, enveloping all spontaneity within its mysterious folds. Intellectual activity and social progress became stifled in the atmosphere of apathy." From the highest to the lowest all were entangled in a subtle web of mutual espionage, and every element of individuality was crushed under the weight of unbending formalism. Deprived of all stimulus from without, and imprisoned from within our island realm, we groped amid a maze of tradition. Darkest over us lay the night of Asia" (Okakura: Awakening of Japan.).

Character of the British Conquest

Brooke Adams in his book in "the Law of Civilisation and Decay" (p. 292) says "Thus piracy laid the foundation of the British empire in Asia. From 1688 the commercial adventures captured the kingdom of England in a bloodless revolution. The change was radical. English civilisation became largely materialistic and secular. In the 18th century it pursued the twin object of power and profit. All her continental and colonial wars were for this twin purpose. Religious motive seceded to the background. She used all her racial and intellectual energy to pursue these objects. It maintained its political, economic and scientific supremacy since that time in her world expansion."

British empire was not crumbling in 1947, not because it was corrupt or effete or degenerate within, nor because there was any fear of invasion or pressure from without, but because there had come a psychological change over her leaders under the influence of liberal and socialist schools of thought, and also because there was democratic and socialistic awakening in eastern as well as in other neighbouring countries which were prepared to struggle and fight for their independence. There was consequently internal pressure of discontent and disturbance rising among the people which weakened her.

The British couquest and foreign rule as a continuing

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historical event have just ended. Its consequences and legacies will still be there as a continuing effect. The end of British rule in India is a momentous event in our history. It is our glorious and happy revolution from that point of view. Its being a bloodless transfer of power from the ruler to the ruled gives it a unique importance as a problem of political and psychological study. But the partition of India and secession of states which accompanied it have created problems of such a magnitude and of such danger to the security and welfare of India as a whole that her independence loses its political importance and becomes a forerunner of a tragedy worse than that of a civil war. I am not going to discuss here why and how the British quitted India or why and how we became independent, or what the circumstances were on the eve of their fall or departure which they or we had created.

The British success is not at all a surprise to the students of history, considering their military strength, organising power and diplomacy, methods of administration, political energy and scientific equipment. In all these matters the Marathas and Sikhs proved weaker. Their internal dissensions, their loose government, their immature diplomacy, their military weakness, their dissentient aims, their want of advanced organisational power, their scientific backwardness, their medieval knowledge and outlook were all contributing factors to their loss of independence. Compared to the British their morale and their mobility, their fire-power, and their protective and financial resources were not high.

The British conquest of India was an easy conquest. There were nowhere serious physical, political, and military obstacles to stay the British arms. They conquered India from three centres, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Their work has been to bring India into contact with European civilisation and to keep India free from internal commotion and external invasion after 1857. They tried to Anglicise India not only in administration but also in speech, dress, fashions and education. The nature of the state organisation which the British established in India can be described as a feudal imperial polity, some parts directly administered in the name of the crown and other parts indirectly controlled under the doctrine of paramountcy. At first the state undertook political functions of peace and order, control over defence, foreign relations and communications and of intervention in the affairs of Indian states in the interests of their safety and peace.

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Kaye, the historian of the Sepoy war, in his chapter on the progress of Englishism (Volume I) gives his estimate of one hundred years' British achievement in India by the time of Indian revolt of 1857 and also the spirit underlying it thus: "great principalities were absorbed, ancient sovereignties extinguished, a war of extermination no less fatal in its effects, but more noiseless in its operations was being waged against the nobility and gentry of the country. It was the policy of the times (1830-1856) to recognise nothing between the prince and the peasant. To bring the direct authority of the British government to bear upon the great masses of the people, without the intervention of any powerful section of their own countrymen. To ignore the existence of all governing classes but the European officers who carried out the behests of the government seemed to be a wise and humane system of protection".

"The utter worthlessness of the upper classes was assumed to be a fact. It was honestly believed that the obliteration of aristocracy of the land was the greatest benefit that could be conferred on the people. The intent underlying was promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The result was "the extension of British rule followed always a reconstruction of administration, and a substitution of civil and military establishments fashioned upon our own models and composed of the English people deprived many of the chief people of the official ranks and official emoluments. This created unemployment by the extinction of the old race of high Indian functionaries. Many able English statesmen had no toleration for any one who might be properly described as a native gentleman. They had to be righteously obliterated for the benefit of the great mass of the people.

In their land revenue settlements and land resumption processes this was markedly evident. Kaye says: "It was a grand levelling process, officers reducing everything to first principles and delving Adam." It was a great scheme of restitution. They adopted the theory of deadlevel. It was a great war of extermination of landed rights and social, political and economic privileges carried on not only by Revenue Dapartments in their settlement principles and operations, but also by judicial departments in their resumption processes and commissions. Most of the landed proprietors were stripped to the skin by the decrees of civil courts".

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Kaye also states that 'Brahmanism was called the most monstrous system of interference and oppression that the world has ever yet seen and that it could be maintained only by ignorance and superstition of the grossest kind." "One common feeling moved alike the English Government and the English community. In other matters of state policy there might be essential changes, but in this there was no change. One governor might replace another but only to evince an increased hostility to the great Baal of Hinduism. And in no man was there less regard for time-honoured abominations and venerable absurdieties—in no man did the zeal of iconoclasm work more mightily than in Lord Dalhousie." Kaye was also sure not merely of the political but also of the moral superiority of the European civilisation. "And as he desired for the good of the people to extend the territorial rule of great Britain, so he was eager also to extend her moral rule, and to make those people subject to the power of light rather than of darkness, and so he strove mightily to extend among them the blessings of European civilisation".

Kaye's estimate of the spirit and objectives underlying the British conquest and settlement in the first century shows that it was a typically Bolshevik spirit and revolution that the British ushered into India. Its extermination of upper classes, its hostility to old leaders and learned classes, its theory of grand levelling and dead level, its practice of lapse, resumption and confiscation not only brought about a Kulturkampf but a war of liquidation of old values of life and old depositories of learning and tradition.

It completely controlled Indian education through government and missionary schools and colleges, through Indian administration, civil and military and through British officials and mercenary natives. It carried on and patronised religious propaganda of Christian missionaries throughout the country. It was a typical imperialist process of Anglicisation, christianisation and officialisation of all Indian life in politics, economics and education. Its theory of centralisation of all state powers and functions, of State ownership of land and of government established by law, and its rule by regulations and ordinances, its supremacy of the executive in all matters of legislation and judiciary established in India—were all unknown before. It was a British state, a monoparty dictatorial government. This party was the British party. It was not directly responsible to or re-

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presentative of any section of the Indian people. The British party was identified with the apparatus of State power.

The result was that not only a political revolution accomplished to the manifest advantage of the British but a social, economic and educational revolution to the disadvantage of the Indian society, economy and culture. The old families of the upper two classes were being displaced fast and their economic life, social status, and political importance was being systematically destroyed. The door of honourable status and lucrative employment were closed against these sufferers. All the great offices of the state, civil and military were closed to them. Kaye says "there was no room for him under us, and we left no place for him under us, and we left no place for him away from us", by creating this revolution which was Bolshevik in nature. The result was "A new generation was springing up without faith, without veneration, an inquiring, doubting, reasoning race, not to be satisfied with absurd doctrines or captivated by grotesque fables.....The literature of Bacon and Milton was exciting a new appetite for truth and duty, and the exact sciences of the west, with their clear demonstrable facts and enevitable deductions was putting to shame the physical errors of Hinduism. A spirit of inquiry was excited". But the British could not destroy the memory of the past or dissolve the ancient connection between the old learning and wisdom and the people as a whole. The moral and spiritual values of Indian civilisation were too great and too lasting to be destroyed by mechanical advances or the organisational power of the British. Leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Rama Krishna Paramhansa, Swami Dayanand Sarswati, Swami Vivekanand and a host of others relived and reasserted the eternal values of Indian civilisation and religion ; and oriental scholars of her art, literature and religion elucidated the mighty truths and visions of life embodied in them.

Technique and Process of British Imperialism

The British conquest of India gives us the technique and process of modern imperialism and colonialism. The British people have claimed that the political genius of the French is abstract and speculative, that of the British is practical and empirical, and that the success of the British in empire-building has been achieved not by adhering to fixed plans or principles but by ingenuity in contriving devices to meet particular situations and problems as they

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arose. They assert that they had no long-term plans in India nor had they even political objective and ambition at first. They were primarily actuated by economic interests and drives and by the need of their protection when they were endangered.

This is too general and too facile an explanation of their imperialistic adventure. They had definitely a long term plan, political and economic in Europe, America, Asia and Africa, and that was the establishment of the British supremacy on the sea, in North America, in Asia and Africa. In India when they realised the weakness of indigenous powers from the latter half of the 17th century, they had a political and military policy that was to keep the contending Indian powers weak and balanced against one other. This can be studied first in their attitudes and interference in Maratha politics on the western coast. They did not merely improvise measures as new situations emerged. They had the principles, policies and plans in the new situations in which they were placed or which they created. By 1748 they were definitely committed to the establishment of their political supremacy in the politics of India as against the French and over Indian powers. They were interested in their own independence and supremacy. They treated Indian powers with respect and equality as long as they did not feel strong enough to dominate over them. But the easy collapse of Indian powers only strengthened and supported their political ambition. In that period politics could not be divorced from economics. Both were two aspects of the same motive that of the expansion of England overseas. There was always a law and a long term plan of political necessity involved in the adventures of companies sanctioned and chartered and fostered and protected by an expanding and powerful European state. It was inherent in its general home and foreign policy. It did not require any verbal declaration. Its deeds all over the area of her activity and the sphere of influence were evident of that fact. Such political power coming in contact with weak powers required only excuses and opportunities, interference and intervention. It finds them easily when its economic security and political privileges are endangered.

The Course of British Conquest

Alfred Layall in his British Dominion in India writes, "The great companies of the seventeenth century were the

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champions and delegated agents of their respective nations in the competition for commerce and territory throughout the non-christian world". Thus there were both economic and political objectives. The political perhaps was at first in the background in India waiting for an opportunity or incident to arise and for strength to develop. This can be easily seen in the British relations with the Marathas on the west coast before 1748. Conditions favourable for their political interference soon arose. Their sea-power had insured them against any high-handed interference or oppression by Mughal powers or any attack on its trade and territorial security by the Marathas. So long as the Mughal empire remained fairly strong or the Marathas were united they remained quiet and used their diplomacy or gave indirect aid to achieve their security and trade inland. But when Indian rulers became weak or got disunited and engaged in civil wars or rebellions the British fortified their position and posts militarily and began to play for power politics, otherwise they felt that their trade and territory would not be safe. It was in Madras that the British felt this need first. The Rajas and Nawabs there could not give them the necessary protection or prevent enchroachment on them. They also feared greatly the French at Pondichery. They were suspicious of each other and watched and fought against each other. Madras was therefore fortified. The English began to oppose the threats of the nawab of Karnatak from 1701. By 1708 they had acquired five villages near Madras from the Central Mughal government. In the civil wars which followed the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 they fortified Fort William also. But the greatest temptation or need for interference in Indian politics arose when there was dissolution of the Mughal political order, and when the great anarchy of the 18th century prevailed. That the English had become one of the country powers by 1713 can be seen from the fact that the English and Kanhoji Angre made a peace treaty. They did not remain a mere mercantile company The rivalry with the French and later on with the Dutch in the East was also a contributing factor. Thus the necessity of politics arose for the sake of their security against Europeans and Indian powers. Before the time of Clive it had become clear that in order to protect their trade they could not remain aloof from Indian politics, because Indian powers were not strong and were quarrelling among themselves. After an easy and short period of success with the new technique of

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European disciplined Indian mercenaries, their next stage was to conquer and control provinces and kingdoms of India frrom three centres of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The aeea however was deliberately confined for the purposes of stttlement and consolidation politically and then the last sage of the conquest and supremacy over the whole continent of India was undertaken. The century between 1748 and 1848 was a century of conflict and conquest. It was an age of alien conquerors and native usurpers. There was the Anglo French conflict of 1748-1760, of Anglo-Muslim conflict of 1757-1801 of Anglo-Maratha conflict of 1774-1818 and the Anglo-Sikh conflict of 1845-1849.

The century of 1848-1948 was a century of political consolidation and settlement, of administrative evolution and educational experimentation. It became a period of fulfilment for the British of their ideas of Indian Government during 1848-1898, but from 1898 to 1948 it became a period of frustration and failure for the Indians. 1948 promises to be the beginning of a period of collapse. The British ruled India, actuated by a theory of mission of the white race and of white man's burden, of Christian religion and Christian civilisation. It never accepted the theory of equality of white and non-white races and of their equal partnership in the Government of the country. Then they laid special claims to their superior political genius and constitutional history, their country being the mother of parliaments and the preserver of rule of law, and a lover and protector of civil liberties and independence of small nations.

The English used after 1748 the power of Nizams and Nawabs in the provinces and emperors at Delhi to cover their own exercise of sovereign authority. The British had no good opinion of Indians' martial qualities. Clive wrote in 1758 "The moors, as well as gentoos, are indolent, luxurious, ignorant and cowardly, beyond all conception."

In 1746 the French easily defeated the nawab of Karnatak and thus destroyed the belief that Indian powers were militarily strong. Their odd methods of warfare and antiquated weapons could not succeed against trained European battalions. The British openly interfered in Indian politics in 1749 in a Tanjore succession dispute. The British gave European military discipline to the Indian sepoys after Dupleix's model and created confidence and loyalty in these mercenaries.

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We need not examine the process of British conquest. It had all the moral faults which accompany any act of aggression and conquest—threats, forgeries, inducements, deceptions, assassination, treachery, plunder. There were no principles of moral or international law to guide or bind them in Indian wars except what they considered right or necessary.

From 1748 a number of wars characterised the whole period of two hundred years. There were indigenous succession wars (1748-1757) when new foreigners, the French and the English entered our politics. There were two Anglo-French wars (war of Asistrian succession 1744-48 and seven years' war 1756-63) fought in the Indian theatre for supremacy in Indian politics. Then there were Anglo-Muslim wars from 1748 to 1801, Anglo Maratha wars from 1774 to 1818, Anglo-Sikh wars from 1843 to 1849, the Indian revolt of 1857 and Anglo-Afghan wars from 1839 to 1880. Next came the Anglo Congress struggle and resistance 1906-1946. Besides these there were cultural, social, religious and economic conflicts throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. There were also boundary-making wars or expeditions against Afghanistan, Tibet, Persia, Burma, Baluchistan and Pathanistan.

The policy of standstill after the first stage (1748-98) was only temporary. The next stage (1798-1848) was soon reached. India as a whole came to be considered as the area of paramountcy and annexation. The year 1848 ended the period of conquest of India and establishment of sovereignty and paramountcy over India. The utmost limits of expansion as far as the Indus were reached. India became British.

Aims of the British Conquest

The aim in the first stage was stated by Clive to be as follows : "My resolution, however, was and my hopes will be to confine our conquest and our possessions to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. To go further is, in my opinion, a scheme so extravagant, ambitious and absurd that no government and council in their senses can adopt it, unless the whole system of the company's interest be entirely newly modelled." London authorities also agreed and stated "if we pass these bounds we shall be led from one acquisition to another, until we shall find no security but in the subjection of the whole, which by dividing your force would lose us the whole and end in our extirpation from Hindustan."

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But in this state the second stage was not lost sight of. Only sufficient force was necessary. But the second stage was inevitable. It was impossible to avoid as the first was. Wellesley advanced forward from 1798 and it followed its inevitable course till 1848 when the conquest was completed. Just as the principle of political isolation was given up and that of intervention was adopted, similarly the principle of neutrality in social and educational matters was given up and that of state interference was adopted in the regime of Lord Bentinck. After 1848 it was further extended. A new spirit of state responsibility and active reform in welfare matters had arisen in England amongst liberals. Under the inspiration of evangelism Christian missionaries were founding educational and medical institutions in India for the conversion of Indians. Liberal politicians and Christian missionaries were spreading western ways of life and learning in India. A cold wave of imitation giving rise to reformers, social and political, arose in India, when contact of civilisations took place. The liberal school both in England and India looked for adoption of western ways and institutions in India gradually leading India to a western type of society. The purpose of the victors of 1857 was to establish a lasting peace and a new order among a defeated and disarmed people. But today India is divided and is at war between its own parts. Old feudal states are repudiating by deeds and declarations, Indian unity and their dependence on India, and are announcing their independence and Balkanising India. The conquerors and peace makers of 1748-1848 who were all powerful at the time aimed at goals that were accessible but they were mistaken in their choice of roads to Indian unity and self-government. They committed avoidable but unforgivable mistakes in their selfish political and economic politics. They followed the imperialist policy of divide and rule and a principle of favouratism towards minorities at the cost of the majority and of an integrated nationhood. This policy led to a perpetual conflict of aims and interests in the body politic of India. The creation of weightages and hostages and parities and disproportional ratios marred the whole system of common citizenship and democratic government in the country. The maintenance of feudal privileges and sovereignties of princes kept the country politically divided and disturbed from within.

In politics it is not so much the public works or utility and welfare that count primarily. The fundamental

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and essential needs of a strong, united and integrated state, are the most important. Thus are laid the foundations of a great state which can endure long. The rule of foreigners in England is justified by historians on these grounds. They gave up differential and differentiating citizenship, destroyed the strength and basis of political feudalism and thus established a strong and united state, before democracy got a chance centrally and locally. No overmighty subjects, corporations and communities were allowed special benefits and privileges.

Schools in British Politics

There were two schools of thought in England in the 18th and 19th centuries. One was imperial and militarist, which was only interested in political expansion and economic exploitation. The other was also interested in social and educational reforms. The first was conservative and autocratic in nature. The other had leanings towards democracy and liberalism. The latter began to undertake positive functions of welfare, besides those of protection and expansion. Hence arose the Bentinck or Munro School of the thought and reform in India.

In the period between 1848 to 1948 two other schools developed amongst the British in regard to India. One was the conservative but definitely pro-Muslim, interested in their separatist claims and special privileges and welfare. It was interested in opposing the Indian movement towards political unity and democratic advance. The bureaucracy in India was definitely pro-Muslim and worked for a disintegrated India. The other was the liberal school which favoured and forstered not only social and educational reforms, but also self-governing institutions and democratic practices in a united India. But both the schools extended a privileged position to militant minorities and despotic states and thus maintained under the cover of British paramountcy and sovereignty a disintegrated India in the shape of communal electorates and feudal weightages. This undue emphasis on the privileges of princes and the separate interests of minorities led to the promulgation of vicious principles in the political settlement of the problem of swaraj in the 20th century. These were that the new form of government must be based on an agreement between majority and minority parties based on religion. This made any lasting agreement impossible between them on

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the principle of unity and common citizenship in India. Muslim minority played the part of obstruction. Religions never unite to create a unitary state unless they subordinate religion to politics and divorce it from politics. The policy of appeasement of the Muslims, and the passive and active sympathy for their demand for partition and special favours and privileges destoryed the whole work of 200 years of political reconstruction of India. The same was the result of the most absurd doctrine of the lapse of paramountcy and the resulting independence of Indian states. The British rule will have to be judged on the basis of the consequences born out of this evil policy and ruinous legacy which were inevitable when we consider the nature of reforms adopted during the crown period. It will stand condemned on these grounds. The old regime of foreign rulers so far as our government is concerned has more or less ended today. But this alien rule was very much resented by the Indians because of their democratic and nationalist aims which precipitated a conflict with rulers' policies and reforms for the last sixty years (1885-1945). The year 1948 however constitutes a line of demarcation between the old regime of foreign conquerors on the one hand and the period of republican constitutionalism on the other.

British Political system in India

The old system embodied the features of an autocracy. It ruled by the right of conquest and theory of divine dispensation, of white man's burden and racial privileges. No doubt there have been from 1909 some advisors and popular ministers to assist but they were not given power to control the central or provincial government. The Governor-General was ultimately an autocrat possessing all executive and legislature powers. There was no theory of separation of powers adopted. The legislature and judiciary were not independent. They were overridden or by-passed by his executive power which was the ultimate authority. The system was also unitary in principle in directly governed areas, and feudatory in indirectly controlled principalities. At the apex was the Emperor of the British empire, but the King-in-Parliament was the sovereign authority. All the officers of the central government, the governors of the provinces and the magistrates of the districts were the agents of the Emperor. They were appointed and removed in his name. It was through this hierarchy of governmental agents that the administration of the country was carried

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on and the laws of government were enforced throughout the directly administered parts of this feudal-imperial states. Indian feudal states maintained certain internal autonomy but in matters of defence, foreign policy and communications their powers were abolished or curtailed. The system was not in any way federal or even confederal, taking the provinces and states together into consideration. In the directly administered provinces some association in administration and some representation in legislative bodies were introduced from 1909 and it was increased by 1919 and 1935 Acts to a limited provincial autonomy. But the central government remained irresponsible and autocratic in the matter of defence, finance, foreign relations and all India matters. The governor general remained all-in-all. This has been the position till 1947. He both reigned as Viceroy and ruled as governor general with an iron hand with or without the assistance of councillors and legislators whenever he considered it necessary in his discretion and judgment.

This governmental system proved to be inadequate, as the rulers and the ruled were at variance in their ideas of governmental control and functions. There was started by the people a regular constitutional agitation and resistance, and a movement of non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience against the government from 1885 to 1945. The period falls into two stages of roughly 30 years each, liberal and national. There was equality of citizenship in practice. Racial and religious considerations prevailed and made it discriminatory and hierarchial. Civil liberties—freedom of speech, press, association, movement and meeting were limited. There was no equality of opportunity, no goal of Swaraj and no recognition of peoples sovereignty. The character of British objectives in India was primarily determined by economic and political needs. Secondarily some ideas of her civilisation or ways and institutions of her life were introduced and Indians imitated or accepted them to suit the age and conditions in which the country was placed. Contact of different cultures and development of new conditions made this necessary for finding out a *modus vivendi*. There developed exclusively pro-British and exclusively pro-Indian separatist schools thinking of the greatness and independence of their own ways of life, as well as fusionist schools which wanted to harmonise the two ways in politics and culture. The pro-British separatist school however was in power. The fusionist and pro-Indian schools were not

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powerful. Hence Indian politics took a disintegrating turn. British authorities sanctioned and fostered this tendency according to their principle of "divide at impera" and of weighting of communal interests.

The effect of the British Rule

The fundamental effect of the Kulturkamp which began in India during the British rule was first that of disintegration and transvaluation of accepted values of life which were primarily religious values. Then the process of secularisation began to be applied to them. What Benthamite utilitarianism did in England was being done by the new westernised codes of law established by the British in India. It was a process not merely of secularisation and territorialisation, but also of rationalisation and liberalisation. This process resulted in revivalism, reformism and also reactionism in India. The calm waters of Indian intellectual and cultural life were disturbed. People got awakened and became conscious of their condition, culture and history and regained confidence in their capacity. They felt the need of preserving some of the fundamental values of their civilisation. They could not surrender them to the new scientific and technological necessities and attitudes of life. To them civilisation was something more, something of the spirit, so that its measurement could not be judged solely in terms of physical science and of collection and utilisation of knowledge about the concrete world but also in terms of the mind of the people, spiritual and moral.

Thus the second half of British rule in India after 1857 produced the conflict between slavish imitators of the British and the advocates of the values of indigenous ways of life and learning. The nationalists have won ultimately in this contest. Today Mahatma Gandhi represents the complete triumph of the highest value of Hinduism and humanity as against the materialist secularisation of our social and political life by the British.

The nature of its Achievements

In order to understand the nature of British achievements we must ask these questions: Did the British establish the rule of persons or principles, rule of men or rule of law, rule of whims or rule of constitution? Was

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the government organised on sound fiinancial and administrative principles? Was their foreign policy based on full consideration of country's security? Were the political processes set in motion by them tending towards welding India into a common unity and loyalty? Was there merely a desire for expanding the empire and exploiting its resources economically? Did it set in motion creative currents in our life? It is too early to judge of the final result of British rule in India. We are very near the event. Its attempt at political and economic unity has utterly failed. If the British claim that they fought and won to make India safe for unity and democracy they have dismally failed. India is less united today being partitioned into independent dominions and states, less democratic because communalism and despotism reign in her separated parts. It is less safe, being partitioned into so many quarrelsome units. Indians today enjoy less security within and without.

We may ask the question: Is it a fulfilment or failure of its so called mission as it understood it or as we expected it to be?

The word 'fulfilment' of British rule in India is a misnomer. It was not only a failure but a fall of the British empire in India. Foreign rule did not do her good politically. It did not build up a strong, united and centralised state. No doubt it kept order with the help of its bureaucracy and military in the disconnected politics, parts and parties of India, but that cannot raise its work high in our estimation. To disfigure the unity map of India, to divide it not only into one Hindustan and two Pakistans, but a large number of more or less independent Rajasthans with divided loyalties is the tragic legacy of British rule in India. The political map of India is as bad as it was in 1748 when the British began their active interference in the politics of India.

The Legacy of British Rule

The maintenance of separate and secluded states, and the fostering of separatism amongst communities in political, military, educational and administrative matters have been the greatest evils, consciously created by the British in India. Her political peace was not that of federation or democratisation, but of feudalisation and subjection. It did not leave India more united and more peaceful. It still remains

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the seething land of races and creeds, having become more fanatic and inhuman than ever before in history. Such fanaticism was only visible among foreign invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali and their followers. In the India of the 18th century there was no theory of Pakistan, but only of one Hindustan from Kandahar and Kabul to Cape Camorin to be under one rule, Mughal or Martha. Now the possibilities of foreign invasions from the north-western frontier of India have increased. Under the new political set-up India's own resources will be used against her. The Indian frontier being in the plains of the Punjab is very weak for defence purposes. It has no natural protection. It has populations within its borders who are not loyal to the Indian Union and are surcharged with a spirit of religious and irredentist hatred. Though the renunciation of power by the British has been voluntary and peaceful its transfer has created an explosive and hostile situation between the two parts and partitioned India and between them and the independent states like Hyderabad and Kashmir and also amongst communities within each partition or separated unit.

Failure of British Rule

The forms of law and procedure was there, but its contents were far from what ought to be in the real interests of the people. Though there was a lot of pious wishes expressed the Charter acts and proclamations (1833-1858) of liberal policies and principles, agriculture and industry, commerce and technical education were not at all advanced to suit the needs of a modern state whose peace and prosperity were to be the *sine que non* of their material and moral existence. Thus the British rule in India has proved to be largely a failure when we consider the following facts :—

1. It failed to integrate the country into a united whole. Partition of the country, separatism of communities, secession of states have been the results of its policy. Irredentism, hatred, boundary-making, compulsory uprooting and imigration of populations from their homes have been its immediate effects.

2. It failed to convert the people to the acceptance of its political supremacy, and of its economic interests and to assimilate or comprehend them culturally. The people as a whole revolted against the British rule and regarded them as political foreigners and economic exploiters.

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3. It failed to promote the welfare of the masses and exercised imperialist tyranny and capitalistic exploitation over them with the support of their governmental machinery and advanced technological knowledge and means of communication and transport under their control.

4. It did not evolve a political and educational policy to minimise the religious differences amongst communities. On the contrary it sharpened their differences and promoted hatred amongst them by their policy of divide and rule, of preferences and exclusions and of favouritism and distrust. Various army commissions, public services commissions and administrative commissions bear ample testimony to this fact.

5. It did not care to evolve a common comprehensive culture but believed in the superiority of British genius and culture and of its religious and political outlook. Its attitude was of aloofness socially, of hatred politically and of enmity culturally.

6. It failed to give up its narrow racial Albionism. It never thought in terms of an equality of races and religions and of a variety of human cultures and codes. It only thought in terms of unilinear progress and unilateral achivement and master-slave society.

7. It failed to achieve or set up a form and framework of a democratic state. And the nature and spirit of the state set up was not democratic. No doubt its system of administration and justice was more modern, efficient and integrated but its justice was dilatory, costly and litigious.

8. Its socio-economic policy was largely based on its own vital needs and vested interests. Its welfare policy was dilatory and was limited by its own economic interests. Its educational policy was too slow and restricted in its scope and limited in its objectives for the modern needs of a backward country. There was no national dynamic driving force behind it.

9. Under it the ideas of local independence, legitimist conception of princely rulers, feudal rights and communal separatism remained. It created only a feudal-imperial state. It did not even attempt an integrated federal and democratic state for the whole of India.

10. The only thing which resulted during British period was that the old mental stagnation or uniform conservatism was broken up. New arts and sciences, literatures and philosophies developed. Time and opportunity for their

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varied progress were gaind by the preservation of a long peace in the country and by the contact made with European literatures and sciences. This peace was based on a strong rule of law and on the bureaucratic administration of a powerful centralised and autocratic state. Their greatest gift was a long period of political tranquillity. But they were not able to obliterate from men's minds the foreign character of their rule. There was no controlling authority in India to hold the British to account. The executive was an irresponsible and irremovable. The British Parliament and the British Cabinet which controlled it trusted in the man-on-the spot theory. The Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General of India were working in union. Periodical parliamentary inquiries and royal commissions and proclamations in the 19th century did not approach Indian problem from the peoples' point of view. The Mughal Government had no extra-territorial out-look in politics but it did have an extra-territorial attachment in religion and race which dominated Indian politics. To the British India was a part of the great British empire itself. To the Mughals India was the Mughal empire. Compared however to the British rule in India the Mughal rule falls in our estimation from the point of view of intellectual and religious freedom tolerated, when we study the history of Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's active reigns from 1627-1707. The strength of Mughal Government was sustained by constant importation of co-racialist and co-religionist recruits from Central and Western Asia. So also the whole British system was based on the rule of their own people recruited systematically from England by competitive examinations. It was a racial rule. Highest offices were monopolised by the British.

The sea-frontier was neglected by the Mughals. They were a land-minded people. Their rule was weak at the boundary regions or outskirts of their dominion. The British were not only supreme on the sea and in naval warfare but were equally powerful on land and inland warfare. The Mughal political centralisation did not have a strong economic basis and there were no developed means of communication and transport system.

The British however contributed in other walks of life. The British opened the way to the methods of new biological, anthropological, and physical sciences. They helped in oriental research and to a limited extent and indirectly in literary revival, in the preservation of old monuments of art

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and architecture, sculpture and crafts. But now industries were promoted by private efforts. There was hardly any state aid and protection. The British were anti-swadeshi in policy and action. The governmental system of education was not helpful in promoting higher technical and applied sciences. Thus the lag between Europe and India remained. What Japan did for herself within a generation the British proved incapable and unwilling to do for India having undertaken the task of doing it. Therefore there has been no fulfilment of British rule in India but a failure is writ large on its face when its fall came.

The economist of India indicts the British of having reduced India to a poor country and having neglected her agriculture and industrial and commercial development. The educationist accuses them of having kept her illiterate and also backward in higher technical and scientific education. The politician charges them for not associating her with the high politics, diplomacy and administration of the country and denying her initiative and real democracy. The moralist imputes the moral decadence in the country and its dwarfishness to the foreign rule—British and pre-British. The slavish-mentality, traitorous and toady behaviour, irresponsible and communal citizenship, litigious. ness and corruption and jobbery and job-hunting are all due to it. The culturist censures them for the growth of atheism, antitheism, agnosticism, skepticism, materialism in their rankest kinds and destroying the foundations of her civilisation and higher life without being able to give and establish any higher values of life.

The Indian army was deliberately built up on the basis of communal distinctions. This policy was stated by the Chief of the staff in India, Sir W. K. Mensfield to the Peel Commission which laid the organisation of the Indian army in 1858-59. "I am strongly of the opinion that Moslems should not be in the same company or toop with Hindus or Sikhs...I would maintain even in the same regiment all differences of faith with the greatest care. There might be rivalry or even hatred between two companies of troops. The discipline of a native regiment instead of being impaired would gain by it, as regards the greater question of the obedience of the whole to the Commanding Officer. The motto of the regimental commander in chief must be for the future "divide and rule".

The British writers however praise the British rulers

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on all these points and say that they have definitely contributed, to the all-round progress of India. They compare the work of the British with that of other colonial powers or self governing Asiatic countries, or of the native states of India. They say whatever they have achieved was the only one possible and desirable under the circumstances and no more. We cannot agree with this view. While agreeing with a number of new ideas and institutions which the British introduced and the codes of law and administration they laid down we still differ in our estimate of the effect and legacy of their rule. From 1858-1898 they had full opportunity to make India self-governing and strong, prosperous and happy, literate and creative, bold and inventive. They failed to do this. Japan had shown the way. The British remained foreign to the last and never indentified themselves with the real interests and development of the country.

AN ASPECT OF REFORM OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN POST-MUTINY ERA

BY

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As the subject of corruption among public servants is one of vital interest at the present day, it would be of some interest to the student of modern Indian administrative history to know a few forgotton particulars regarding a form of indirect and disguised corruption in the public services against which strict official measures were introduced and enforced some time after the Mutiny.

Among the old district records preserved in the record room of the Court of the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, there are certain files containing some very valuable information regarding the objectionable practice of certain high officials engaging their private or subordinate public servants in making their private purchases or in any such other private matters or undertakings in which the receipt or expenditure of money was involved. While this practice might apparently look harmless, it could easily serve as a convenient cover for procuring illegal gratification in kind, if not in cash. In other words, it was likely to be resorted to or misused as a method of bribery.

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As a matter of fact, a number of highly suspicious cases of the aforesaid kind appear to have been brought to the notice of the Government of India during the regime of Lord Northbrook. A particular case is cited in the official papers (Circular No. 7-438 of 1873). It relates to the enforced removal of one Mr. C. D. Linton from his post of Judge of a Small Cause Court. From the papers submitted against him, it was proved beyond all doubt that a subordinate servant of Mr. Linton, named Abbas Ali, adopted such a demeanour and acted in such a way as to create a general impression that he possessed and exercised unusual influence with Mr. Linton in his dealings with the subordinate staff of the court and the litigants. This appears to have led to supplies being sent through him to his boss by court staff including clerks, peons and even menials by way of bribes. Mr. Linton also used to employ the aforesaid servant to purchase all his bazzar requirements, and, as a natural result of undue pressure or influence, these were of course obtained at absurdly low prices. In fact, Mr. Linton was reported to have used his official authority to force his staff to bring in all supplies for him at any unfair price which he would choose to fix.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Linton's case actually formed the occasion for a special resolution of the Government of India, Home Department (Judicial), No. 121, dated 16th January 1873, prohibiting the employment by all public officers of their assistants or subordinates in making private purchases.

The official records contain detailed consideration of the specious plea put forward in certain cases that in India it was not an unusual thing for a public officer to employ his peons in procuring bazaar supplies. It was to meet this plea and to expose the impropriety of the time-honoured though undesirable practice that the official circular mentioned above pointed out :

1. "It is unfortunately no uncommon thing for a clever and favoured servant" to acquire the reputation of enjoying great influence with his master.
2. This reputation could certainly be abused "without the slightest suspicion on the part of the master as to what is going on."
3. It is difficult to establish very conclusively whether the servant's misconduct is due to "culpable neglect or tacit acquiescence of his master."
4. The employment of subordinate public servants in making private purchases or in any other private matter involving financial transaction "is therefore obviously and notoriously incompatible in this country with the pure administration of a public office."

The official instructions prohibited the practice and notified that any breach of this order which might be brought to the

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notice of the Government of India would be very severely dealt with. (Vide Circular Letter to all Civil Officers in Oudh, dated Lucknow, the 27th January, 1873, from the Offg. Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh, General Department, Mr. H. B. Harington, M. A.)

Mr. Linton's appeal to the Government of India against his removal from his post was summarily rejected on the following grounds :

1. Sums of money were paid to Mr. Linton's private servants as bribes by " court peons, and even by the Omlah and such officials as the Head Clerk."

2. " From the manner in which Abbas Ali and the other servants habitually domineered over Mr. Linton's official subordinates, and the barefaced way in which they appear to have exercised their iufluence in certain cases, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that they acted in full assurance that their position with their master was strong enough to withstand any attacks in the shape of complaints against them."

3. " Further, Mr. Linton employed his court peons in procuring bazaar supplies at unfairly low prices."

Thus, the case of Mr. C. D. Linton led to the enunciation of an important regulation for the guidance of the conduct of public servants in India (Vide Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 121, under date Fort William, the 16th January 1873).

A COPY OF LORD HASTINGS' "SUMMARY OF ADMINISTRATION"

BY

DR. P. C. GUPTA, M.A., PH.D. (*Lond.*)

During his voyage home in 1823, Lord Hastings prepared a survey of his administration in India. A copy of it was sent from Gibralter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and in 1824 printed by order of the Company under the title, *Operations in India with their results from the 30th April 1814 to the 1st January 1823.* In the same year, it was reissued by the friends of Marquess of Hastings "with a view to the information of the Proprietors of India stock." The text remained almost the same, but a new title was given to it and it was called *Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government from October 1813 to January 1823.* The book is now difficult to find but in the Imperial Library, Calcutta there are two copies.

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One copy which is defective and wrongly described in the printed catalogue as a work of Warren Hastings, will be of interest to historians.

About twelve years ago, I first came across this copy and noticed certain remarks in the margin. A reader, it appeared, evidently did not find it always easy to agree with many of the Governor-General's statements. The annotations were by some one who apparently had first hand knowledge of the politics of India and able sometimes to correct the text. He was a contemporary of Marquess of Hastings and played some part in shaping the history of the country. Except on page 58, the remarks are anonymous but on the top of that page he referred to a conversation he had with Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1824 and signed his name as J. Low[1]. On the same page while criticising British attitude towards the Maratha states he again put down his initials. It became obvious that the author of these notes should be identified with John Low the well-known general and administrator.

John Low came to India in 1805. In 1812, he became Persian interpreter and head of the intelligence staff in the South Maratha country. In 1818, he acted as political assistant to Malcolm and played such important part in the surrender of the Peshwa after the battle of Ashti. He was then appointed Commissioner with the ex-peshwa at Bithur where he continued for six years. He next became political agent at Jaipur. In 1830, he was sent to Gwalior and next year he was appointed Resident at Lucknow. Low went home in 1842 and returned five years later. He was appointed the Governor-General's agent in Rajputana and Commissioner at Ajmere-Merwara. In 1852 he became the Resident at Hyderabad. He rendered valuale services to the Company during the difficult days of 1858, and finally left India in 1874.

It is difficult to find a man with wider experience of Indian affairs and it will be interesting to note some of the cases where Low differed from the opinions expressed by the Governor-General. Lord Hastings discussed the possibilities of incurring the hostilities of the Marathas when he declared war against the Pindarries. "I saw the intimacy of connexion between the Pindarries and Mahrattas, so distinctly, as to be certain that an attempt to destroy the former must infalliably engage us in our war with the whole body of the latter" (page 8). Low, however, did not quite agree with this, and commented "not quite so distinctly or he would not have withdrawn the troops from Poona."[2]

1. Plate VII.
2. Plate I.

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Low also made light of the Governor-General's difficulties of getting his measures against the Pindarries approved by the Council. Lord Hastings wrote, when he proposed a "remonstrance" to Sindhia's Court "on the score of the Pindarries being permitted to arrange within the Maharajah's dominions the preparations for assailing the Honourable Company's provinces," he was told that "a remonstrance of the above nature might be offensive to Scindiah, and that nothing ought to be ventured which could give him umbrage" (page 9). Low thought that the Governor-General had given an exaggerated idea of his difficulties. He pointed out that the objection to Lord Hastings' proposal "was made by Mr. Dodswell, a man always weak in intellect and then in his dotage." Thus though Lord Hastings has not stated an untruth, yet he has given the public to understand that this was serious representation from his Council which was far from the fact as not one of the other councillors joined in the hasty opinion expressed by the Dodswell.[3] Dodswell, to whom Low refers, appears to be George Dodswell who finds a place in the List of Bengal Civil Servants by Dodwell and Miles. Dodswell entered the service of the East India Company in 1783, was appointed Chief Secretary to the Government in 1812 and in 1814 became a member of the Supreme Council. He should not be very old at the time of the Anglo-Maratha war and not certainly at his dotage.

Lord Hastings' account of the murder of two British officers in Peshwa Baji Rao's dominion was also questioned by Low. "The Peshwa Baji Rao", Lord Hastings wrote, could never be trusted, "after his original perfidy in unprovokedly forming a wide conspiracy for the extirpation of the British, and after his subsequent attempt to overwhelm and massacre the British Resident stationed at his Court.....This criminality of Baji Rao's was aggravated by the murder in cold blood of British officers who were travelling in his dominions, without suspicion of impending rupture". (page 57). In the last sentence, the Governor-General was probably referring to the fate of Captain Vaughan and his brother. Low did not agree with this. He described Lord Hastings' statement as "not true" and recorded that "Mr. Elphinstone proved in 1819 most satisfactorily that the murders of the two gentlemen alluded to were committed by men not in the Paishwah's service and without his knowledge.....first crimes have been committed in our own provinces. If the Paishwah had wished to commit such crimes he could have murdered the Resident with the greatest ease as Mr. Elphinstone himself informed me in 1824".[4]

The Governor-General's statement that at Bithur the ex-Peshwa administered justice over his guards "in all cases not capital", (page 59) was also the subject of criticism. Low noted

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3. Plate II.
4. Plates VI, VII.

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that it was "not true at the time this was written"[5] and he appears to be correct. It was not till 1832 that a regulation was passed which empowered Baji Rao to administer civil and criminal justice to the inhabitants of his Jagir, subject to such control as might be prescribed by the Governor General in Council. Before that, the ex-Peshwa exercised only a limited power over his followers which rested on convention and very much depended on the pleasure of the Commissioner and the authorities at Cawnpore. During this period Baji Rao was allowed "to punish petty offences amongst his followers in his own way," provided the punishments were commensurate with the offences committed and did not "extend to life or limb."[6]

From 1831 for about eleven years Low was the Resident at Lucknow and he found it difficult to agree to many of the statements of Lord Hastings regarding Oudh. In 1814, Nawab Sadat Ali died leaving a huge fortune to his successor Ghazi-ud-din Haidar. In the same year, one crore of rupees was borrowed from him by the Governor-General for the Nepal war. As most of this was spent on other account another crore was advanced by the Nawab. Lord Hastings referred it in his *Private Journal*. The Nawab Vizier "begged leave to offer a present of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company. This was expected by me. I know that his father had intended to make this offer.....The Resident had given me a hint that the present Nawab, aware of his father's intention, had mentioned his purpose of carrying it into effect."[7] In his *Summary of Administration* Lord Hastings made a similar statement, "Soon after my arrival in India, some British officers came to me from Nawab Vizier Saadat Ali, Sovereign of Oude, bringing to me a representation of the painful and degrading tharldom in which, through gradual and probably unintended encroachment on his freedom, he was held, inconsistently with the spirit of the treaty between the two States.....On my professing a disposition to correct so objectionable a course, those officers.....assured me that any persuasion of my having such an inclination would cause Saadat Ali to throw himself upon me with unbounded confidence ; and would offer from his immense hoard, the advance of any sum I could want for the enterprise against Nepaul" (page 12). During the Governor-General's tour in the Upper Provinces in 1814 Saadat Ali "unexpectedly died." But he found that what had been provisionally agitated by him was perfectly understood by his successor ; so that the latter came forward with a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees," which he "accepted as a loan for the Honourable Company" (page 13). To this statement Low commented....." spontaneous indeed ! The Resident was

5. Plate VIII.
6. Bengal Regulation I of 1832.
7. Hastings, *Private Journal* (1907) p. 99.

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ordered to advise the King to make the offer. Saadat Ali was not on speaking terms with his successor."[8] About the second instalment of loan, Lord Hastings stated that he was "upon such frank terms with the Nawab vizier, that he could explain to him" his circumstances, and the Nawab "agreed to furnish another crore." (page 14). Low completely disagreed with this and remarked that the money was paid only "after the Vizier had been bullied into consent, the discussions having lasted many weeks, the Vizier having again expressed the utmost reluctance to part with his money.[9] The offer does not seem to be as spontaneous as is stated. On 29 April 1815, John Baillie Resident at Lucknow wrote to the Chief Secretary "I was instructed by his Lordship's Secretary Mr. Ricketts, to open a negotiation with the Wazier, for the loan of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company to appear as a voluntary offer.[10]

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the British policy towards the Indian states underwent considerable change. It has been said of Low that he was one of those who "carried the spirit of earlier and generous days into the annexationist regime of Lord Dalhousie." Even in his younger days he did not find it easy to agree with some of the views of Lord Hastings towards Indian states. Lord Hastings' statement that the feudatory states "unfeignedly resort" to the British Government "for aid in fixing the fundamental rules of their government'. (page 48) he described as "fudge".[11] According to Lord Hastings, it was quite common for the states to invite British advice and its result was "to establish principles between the sovereign and subject advantageous to both, giving to those principles a defined line of practical application, a departure from which would afford to either party a right of claiming the intervention of our paramount power". (page 48). Low found this opposed to fact and remarked that "on the contrary, it is expressly in all the treaties with the Rajpoot states that we shall not interfere at all in the interior (?) management of those countries, that the Rajahs have exclusive power over their subjects."[12]

In this paper, I have selected only a few specimens but there are others which would appear equally interesting. Since Lord Hastings wrote his *Summary of Administration* intensive book work has been done on many aspects of his government and the historian today will find many of Low's observations more acceptable than those of the Governor-General. The chief interest of these remarks is, however that they give an insight into the

8. Plate III.
9. Plate IV.
10. Oudh papers, pp 722-3 Baillie to Adam, quoted in *Lord Hastings and the Indian States* (Mehta)
11. Plate V.
12. Plate V.

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working of Low's mind. It is not always that a government official keeps on record what he feels about the politics of the day, and Low evidently had no idea that his commentary on the events of his time might be brought to light one day. It is a pity we do not have a selection of Low's political writings. The story of his life written by his grand-daughter is excellent in many ways but concerns itself more with family affairs than anything else. In many of his letters Low preferred to remain in background. Referring to the Begum's insurrection at Lucknow in 1837 and the part he played, Low wrote to his mother "it is better that nothing more should be said about my proceedings at L, unless in chat *among ourselves* by the fireside."[13]

During the war the copy of Hastings' *Summary of Administration* along with other old publications was sent out of Calcutta for safe custody. This volume has now been rebound and the Press mark altered. It is lucky that ends have not been trimmed and the notes in the margin have been preserved. It is not for me to suggest if the book should be taken out of circulation, but one can only hope that proper measures should be taken for its preservation. The habit of writing notes on the pages of a book was more frequent in the last century and persons who are interested in old publications sometimes come across scribbles in the margin of a book. But a prize like this is not easy to find, for one hardly expects to come across a work written by one of the most well known administrators of India commented on by one of the ablest officers of the time.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF MONTREAU, A FRENCH OFFICER IN MARATHA SERVICE

BY

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In the latter half of the 18th century there were quite a number of French officers in the service of the different Indian Princes, some for purely private career and some for the patriotic object of advancing the interests of their own nation. Many of these officers earned great reputation by their courage and organising capacity and have found mention in history. But there were many others who are now completely buried in oblivion, and although not of much historical importance it would be interesting

13. Low, Fifty years with John Company, p. 197.

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for us to know something about the private lives of these French military officers, who spent the best part of their lives in the midst of Indians, organised their armies and fought for their Princes. We wish we could know how they felt and behaved in their strange environments and how they utilised their time and opportunities.

Some personal letters of one of these unknown men are preserved in the Pondicherry Archives (Reg. 26-(7)-Inventaire des Anciennes Archives), though not included in the Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Francaise. He was Bossu de Montreau, "Commander of a Rassala of the Peshwa." The letters themselves contain no signature except the last one where the writer signs as B. D. M., but there is a letter of authority in the series which gives the full name and designation of the person. Nothing is known about his career in the Maratha army or even the length of his service. The letters, mostly written from Poona, cover the period from 1788 to 1797. From the last two letters, written in 1797, it appears that he had given up the Maratha service that year and was on his way to Masulipatam. It is not known when he first came to Poona or joined the Maratha service. His name is hardly mentioned in the catalogued documents of the Pondicherry Archives, except only in one letter dated 6th March 1784 (Doc. no. 5353) written by Mercier (another French adventurer who had been with de Lallee and was also in the service of Mysore), recommending his cousin, Montreau, to Montigny, the French Diplomatic representative at Poona. The only interest of this casual mention is that Montreau was already at Poona in 1784. From one of his letters, written in 1792 to the Dean of the Chapter—house of Montreau, we can trace his home in France and we also learn that he had been in India since some years before 1774, although we cannot ascertain whether he was then in Maratha service or not. Anyway, all that we can gather about him is that he came out to India some years before 1774, was completely cut off from his family in France, was associated with many of the better known French adventurers of the time, passed through many interesting experiences including being robbed and held in detention by his compatriots, entered the Maratha service where he must have spent at least 15 years, amassed a great fortune, part of which he lent to other Frenchmen and possibly did not get back and part of which he deposited at Pondicherry, and ultimately left Poona in 1797 in order to spend the last days of his life among his compatriots for which he pined so longingly in his letters.

The first letter dated, Poona, 20th May 1788, is addressed to de Moracin, Intendant at Pondicherry. Montreau writes, "The extreme embarrassment in which M. de Montigny finds himself and his eagerness to obey the orders of the Minister which recall him to Pondicherry have decided me to entrust him with my little fortune to supplement the funds announced to him a long time back. He has given me, sir, a draft on you for Rs. 7,000

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following the authority you gave him to that amount by your letter of the 27th January. He himself is the bearer of this draft and he has promised to join with me in begging you to keep this money along with the amount I have entrusted to him. I feel it is time to quit a country so uncertain and to seek in the colonies a peaceful retirement." The second letter written on the same date is addressed to Coulon, a merchant at Pondicherry. Montreau simply asked him to keep his money in deposit in case de Moracin did not agree to keep it.

There are several letters written to Dayot at Bombay, captain of a French vessel named "Adelaide" which had been captured by some Maratha pirates in 1786.[1] Montreau often wrote to him to make purchases for him at Bombay, which included large quantities of wine and also books, mirrors, soap, writing ink etc. In a letter written from Poona on the 4th June 1788 to M. Le Febvre, formerly an usher of the "Conseil Superieur' at Pondicherry, Montreau requests him to hand over to Montigny at Pondicherry all the papers which he had entrusted to him with regard to M. de Lallee. It appears that Montreau had once been robbed and held in detention by de Lallee.

In a letter dated 11th June 1788 and addressed to Montigny Montreau writes about the difficulties of getting redress from the Maratha Government for the capture of the French vessel, 'Adelaide". He also passes on the information sent by Dayot from Bombay about the arrival there of ten English vessels with 4,000 men. In four letters to Dayot dated 12th, 16th and 23rd June and 13th July 1788 Montreau informs him about the return of Nana Phadnavis to Poona and states that he is waiting for an opportunity to meet him to make representation about the capture of the "Adelaide".

There is a letter dated 8th August 1788 addressed to Piron, a French officer at Hyderabad, with whom Montreau wanted to be acquainted and to open a regular correspondence. Montreau wanted news about Hyderabad and assured Piron that he would send all news about Poona.

In a letter to Montigny dated 19th July 1788 Montreau writes, "The English are recruiting new sepoys at Bombay; and M. Dayot informs me that there have arrived only three vessels from Europe out of the ten which had been announced. He thinks that bad weather delayed the others.....Nothing new has been announced in the Darbar about the next campaign. You must have undoubtedly got the news of the death of the chief of Nagpur....." In the next letter to Montigny, dated

1. There is a letter written by de Cossigny, Governor of Pondicherry, to Montigny at Poona demanding compensation from the Maratha Government for the capture of the French ship—Doc. No. 907, atalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives, Pondicherry.

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8th August 1788, Montreau witers, " I have not yet been called to the Darbar since your departure. I have sent through Bapujee Punt the letter for Nana Phadnavis and that for Hari Pati. When you write to them, it will be better if you send me a copy of what you write, so that I may know what I have to reply in case I am called. As I have no secret news to give you for the present, I will make use of the harkaras of the Sarkar in order to avoid unnecessary expenses.....Nothing new has transpired till now. It is necessary to wait till the Dassera and it will then be seen what they desire to do. Many rumours are being started here about Tipu, regarding which one cannot assure the truth ; but what is there certain is that people are talking much about him at Bombay, as M. Dayot informs me by his last letter. He even requests me to give him some news about Tipu. There is much to presume that the English are strongly inclined to march against him and there has even been started a rumour that they have defeated one of his strong detachments under the command of his son....."

There is a letter, dated 8th August 1788, addressed to M. Puren, one of the officers on board the captured ship "Adelaide," who had been robbed of his belongings by Maratha pirates. Montreau wrote about his efforts at Poona to recover Puren's belongings. In a letter of the same date, addressed to M. Rivierre, Commander of Infantry at Hyderabad, Montreau writes, " Everything is dead in our camps.....It is necessary to wait till the Dassera and one will then see what they want to do. I think it is just the same at your place also."

In a letter to Dayot dated 3rd August 1788[1] Montreau writes, " You ask me news about Tipu Sultan. Letters have reached the Sarkar that he has completely lost half of his camp which was in a gorge or defile, and that by means of a large mine which was let off half the camp was blown up, and at the time of the explosion the enemy camps made a sortie and all those who were there were killed or taken prisoner, and my good friend Lallee was one of the latter. It is to be hoped that this knave will meet an end which he deserves....." There follow several letters to Dayot who was going to leave Bombay for the Isle of France. In the letter dated 3rd September 1788 Montreau writes that he has nothing new to add to what he had already written about Tipu. "You will see that the facts are entirely different from those circulated at Bombay." In the letter dated 8th September Montreau writes, "It is reported that Sindhia has been completely defeated. There is nothing else for the present." In another letter he writes, " There has not transpired any news here. The departure of Mr. Malet for Bombay has given colour to

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1, From the contents of the letter it appears that the date is wrong.

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many speculations, which must not be believed, there being only Nana and he who know the secret." He adds that Montigny having placed his money in the hands of Moracin at 8% rate of interest he is now sure of 1400 rupees a year even if he loses his all at Poona. In a letter to Montigny dated 12th November 1788 Montreau writes about his efforts to get compensation from the Poona Government for the capture of the French ship, "Adelaide" and the procrastinating policy of the latter. He adds, "I shall send you a packet which I have received from Delhi addressed to you".

There are three letters to Moracin, Intendant at Pondicherry. The first is a letter of authority dated 12th January 1790 "I the undersigned, Bossu de Montreau, Commander of a Rassala of the Peshwa, residing at Poona, give by the present document, written by my hand and signed by me, in default of a notary and European formalities, full authority to M. de Moracin, Intendant at Pondicherry, to receive from M. de Montigny the sum of ten thousand nine hundred and ninety-six rupees received from me to be sent to Pondicherry and handed over to to M. de Moracin, as his letter of the 26th May 1788 states, with an interest of 8% from that date, and to make all necessary expenses to recover this amount, in testimony whereof I have written and signed the present document this 12th day of January 1790". In the next letter dated 22nd April 1790 Montreau writes "I am trying to withdraw from this country where nothing is stable and everything too much subject to revolutions. It is time to think of a refuge, and I have the same desire as you to pass the last days of my life peacefully in the midst of my compatriots". In a letter dated 26th January 1791 he writes, "I am always pressing on the Sarkar to grant me leave to return to Pondicherry, but as I cannot do my affairs by myself the thing has always been dragging on.....The Maratha army is on campaign since the first January 1791. I am also compelled to march to get back the money I have advanced to my troops.....I find myself compelled to stay with the Marathas for one or two years more. I am telling you, it is not without much chagrin and repugnance that I am making this campaign".

Then there is a letter dated 2nd April 1791 addressed to several persons, the agents of de Moracin who had left Pondicherry for France. Montreau writes, "Your packet of the 7th March reached me yesterday at the army camp of Nizam Ali where we have just arrived". The letter, written from the camp or Paungul, contains only details of Montreau's accounts with Moracin. With this letter were enclosed two others of the same date, one addressed to Moracin and the other to Montigny, both of whom were then in France. The letters relate merely to the money lent to Montigny, Rs. 10,996 at 8% rate of interest out of which Montigny had repaid only Rs. 540. Montreau requests Moracin to realise the balance from Montigny and to send it to Pondicherry.

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In another letter to the agents of Moracin at Pondicherry, written from the "Peshwa's camp" near Seringapatam on the 22nd February 1792 Montreau requests them to make enquiries at Pondicherry about the person with whom M. de Vigie, heir of M. de Lallee, had left the latter's fortune, and to recover what he had been robbed of by de Lallee.

There is a letter written from the Maratha camp on the 8th April 1792 in which Montreau requests the Dean of the Chapter—house of Montreau to give him news about his family. He had once written on the same subject in 1774 but had not received any reply.

There is a long gap after 1792. The last two letters, dated 20th June and 16th August 1797, were written from Hyderabad to M. Honore, "Officer of the Peshwa at the Court of Poona". Montreau had left Poona and was proceeding to Masulipatam. He had sold off his things, and his guns had been purchased by Ramajee Punt.

THE EXPEDITION TO MANILLA, 1797.

BY

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By the end of January 1795, the whole of Holland was in the possession of the French and, in March, a treaty of alliance was signed between the French and the newly constituted Batavian republics. The Dutch Asiatic settlements, in consequence, became, to all intents and purposes, dependencies of the French Republic and accessories of great importance to French cruisers owing to their close proximity not only to the eastern sphere of action but to the trade route between China and Europe. On the other hand, the union of Holland with the French Republic had important bearing on British war policy. England was at once released from her treaty obligations to Holland, virtually withdrew from continental campaigns and centred her efforts in securing vital positions that would contribute to her naval superiority and commercial development. For a maritime power like Holland, to enter into an alliance with France at this juncture was merely to expose itself and its colonies to the attack of the British navy. The Dutch colonies became lawful prizes. The English East India Company, moreover, found its opportunity for avenging the many humiliations in the eastern archipelago and putting an end for ever to the Dutch power in Asia.

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The motive found expression in the policy outlined by Henry Dundas who had been appointed Secretary of State for War in July 1794. England was determined to strike without loss of time. The instructions from Dundas specifically directed that the Indian government should, *in the first instance*, centre its attention to the conquest of Trincomalee, and then, *progressively*, turn to the Moluccas in view of their intrinsic value to the Dutch[1]. Sensible also of the importance of Malacca to the China trade, and to the trade of the archipelago in general, as well as of the advance of the future influence of the English in the east, and apprehending clearly the detrimental effects on both in case France got the whip hand and reached there before England, the orders from home urged the immediate despatch of forces there and, after obtaining possession of Malacca, to make a clean sweep of Dutch settlements in the archipelago so that Franch cruizers and privateers may not find a convenient shelter and a seat wherefrom to harass the trade of the English merchants on the high seas or the territories of the English East India Company on the Indian peninsula[2].

The "Panther" arrived from Suez in June 1795 with accounts of the French invasion of, and the English retreat from, Holland[3]. The secret despatches from Dundas, defining the policy to be adopted towards the Dutch possessions in India and the Dutch settlements in the archipelago, reached Bengal in July per "John" schooner[4]. The ship also carried orders from the Princeof Orange (who had taken refuge in London and sought to withdraw the Dutch overseas territories from French influence) to all governors and commanders of the East Indian territories and fortresses under Dutch sovereignty to admit British troops and administrators and to surrender to them all authority[5]. The orders from Dundas were secretly communicated by Sir John Shore to Lord Hobart (governor-designate of Madras), to the Commander-in-Chief Sir Robert Abercromby and to Rear-Admiral Peter Rainier. It was clear from the orders, and also in view of the limited resources of defence of the Company in India, that the Indian government would have been justified in the eyes of the Secretary of State for War in selecting those points of strategic value "which are important in the first degree", and having secured these "to proceed to the attainment of more remote and less important objects"[6]. The

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1. Dundas to the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Naval Forces in India. P. R. O. Admiralty I, 168.
2. Rainier to Philip Stephens. July 20, 1795, P. R. O. Admiralty I, 168 ; Hobart to Rainier, September 29, 1795, Ibid.
3. Bengal Military and Political Consultations, June 1795.
4. Ibid July 1795.
5. Bengal Secret Consultations, November 2. 1795.
6. Ibid, November 27, 1795 (Board's Minute) ; Ibid, October 16, 1795, Abercrombie to Hobart).

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despatch of the several expeditions in conformity with the instructions were instrumental in developing the well-known Shore-Hobart controversy which resulted in such violent, acrimonious exchanges of passionate defiance on the part of Hobart and the resentment of Shore for the action of the subordinate presidency in flouting the authority of the supreme government. Evidently the governor-general felt that the initiative should come from the supreme government and that preparations for the equipment and the despatch of the expeditions should be jointly undertaken in consultation with the respective heads of the military and naval departments. But to Lord Hobart the importance of Trincomalee, Malacca, and the Moluccas appeared so obviously affecting the interests of Madras in particular, that, in literal observance of the terms of the orders from home, his restless activity was not willing to tolerate any delay in the despatch of the forces. He precipitated the arrangements and even sent the expeditions on his own authority and responsibility without reference to the opinions and desires of the supreme government. This neglect was resented by Shore. It is indeed difficult to absolve Hobart from the unnecessary risk he had taken in denuding the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of the services of the naval forces under Rainier at a very critical moment in the history of the Company.

Nearly all territories once belonging to the Dutch Company, except Java, were lost to the British. Malacca was acquired by the British in August 1795. The Dutch connection with Salengore came to an end with the fall of Malacca. The Sultan of Johore was restored "in possession of the countrys as formerly gloriously enjoyed by His Highness' ancestors[1]." Traces of Dutch influence were wiped out from Perak and Rhio[2]. Colombo was captured from the Dutch in 1796. Amboina and Banda surrendered at the first summons. The fortress of Kupang, on Timor, was occupied towards the close of 1797. Of all the fortresses of the Dutch in the archipelago, only Ternate, the seat of the sovereignty of the Moluccas, offered obstinate resistance and held out till June 1801.

Nevertheless, with the Spanish Philippines and the Dutch Java to the east, the French Mauritius to the south, and a French army in Egypt to the west, the position of the English in India, where they were involved in difficult wars with Tipu Sultan of Mysore, was rather precarious. On August 19, 1796, the Treaty of San Ildefonso, an offensive and defensive alliance, was signed between the French Republic and Spain. Two months later, in

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1. Bengal Secret Consultations, October 9, 1795 ("Letter addressed to the Sultan Machmoit Racha Chia, Sultan of Johore and Pahang, from Abraham Couperas, Captain Henry Newcome, and Major Brown, August 23, 1795).

2. Bengal Secret Consultations, October 9, 1795 (Brown to Abercrombie, August 30, 1795).

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October 1796, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, Spain declared war against England. On November 9, 1796, the Board of Control communicated to the Secret Committee of the Directors to proceed against the Spanish colonies in the East Indies[1]. The Secret Committee, without delay, sent orders to the supreme government in India "for an expedition against the Philippine Islands which, however, was not to be undertaken if it should either materially interfere with the preservation and defence of the conquests made from the Dutch or be found inconsistent with the safety and tranquillty of the British possessions in India[2]." The orders of the Court reached Bengal on March, 23, 1797, and immediate measures were taken, in concert with Admiral Rainier and the government of Fort St. George, for carrying them into effect . In the mean time, the Spanish fleet was destroyed by Sir John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent on February 14, 1797. Pitt was encouraged to strike at Spain through her colonies. He felt no hesitation in supporting the project of the Board of Control to attack the Philippine Islands.

It was decided to employ the full strength of Admiral Rainier's squadron for the Manilla service, to be assisted by 5 armed Indiamen, a fire ship, and 12 flat-bottomed boats from Bengal. The military force was to consist of 5019 Europeans troops and 4022 sepoys[4]. The 33rd Regiment, under the command of the young Colonel Wesley, was detailed for service in this force. The regiment and part of the marine corps were to be sent from Bengal and the rest from Madras. Bengal also undertook to furnish Madras with almost the whole of the tonnage for the transport of troops and stores from thence.

The armed Indiamen and transports from Bengal sailed on the morning of August 9, 1797, from "Kedjeree", under convoy of H.M.S. Heroine for Prince of Wales Island which was decided upon as the place of rendezvous for the expeditionary force.[5] Colonel Wesley would have preferred Tanjoran, on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula, to Penang as a more advantageous place of rendezvous.[6] He proposed that the fleet should remain and be refreshed at Tanjoran till the 1st of October, when, with the change of the monsoon, the shipping protected by the land will be able to ride before the wind to Manilla Bay in safety by

1. Home Misc. 77.
2. Ibid ; Beng. Sec. Letters, April 5, 1797.
3. Home Misc. 77.
4. In 1798, Lord Mornington and his family altered the form of their name from "Wesley" to what was considered the original form "Wellesley."
5. Home Misc. 77.
6. Memorandum on the Expedition against the Spanish Islands. Supplementary Despatches, Vol. I, p. 4, note ; The Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, Vol. I, App. IV. p. 511.

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the time the south-west monsoon breaks up.[1] On the other hand, from Penang, "the fleets will have a long and an intricate and uncertain navigation between their port of refreshment and their destination ; it cannot be expected that the troops will be as healthy, and the time of the arrival at Manilla cannot be so exactly fixed, as it would be if the rendezvous is at Tanjoran."[2] The command of the land forces was at first entrusted to General Braithwaite. But he relinquished the charge of the expedition on his appointment as Deputy-Governor of the Spice Islands and Sir James Craig was placed in command in his place.[3] A further reinforcement of not less than 5,000 recruits was promised from England.[4] An order from Major General St. Leger stating that "in case of coming to action, the troops will be under the command of the captains of the ship", was resented by Colonel Wesley.[5] Wesley had repeatedly expressed to Shore his determination to afford every assistance to, and work under the directions of, the captains of the Indiamen in the event of an engagement with the French frigates cruising the Eastern Seas. He also submitted to Shore an extract of his instructions on this subject to the Officers commanding the troops on board the ships. Shore thought such instructions "fully sufficient." Wesley, in fact, embarked with his regiment on the belief that "there would be no such order from superior authority."[6] He did not hesitate to point out to Shore not only the difficulties that may develop from such indiscreet orders but also the legal objections to such measures. The captains of the ships, he remarked, "have no legal method of enforcing obedience from the soldiers ; and therefore if it does not suit the pleasure of the men, they will not obey them".[7] To Lord Mornington, too, he subsequently observed that "a good, highspirited army can be kept in order by no other means than by the abilities and firmness of the Commander-in-chief".[8] Sir John Shore regretted the incident, confessed that the order had been "inadvertently issued" and added a hope that "the orders despatched.....in revocation of that part of the instructions.....will reach the ships before their departure".[9]

The Memorandum on the Expedition against the Spanish Islands by Colonel Wesley is the first documentary evidence illustrative of his close observation of detail and grasp of the

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. Home Misc. 77.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Wesley to Shore, Aug. 6, 1797, Life and Correspondence of Teignmouth, I, 427.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.* p. 428.
8. Suppl. Despatches, I, 7.
9. Shore to Wesley, Aug. 8, 1797, Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, I, 430,

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principles of strategy. The paper, it has been remarked, "reads more like the despatch of an officer long versed in Indian affairs and topography, than of one who had been scarcely three months in the East"[1]. Indeed, Wesley had collected a surprisingly thorough mass of information on the state of he Dutch forces on Java. Particulars are given of the strength of the garrison, position of guns and redoubts in the neighbourhood, of the climate and the most suitable season for operations. Wesley urged strongly that as soon as the force for the expedition to Mahilla could be got ready, it should be sent immediately to attack Batavia and the Dutch settlements upon the island of Java; "at all events, destroy the first entirely; and either make an establishment at the latter, or otherwise, as the Government may think fit[2]." The Dutch strength was about 2000 men in the whole island dispersed at Batavia, Sheribon and Samarang, so that "a force of 600 men could not be collected in any one place under ten days, which would be more than sufficient for the operation against Batavia[3]." Batavia itself was in a state of weak defence and was "simply surrounded by a slight brick wall[4]." Sheribon and Samarang, where the Dutch kept their stores and merchandise, were not fortified. The Dutch will, in no case, be able to withstand an attack "which would be made upon them by surprise[5]." Wesley dismissed the apprehension of danger from "the six French frigates which are said to be cruising in the China Seas[6]." The maritime strength of the Expedition was "more than equal to them."

While preparations were progressing, news reached Fort St. George of the supersession of Sir John Shore and the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as governor-general. Under an impression that the principal object of the appointment was probably to put an end "to that agitating spirit in the Bengal army which had excited serious apprehension at home, and that to suppress this spirit it would be desirable to retain as many king's troops as possible in India",[7] Lord Hobart expressed to Sir John Shore, on June 14, 1797, "as his decided opinion that his Majesty's 33rd Regiment should not be allowed to leave Bengal till after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis"[8]. He, however, did not consider it proper to relax the preparations but recommended that in the event of a final decision to relinquish the expedition against the Philippine Islands, the naval armament should be emplyed in destroying the Spanish ships of war at Manilla "in the propriety

1. Maxwell, The Life of Wellington, I, 21.
2. Supp. Despatches, I, 4, note; The Life and Correspondenee of Lord Teignmouth, I, App. I. App. IV, 509.
3. Ibid, p. 510.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p. 511.
7. Home Misc. 77.
8. *Ibid.*

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of which proposal Admiral Rainier fully acquiesced"[1]. The supreme government after taking a comprehensive view of the political state of affairs in respect of the temper of the Bengal army and the native powers decided that "nothing appearing to warrant the protractions of the expedition so far as respected Bengal", the expedition ought to proceed. At the same time, Lord Hobart was informed that in the event of "any recent intelligence of preparations by Tipu Sultan, of reinforcements to Manilla, or of the dispatch of an armament by the French or Dutch"[2], he had not only the request but the sanction of the supreme government to countermand the expedition. On August 4, 1797, the Bengal government transmitted to Fort St. George a minute of Shore, founded on intelligence received from Captain Mc. Leod, respecting a movement of part of Tipu's army towards the frontier. This information "had so much weight with the supreme government that it was with much hesitation that they permitted their part of the armament to sail for Penang"[3]. Shore's minute observed that "if they were assured of the truth of the rumoured preparations of Tipoo, they would have stopped the expedition".[4] In the present circumstances, Shore left it entirely to the discretion of Lord Hobart either to despatch the army or to relinquish the enterprise "according to the degree of credit they should give to the military preparations of Tipoo".[5] Lord Hobart thought that this was a responsibility which was "unduly assigned" by the supreme government to the government of Madras[6]. On August 18, 1797, Lord Hobart removed "the groundless apprehensions" of the governor-general by his determination that the expedition should sail[7]. Of the ships from Bengal for conveying troops and stores only two arrived in Madras on August 25, and in so shattered a condition as a result of an encounter with inclement weather in the Bay of Bengal that "it required considerable exertion to get them ready to proceed with the first division of the armament" which sailed from Madras Roads for Penang no August 27, 1797[8]. On August 28, the day fixed for the departure of the second division, intelligence was received of the preliminaries of the Peace of Leoben signed between France and Austria on April 18, 1797. The Expedition to Manilla was, in consequence, countermanded by Lord Hobart and the plan of destroying Spanish warships was abandoned[9]. Sir John Shore, although officially

1. *Ibid.*
2. Beng. Sec. Letters, August 28, 1797
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Home Misc. 77.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Beng. Sec. Letters, September 12, 1797.

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informed of Lord Hobart's determination, was "not yet in possession of his Lordship's reasons"[1]. The attitude of Tipu Sultan had suddenly become very threatening and evidently Lord Hobart was "more immediately capable of forming an opinion of Tippoo's designs"[2].

On November 24, 1797, it was reported that "the 33rd Regiment and part of the marine corps have returned from P. W. I."[3] Lord Cornwallis who for a long time had been "kept in the utmost anxiety for fear the expedition to Manilla should take place" was "happily relieved" from his apprehension[4]. He wrote to Colonel Wesley[5]:

"I am sure your brother will heartily concur with me in these sentiments, although I am not sure that they will be well received by one of the intended captors (Rear-Admiral Peter Rainier)".

The expedition had cost the Indian government a sum of not less than thirty-five lacs of rupees.

By the close of the year 1797, Great Britain had recovered her balance and, in spite of the great naval mutiny at the Nore (April 1797), her supremacy at sea was retrieved at Camperdown (October 11, 1797). The naval policy of the Directory had resulted in the destruction of the Spanish and Dutch naval powers.

DADABHAI NAOROJI'S PAPERS ON THE MYSORE RENDITION OF 1881.

BY

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Dadabhai Naoroji's papers generally on Mysore which are printed are not many, but the few that are available are highly suggestive. We see in them how the Grand Old Man of India lent his personal support to Mysore in her critical hour and what he thought of Mysore thereafter.

He was fond of Mysore for two reasons; One, because the dynasty was fit for its task, and the other, because the government was entirely in 'native' hands. In fact he wanted British India to be converted into 'States administered by natives

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1. Shore to Inglis September 13, 1797, Life and Correspondence, I, 437.
2. Life etc. I, 430.
3. Beng. Pol. Cons. Nov. 24, 1797.
4. Cornwallis Correspondence, II, 331.
5. *Ibid.*

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generally' on the model of Mysore and was in constant touch with the dewan of Mysore.

In this paper only his work for the Rendition of 1881 will be considered. It may be incidentally stated that except a stray reference in a not-easily-accessible book there is no mention of Dadabhai's service to Mysore—not even his name—in any publication on Mysore including the new and pompous edition of Mysore Gazetteer.

The paper on *Mysore* reproduced in part below is important not only as a proof of the writer's diligence in the presentation of the case but also for the high level at which it was done before aninfluential body of Englishmen. The point to remember is that the paper was not a plea for rendition before that question was finally decided by Parliament but a satire on the character of a few Englishmen pretending to be the representatives of the whole English nation and talking tall things about the rendition after the despatch of the Secretary of State was sent to the Viceroy of India.

In a paper read to months earlier before the same association Dadabhai had referred to the rendition but not cared to know *how* it was viewed by the British Cabinet so long as the decision was favourable to Mysore. But he noticed subsequently that his silence was apt to be mistaken and the sneer was too great and dangerous to be ignored.

There can be no doubt that the Grand Old Man did succeed in his self-imposed task. When one year later his critic returned to the attack Dadabhai defended himself so well that it can be said that the opposition to the Rendition was smashed once for all. Moreover no historian of India has so far mentioned the case of Mysore for reversion to the dynasty without appreciating the justice of the claim or remarking on the high character of British statesmen in fulfilling their solemn pledges.

Mysore

" Now, revert to the question, whether Lord Wellesley had a bad intention in drawing his pen through certain words, or whether he meant to do something consistent with a faithful performance of his obligations under " the partition treaty." The only explanation I can at present see of Lord Wellesley's proceedings, is this. There is no doubt in my mind that Lord Wellesley did not mean to act in bad faith; that in allowing the words perpetual, and about the sun and moon, to remain, he did mean what he said ; but that his object in striking out the word "heir," &c., was to keep such full control over the native principality as to enable the English Government to oust any particular oppressive sovereign, and put some other in his place, or, in cases of disputed succession, that the English may be able

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to decide in favour of one or the other without being encountered by the difficulties which the word "heir" might occasion; that the word "unnecessary" in the margin means that as far as permanency of native rule was concerned, the words "perpetual" and "as long as the sun and moon shall endure," are sufficient; and that the word "dangerous" means the strong title which an "heir" may maintain, and thereby lessen the complete English control; and that according to practice a new treaty may be made with every successor, with such modifications as time and circumstances may require. I venture to offer this explanation for your consideration, leaving alone the question whether any departure from "the partition treaty" was justifiable. I cannot, however, persuade myself that a statesman like Lord Wellesley would be guilty of such a mean act as the present discovery of Lord William Hay is made to imply. I do not stand here as the advocate of either the Raja or the English. I wish only for justice and truth, be it on the one side or the other.

Much has been said about Lord Canning not having sent the adoption *sunud* to the Raja. Was Lord Canning justified in doing so? Did he do so as a punishment for the Raja's past offences? This is not the case, as the Raja was declared deserving of reward for his thorough loyalty. Two reasons are urged; first, it was because Lord Canning knew that the Raja intended to leave his territories to the English. By admitting this position, Lord Canning admitted the power of the Raja to bequeath; but it was subsequently urged that the treaty itself did not entitle him to any such adoption. Now, I ask, do English words mean one thing in one treaty and another thing in another treaty? If not, I request explanation for the following anomaly.

The treaty of 1805, with the Raja of Travancore, is, *word for word*, in *all* its important portions bearing upon the present issue, the same with the treaty of Mysore. I give these portions in the Appendix.

Now I trust it is a fair question to ask, why the very same words which in the Travancore treaty entitled the Travancore Raja to the adoption sunud, did not mean the same thing with the Mysore Raja. The parallel, however, does not end here. The Raja of Travancore, like the Raja of Mysore, also incurred the displeasure of the British Government, and the latter were going to assume the internal administration of the country. But the Raja died. Nobody, however, then thought of interpreting the treaty of 1805 as a personal one, and the heir was allowed to succeed. The difference, then, in the cases of the Raja of Mysore and that of Travancore, seems to be that the latter, by his death, made the treaty of 1805 an hereditary one, and the former, by living longer, has rendered, in some mysterious way, a similar treaty a personal one. It is pressed that Sir Stafford Northcote ought not to have reversed the policy and gone against the opinion of three governor-generals and two secretaries of state. Sir

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Stafford can well be left to hold his own. He needs no defence at my poor hands. But I ask, is it because the others were right that Sir Stafford should not have reversed their acts, or is it meant that even they were wrong, Sir Stafford should have abided by their decision? I know full well what English prestige means in India. In fact, it is the settled opinion of the natives for the English high character, that is your principal charm and spell over them. When once that is broken, half your strength is gone. But it is not by special pleadings, or persisting in a wrong course, that the prestige will be increased. Howsoever vehemently or authoritatively may assertions be made of honest decisions, the natves can think for themselves, and can know where there is real honesty and where there is sham. If Sir Stafford has subverted the decision of fifty governor-generals and as many secretaries, if he has but done what is right, he will have increased your prestige far more than any amount of persistence in a wrong course. I trust the objectors on the ground of authority do not mean to contribute a wasp of an idea to Mr. Buxton's collection, that "the perpetration of a wrong is a justification for persisting in it." If the objectors mean that the former decision was right and Sir Stafford is wrong on merits, then let them discuss on merits only, instead of holding up the bugbear of high and many authorities.

Again, it must be remembered, that we look for authorities when the subject is exclusively a study for few students; when the materials for ordinary judgment are not sufficiently accessible, and when therefore decisions for action can only be based on authority, the number and positions of authorities are matters of importance; but as in the present case, when the meterials are at the command of all who choose to see them, when Sir Stafford Northcote is exactly in the same position as any other individual, to judge for himself, how could mere priority of time give to the others an infallibility? On the contrary, Sir Stafford ought to be, if he make a right use of his opportunities, under a proper sense of responsibility, in a better position to decide rightly, having the views and arguments of his predecessors before him.

There is again the argument of the good of the people of Mysore. I hope I am not dead to a desire for the welfare of any people, and more especially of my own countrymen. The picture of an Englishman holding off the savage ruler from his victim is no doubt a very pretty and gratifying one, but unfortunately there is a little want of truth in it, and a little daub in it. First of all, the Rajah repeatedly offered to allow such arrangements for the welfare of the people as would be satisfactory to the British, and so there is no savage king tearing up his victim. But then, is not in that case the Rajah a mere puppet? How strangely does this exclamation come from persons who pride in their sovereign being not a despot, but subject to law and order, and guided by wise and able ministers. What constitutional sovereign is not a puppet, if

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it govern under fixed and well-regulated administration to be a puppet? Besides, it is a strange reflection upon the British Government that with their control and influence they do not bring up the native princes in the way they should go. Besides there being some untruth in the picture, there is this daub. In the corner of the picture the natives of Shorapore and the assigned districts restored to the Nizam stand surprised at this turn of philanthropy. Now is it possible for the native to increase his esteem and believe in your sincerity with such inconsistent conduct before them, notwithstanding the most vehement assertions of your desire for the good of the Mysoreans?

To destroy the native rule in Mysore it is pressed that as Englishmen have settled there, it ought to be taken into English possession. This I suppose is an invention of the nineteenth century. What a fine prospect this opens up of conquering the whole world without much trouble. Some Englishmen have only to go and settle in a country, and then the English Government has simply to say, "You see English people cannot be managed by you, therefore you should give up the country to us;" and there is a conquest! But, unfortunately for the inventor, those stupid fellows the French and other continentals, the Americans and such others, won't see it.

Then again, is this an encouragement to the other native Rajahs to allow Englishmen to settle in their country, and derive the benefits of the contact of English enterprise and knowledge? If they take such a step the result is loss of rule, on the plea that Englishmen cannot be managed by natives. If they do not, then they are blamed for being apathetic, and indifferent to the best interests of their dominions and people.

The important question constantly arises, who is to judge when the British Government and a native prince are at issue? How can the decision of the stronger party in its own favour be free from the suspicion of being interested? Cannot, when such important questions of the rights of Government arise, an important judicial commission of some of the best judges of this country be appointed to try the matter? I should think that, considering the confidence the natives in India have in the integrity, uprightness, and independence of English high judges, the natives would feel satisfied to have such issues tried by such impartial tribunals: otherwise the native, like anybody else, naturally thinks when the decision is against him, that injustice is done to him; and it is only when the justice of the decision is so clear as to be *entirely* above suspicion, that the British Government does not run the risk of being considered as having taken advantage of their might against right."

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PENAL CODE OF THE PESHWAS

BY

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Bombay

Law was not codified under Native Rulers but was administered according to custom. The English when they took over the Maratha State after the fall of the Peshwa therefore faced a difficult situation. English law could not apply to community whose concepts of morality, religion, property were different from that of the English Society. To understand the Maratha practice in the matter, the new Rulers sent round a questionnaire and asked the Shastris and officials who were administering justice under the old Native Government to reply to them. Their find ings are put together in the accompanying paper and tell how justice was administered under the Peshwas. It will be noted that most of the offences could then be compounded for fines; that imprisonment for long terms was rarely resorted to as in present times: and that punishment varied according to a man's rank in society. Offences against property and gang robberies were punished with loss of life or loss of limb. The moral standards of the age varied from our present one; there is one respect however in which the old system excelled the present one; lega procedure was swift and simple and the machinery cost the Government little. The Regulations passed by Elphinstone as Deccan Commissioner were based on this questionnaire.

Crime and punishment enjoined by the Shastras and Customs

Murder or attempt to kill a Royal person.

Muzaffar Jang attacked Bhausahib with a dagger. He was sentenced to be trampled over by any Elephant and the sentence immediately carried out.

(2) Narayan Rao Peshwa was killed by the Gardis Sumer Singh and Kharak Singh and Tulaji Powar and others. They were seized and beaten for some days. After torturing them, their hands were tied in cloth soaked with oil which was then set on fire. They were then taken round the city, some of them were trampled by elephants and some beheaded, their families were sent to different forts to remain prisoners, and their property and houses were confiscated.

Speaking ill of a Royal Person.

Dinkar Mahadeo Fadnis, an old secretary, once in the presence of the Peshwa Madhav Rao Ballal, made a derogatory remark that his old eyes were beholding new frolics. He was instantly silenced with a slap.

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Exciting sedition or revolt, waging war against the King. or assisting the enemy.

Vishnu Narhar and Wasudeo Bhat Karve plotted to seize Nana Fadnis. Their plot was discovered, They were sent to the Forts in irons. They died in prison. The Audu Khan raised a revolt in the Karnatak, attacked and plundered the Peshwa's Sar-Subhedar. He was defeated and put to the sword. His residence and other property were entirely destroyed. Heavy fines were imposed on persons who were found to have assisted the rebls.

Assisting or in any way supporting the above mentioned offenderes in the execution of their crimes.

Persons who were found to have assisted murder, forfeited their property, and were sent to distant jails or forts ; support of treasonable intrigues was punished with fine.

(1) *Violating the decisions of the Civil courts or of the Shastris.*

Fine was levied on persons who defied the decrees of Civil Courts or the findings of Shastris in religious matters.

(2) *Fraudulent dealings and defaulcations of money belonging to Government or to one's master ; accepting bride in the execution of public Duty.*

A person found to have defaulted in the execution of public duty for a monetary consideration was fined ; The moneys he may have misappropriated were recovered from him and he was dismissed from service. An able servant of Government whose services would prove indispensable was again entertained in service on payment of fine.

(3) *Selling justice for money.*

Fraud in the administration of justice was punished with dismissal from service.

(4) *Forgery of Sanads or such other Government documents. Cheques or other private documents.*

Bapu Lele was found to have signed a bill of exchange in the hand-writing of Nana Phadnis. He was fined and dismissed. Orders had been issued for presenting cloth to certain persons in the Secretariat from the Jamadar Khan. Anand Rao Umaji Dhodapkar scratched out the original names and put in others. A fine of Rs. 25/- was levied on him. One clerk, Ganeshpant Gharpure to bring his enemy in trouble prepared false papers in his hand-writing. He was sent to a Fort.

(5) *Manufacturing Counterfeit coins.*

Two Goldsmiths Bulchand and his son Balkisan, residents of Aurangabad, manufactured counterfeit Rupees and Mohars, Balkisan absconded, the other culprit was however apprehended with his younger son Ramkisan. Bulchand died in jail, Ramkisan suffered imprisonment for a long period, but he was not

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concerned in the crime and was released on payment of a fine of Rs. 110/-

Yeso Shet Sonar was commissioned (agreed) to prepare a ring for one Naro Krishna Gore. While setting the diamond in the ring the Goldsmith exchanged the real stone for false one and sold away the original diamond. The Goldsmith was arrested, the diamond recovered from him, he was fined Rs. 222 and asked to provide security for good conduct.

(3) Bapu Naik of Aurangabad had faces of Mohars and Hons prepared from a Goldsmith. He was arrested, fined and released after providing security for good behaviour.

(6) *Circulating false coin.*

A Goldsmith Vishwanath and his two accomplices were circulating counterfeit coins. Their crime was detected, the offenders were fined.

(7) *Escape from the Prison.*

Prisoners who escaped from prison if arrested again were kept under close watch, and the guards dismissed after being punished.

(8) *Being a party to the above offences indirectly.*

Assistance given in the commission of the above noted offences if detected, was punished with a fine.

(9) *Gambling.*

Gambling was licensed—Unlicensed gambling was fined.

Offences against the Life.

(10) *Murder by Weapon or poison.*

(*i*) In the year 1781, Jiwaji Ram Wakde murdered Dondappa Wani Bamhaneli. He was fined Rs. 10,000.

(*ii*) Mansingh Khalate in command of a Government Paga seduced the wife of Kunabi, murdered her husband and buried his dead body in his house. He was dismissed from his command, thrown into jail and the woman was disfigured by cutting her nose.

(*iii*) Balaji Vishnu Prabhune was for a long time kept in jail for murdering the Karkun of Vishnu Narhar. His health having declined considerably in confinement, he was released on payment of a fine of Rs. 4000. Accomplices are either jailed or fined according to the degree of assistance rendered to the offenders.

(*iv*) A Woman of the Lonar Caste Gangi killed her husband by poison. She was fined.

(*v*) Gangi of Pardeshi caste poisoned her husband. He brought her to Poona to stay with him from Nevasa where she had an affair. She was kept in a jail of a fort and her property confiscated.

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(*vi*) Trimbak Bhat Mehendale poisoned Gopal Bhat Gadgil. His house was confiscated and he was driven beyond the Krishna.

Murdering with the intention of Theft.

Babu Ingavle was a servant of one Pralhad Brahmin. This Pralhad had a rich aunt. When her brother was visiting her one day, this Pralhad attacked her in the aunt's house and killed her brother with the help of the aforementioned servant and some others. Pralhad was sent to a fort to suffer his sentence. Bapu was also kept in confinement. His health gave way and with the consent of Ram Shastri he was released on the payment of a fine of Rs. 50.

Instigating a murder.

If on inquiry of a murder the crime was found to have been instigated, the persons involved were fined.

Procuring a mis-carriage.

A woman, Ramabai of the tailor caste had illicit intercourse with Sayad Habib Jamadar. She procured miscarriage and confessed it in the inquiry. She was fined and released. Ramabai was fined Rs. 50 and the Jamadar Rs. 7.

One Sultanji of Pardeshi caste secured abortion. She was fined Rs. 10. The Mang woman from whom the medicine was purchased was fined Rs. 5.

The widowed aunt of Bhikaji Vishwanath became pregnant and delivered a child. The child was murdered for which she was fined Rs. 7500.

Another Brahmin widow was found pregnant and her son-in-law who was charged with the offence denied the charge. The woman delivered a child while in jail. Her house was confiscated and the woman sent to a fort.

Aiding or abetting abortion.

Aiding or abetting abortion was punished with fine according to means and social status.

Assaulting without causing grievous wounds.

Assault with grievous wounds was punished with fine. This was regarded as sufficient redress for the injured party.

Assaulting with the intention to kill, death not resulting from the attack.

One slave girl of Janki Kasbira disappeared with some articles belonging to her mistress. Janoji Doke of the same village accidently saw her and stoned her. She revived and carried her complaint to the authorities. The offender was sentenced and fined.

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Assault ending in death without the intention of killing.

One Yamuna severely beat her servant, when he died, Yamuna was fined.

Killing a child for its ornaments.

For enticing a child for its ornaments the offender was kept in confinement, and his hand or leg was cut off.

Attempt to commit Suicide.

No punishment awarded.

Slandering a person.

The slanderer was fined ; and the injured man was consoled.

(1) *Giving false evidence on oath.*

Giving false evidence rendered the offender liable to imprisonment and fine.

(2) *Theft.*

The thief was fined besides being required to restore the stolen goods.

(3) *Theft committed by a member of the family or by a servant.*

The offender was driven out of the house and no action taken by the authorities if a family member. In case the offender was a servant he was let off with a light fine provided the stolen property was restored.

(4) *Gang Rabbery.*

The Principal Dacoity was sentenced to have his leg or arm amputated, on others heavy fine was levied.

(5) *House-breakiny.*

Fine and Stolen goods to be restored.

(6) *Stealing cattle and horses.*

Fine.

(7) *Arson.*

The loss of goods destroyed to be made good. If the residence was burnt the offenders was imprisoned.

(8) *Damaging Property.*

The offender was required to make good the loss and pay fine.

(9) *Taking spirituous liquor and disturbing public peace.*

Sadashiv Narayan Agashe drank wine with his slave girl and in intoxicated condition disturbed public peace. He was fined Rs. 376.

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Khanderao Pawar prepared liquor in his house was fined Rs. 138.

Chintopant Brahmin took wine in the house of a woman of ill fame fined Rs. 100.

(10) *Adultery.*

Fine

MATRIMONIAL PROBLEMS IN 18TH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA

BY

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The following is the result of a perusal and study of some 40 original papers of which 15 are published in the Peshwa Dafter Vol. 43 and the remaining are in the Mss. form kept with me in the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona. They throw light on marriage and morals of 18th century Maharashtra. From them we are able to understand the social outlook of the dynamic society of those days. Eighteenth century Maharashtra had to face the risks of a military life and solve problems arising out of it. Amongst the 40 papers bearing in the subject, there is one of the year 1769 dealing with an interesting case of divorce, *Sandkhat* as it was called. A Teli having gone to Panipat could not be traced for a number of years. His wife, finding it difficult for her to lead a chaste life, got herself married to another man with the consent of her father who took Rs. 30 from his second son-in-law. But after a period of three years the Teli came back and learned about the matter. Thereupon he called the *gota-panchayat* and granted a divorce decree to her saying "such a woman is a polluted pot and is not acceptable to me". In another paper of the year 1760 there is a similar case. Sidnak Mahar of Nagawe in Konkan having gone to Nagpur for service, his wife was seduced by Sonnak Mahar and had children of him. Sidnak having learned of this, submitted his complaint to the Peshwa who ordered the Havaldar of Pratapgad, the officer of the area, to call the *gota-panchayat* and let them settle the dispute between Sidnak and Sonnak. The Havaldar accordingly arranged for the Panchayat in which Sid submitted to the *fait accompli* and granted a divorce to his wife. The Havaldar communicated the same resolution to the Peshwa recommending him to confirm it. A *Pat* (पाट) or a second marriage could not take place without the State being informed of it and sometimes fees were charged for same. In a paper of the year 1795 we find such a permission granted by the Mokadam of Loni for which Rs. 5 were charged. Sometimes the bridegroom had to give a written undertaking that

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he would maintain the children of his wife's earlier marriage. Sexual relations were looked upon as a normal physical necessity, but not certainly a private affair between a man and a woman. The *got* (गोत) and the State were vitally concerned in every marriage relation, the *got* for maintaining purity of caste relations and the State for upholding the decision of the *got* and for preventing legal difficulties arising out of it. For instance, we find, in a paper of the year 1784, the Peshwa calling forth by an express order, a person who got his sister married by pat ; for it was discovered that she had not performed the kriya (क्रिया funeral rites) of her first husband before her brother had given her in marriage for the second time. Scrupulous performance of such rites had the indirect social advantage of giving due publicity to the act, thus giving a timely information to the interested parties. Such publicity evidently prevented the *pat* from deteriorating into veiled but legalised prostitution and thus proving itself a danger to social organisation. In another letter of the year 1745, it is reported that Dhondev Deshpande of Saswad brought about a divorce between the two parties twelve years after the marriage, as it was discovered that the two did not belong to the same caste. The rigidity of the endogamous group or caste, could at times be overcome through the influence of a stronger religious sentiment. In 1940 the Nhavis of Saswad admitted an illegitimate son of a Nhavi into their caste as he would then perform the funeral ceremony for the dead, without which the dead would not get salvation in heaven. The watan of the deceased, however, was not given to that illegitimate successor, legalised for religious purposes. A *Farkat* or a separation deed was very often voluntarily passed and sanctioned by the *got* if the two contracting parties could not or would not pull on peacefully. In 1772 the two wives of a *Parit* (washerman) pointed out that the *Parit* was to them like a father and he had no capacity to maintain them. The *Parit* was also on his part none too enthusiastic for keeping them with him. He, therefore, relinquished his claim by passing a *bedava patra* (बेदावा पत्र) in their favour. A similar separation deed was passed by Udegiri Gosavi in favour of his two mistresses as he became conscious of his advancing age. One of the two women was given by him in marriage to some one else. This was a dharma lagna (धर्मलग्न) performed by him.

These selections are enough to indicate the trend of the times. The marriage relations amongst the so-called lower castes took the line of least resistance and were best fitted to meet the social and human necessities of the day. The veil of hypocrisy did not cover a sinful life necessitated by the rigidity of social regulations. I shall now turn to the instances of marriage offences and punishment inflicted for the violation of social morality.

Malhar Dinkar Chakankar of Changdev practised adultery with a Gujarathi Brahmin woman and plotted the murder or her husband (1780). A number of people who assisted in the plot were

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fined Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 500 each. Punishment inflicted on Malhar Dinkar is not mentioned in the paper as it deals with accounts and only incidentally mentions the incident. In a paper of the year 1772 depositions of a Kunbi woman and a Musalman were taken in which they described the conditions in which the act was committed. There is one interesting paper in which we find that one Janu Jagtap cohabited with a Maharin when she had come to work on his field and was therefore put into a trap. It was later argued that he was innocent of any such act and had been wrongly punished. The writer significantly added that the Inami village, would unnecessarily fall under a stigma for a groundless charge. The whole letter clearly shows a hush-hush policy followed to save the village from such odium. A mistress, proving faithless to her master used to be severely beaten and ill-treated and she could expect little protection from the authorities. On the other hand, the authorities would take up such a case with the object of finding out the names of those who might have misbehaved with her. Whatever one may think of such inhuman persecution, nobody would find fault with the State for having pursued the inquiry to find out the culprits.

To conclude, a study of these documents establishes four facts (i) Scrupulous care is taken to understand what the Scriptures have to say and Pundits are often consulted in the matter. It is they who have a final voice in that matter. Can nearer relatives be married to each other? Can Kunbi (Peasant) and Koshti (Weaver) intermarry? Questions such as these are often referred to the Pandits for getting authoritative guidance.

Secondly, great care is taken to observe the rules laid down by scriptures and any failure or violation is quickly set right by the members of the community objecting to an unauthorised procedure. Thirdly, complaints bearing on matrimonial problems are entertained by the authorities. Local panchayats and the Jat Panchayats are generally called upon to decide the case, but in more important cases the state would step in to uphold the right procedure and to punish the wrong-doer. Fourthly, and this is very important, the wheels of social relations were never clogged by occasional procedural difficulties. A living society has to face very real difficulties even when its members are abiding by scriptures, because there can be no scriptural authority for all time to come. Under such circumstances the state showed the blodness of giving empirical judgments and getting over the difficulty. Some Prayaschitta Vidhi (religious atonement for sin) used to be performed or even wrong procedure legalised and thus the problem used to be solved.

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METCALFE AND JAIPUR

BY

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National Archives of India, New Delhi.

"Two successive minorities which followed the death of Jagat Singh in 1818 gave rise to opportunities for strife over the succession, and for much mis-government."[1] Here we are concerned with the affairs of the state of Jaipur during the minority of Sawai Jai Singh III, posthumous son of Maharaja Jagat Singh. It was during his minority that circumstances led to the deputation (in 1820) for the first time of a British Officer to reside at the Capital of the State, which was administered by a Council of Regency headed by the Regent Maharani Bhattianiji Sahiba,[2] popularly known as Maji.

There are a large number of nobles and Thakurs belonging to the twelve "Kotris" founded by a former ruler in Jaipur State. During Jai Singh's minority many of the principal nobles and feudatories were extremely dissatisfied with the chaotic and unsettled condition of the State. They demanded removal of the Regent and her favourite ministers. British functionaries under a mistaken notion of the existence of a law or custom in Jaipur State, by which the chiefs were at liberty to meet and elect a Regency after the minor Raja had obtained a certain age, had encouraged and supported the chiefs, many of whom were avowedly bent on her removal, in assembling to deliberate, contrary to the wish and in opposition to the prohibition of the Regent, the Rani. The majority of the chiefs having unexpectedly decided in favour of her continuance in power, there was every reason to apprehend that the minority, including several of the principal chiefs, might suffer from the vengeance of the Regent and her favourites, by whom she was influenced, and to whom from their known disposition, they were obnoxious, and it became incumbent on the British Government to shield them from that vengeance, as they had sanctioned the proceedings which had roused it. It fell to the lot of Metcalfe, the then Resident of Delhi and Paramount Power's representative to become the arbiter of these quarrels. According to Thompson[3] "he had fallen heir to a sea of troubles", and he hurried to Jaipur, had personal conferences with the Regent and the Thakurs and by mutual consent reached a working agreement between the two contending parties by which he extended the British Government's guarantee of protection

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1. *Gazetteer of Jaipur* by Major C. A. Baylay, p. 137.
2. Foreign Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. I, No. 283, p. 343.
3. *The Making of the Indian Princes* by Ed. Thompson, p. 178.

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against oppression to these nobles much against his political creed of non-intervention. His position was clear. The necessity of guaranteeing the feudatories, as he had later confessed, "arose out of our previous interference in the affairs of Jaipur[4]" and is "part of the embarrassment to which such interference is sure to lead[5]." This arrangement was not to last long. The Jaipur administration continued to perpetuate internal feuds and defaulted in the payment of the British tribute already much in arrears. It was here that the British Government were most concerned and they declared that under a clause of the Treaty with the Jaipur Raja they were entitled both by right and duty to bring about an improvement in the management of the affairs of the principality. A variety of administrative reforms were suggested which militated against the pecuniary interests of the Regent and as such met with great opposition. The Chief Minister was urged by the British Government to introduce some reforms which he did at the cost of his Premiership. This again gave rise to serious internal and internecine quarrels which continued to agitate the state for a long time. To cap all this, the Regent's decision to wrest the fortress of Ranthambhor from the joint guardianship of the Chiefs of the State and to garrison it with the state forces alone, added fuel to the fire. The Chiefs rose in armed revolt against the Regent and were determined to vindicate their hereditary privileges and rights. At this time the Regent found herself in a precarious situation and was alleged to be secretly engaging the good-will of the Ruler of Alwar[6] against the insurgent feudatories. This secret engagement could not escape the vigilant eye of the British Government and had to be abandoned. The Regent then asked for British support in order to suppress the rebellion of the chiefs. Local British functionaries were inclined in her favour. The matter was referred to Metcalfe, who had been in the meantime elevated to the position of Vice-President of the Council of the Governor General and Deputy Governor of Fort William. He was Resident at Delhi when the original treaty was concluded with Jaipur, and also when the guarantee referred to was given. As such utmost respect was due to his opinions and views on the subject which are contained in the following minute[7] ably recommending non-intervention in the internal concerns of the State.

"I am desirous of offering my sentiments on the immediate cause of the existing disturbances in the state of Jypoor, the character of which appears to me to be misunderstood by some of our local functionaries, who seem to consider the attempt of the

4. For. Dept. Misc. 1830-32, Vol. No. 238, p. 103.
5. *Ibid.*
6. For. Dept. Misc. 1831-32 (Delhi and Allwur) Vol. No. 279, pp. 1-3, 7, 126-27, 130-31, 246, 274-79.
7. For. Dept. Misc. 1830-32, Vol. No. 238, pp. 123-30.

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Regent Ranee and her Minister, to wrest the Fortress of Runtumbhour from the Guardianship of the Chiefs of the state to whom it has hitherto been constitutionally entrusted, as an ordinary exercise of legitimate authority, which they have no right to oppose.

"The Fortress of Runtumbhour may be regarded as the National Fortress of the state of Jypoor. It is a place of great celebrity, respecting the possession of which, the Jypoor Nation are proud and peculiarly jealous. The Jypoor state is not a mere Despotism. It is a confederacy consisting of a Prince and an Aristocracy composed for the most part of Chiefs of the same descent with the Prince. The state has been maintained by the Power of this confederacy, not by the unaided power of the Prince alone, and the Chiefs of the confederacy have their rights as well as the Prince. One of those rights or customary privileges, with respect to a certain number of them, is the joint defence of the Fortress of Runtumbhour in common with their Prince, he and each Chief, to whom the charge belongs, furnishing a portion of the Garrison,

"An attempt to dissolve this long established arrangement, and to reduce the Fortress to the condition of a fortification garrisoned exclusively by Government troops, would probably have been resisted at any time, under the most powerful and most popular Prince of Jypoor, but happening at a time, when the Prince is a Minor, the Regent a Foreign Princess, and the Minister, not belonging to the Jypoor Aristocracy, this violation of the constitutional charter seems peculiarly bold and indecent, and I am not surprized that it is opposed by those whose privileges are thus invaded.

"I do not know that we are called on to interfere in this internal struggle. If the Regency can effect its purpose, I am not aware that we can be required to prevent it. But if we were, by any circumstances, compelled to interfere our influence ought I conceive to be exercised rather to maintain the long established privilege of the Chiefs in this particular than to support the antinational and unconstitutional attempt of the Government, an attempt that never most probably would have been conceived, had it not been for the unnatural preponderance, which the connection with us gives to Native Governments over those, on whom otherwise they would necessarily lean for support, and who would then exercise a wholesome check on maladministration.

"I cannot concur with those local Functionaries, who lament in exaggerated terms, the dissentions in the Jypoor state proceeding from the cause adverted to, as if they were proofs of the mischief of abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of Foreign states. They are to my mind proofs of the evils of interference, the antecedent cause of that state of things, which has led to these consequences: and if, as the result of our non-interference on the present occasion, the Chiefs recover that

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influence in the management of the state, which is their due, and which they have lost owing to our previous interference, I shall hail it as decidedly beneficial. Internal disturbances in native states may some time happen when we do not interfere, but if discontent be a natural cause for disturbances they are more likely to happen when we do interfere, and altho' we may quell them and keep them down by the strong arm of our power, we at the same time crush the internal independence of every state, and revolutionize every country, with which we meddle, leaving nothing but wretched Government and oppressed subjects, and heaping on our own heads the responsibility of misrule, until the evils that we create become too bad to be borne, and then we go frather and farther in the career of interference without end.

"Reverting to the affairs of Jypoor, in order to avoid misconstruction I take this opportunity to state, that in my opinion those Chiefs, who have taken up arms against the Government in open insurrection in the Fields and have not limited their resistance to the maintenance of their posts in Runtumbhour, have necessarily forfeited our guarantee, if they were before entitled to it, for although I think them justified as Chiefs of the Jypoor state, in taking up arms against the Government which has attempted to deprive them of a long established right or privilege, they nevertheless appear to me in placing themselves in a state of offensive warfare against their Government voluntarily to throw off the guarantee, which was only intended to secure them from peculiar individual oppression in a state of submission and cannot reasonably be extended to save them from the consequences of their open hostility. They have appealed to arms, and must abide by the issue.

"In speaking of that guarantee, the Resident at Dehlee I perceive remarks, that the practical difficulties attending its execution, have greatly exceeded what were anticipated, and have also been enhanced by the erroneous view of the scope of the guarantee occasionally taken by the local agents. In the latter part of these sentiments I am disposed to concur, believing that the views of the local agents may have had that tendency ; but I am not aware what great practical difficulties have attended this particular Guarantee, beyond what were likely to attend such an act of interference in the affairs of a Foreign state, rendered unavoidable, by other acts of interference, which had preceded it."

Metcalfe had immense influence with the Government which came from the ruthlessly direct and unsentimental style of his writings. The Gavernor-General[8] was "disposed to concur very generally" in his opinions, respecting the Qiladari of Ranthambhor. The British Government declared their resolution to the Rani that

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8. For. Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. No. 283, pp. 71-72.

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they did not propose to interfere in the internal affairs of the Jaipur State. This decisive and far-sighted policy knocked the bottom out of the civil commotion. Both the parties had to fall back on their own resources.[9] Accordingly the Regent of Jaipur gave up "all idea of capturing Ranthambhore" and "ordered her forces to their respective cantonments" and an accommodation was reached between the Regent and the insurgent Chiefs. Consequently tranquillity was restored in the state of Jaipur and the Thakurs were re-admitted to the Court "on terms[10] of reciprocal confidence without any necessity having arisen for the itervention of the British Government."

STEPS LEADINGS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

BY

SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M. A., M. R. A. S., *Indore.*

Possession of the greater part of India, the force behind it and the power to preserve the possessions, were the main causes of the establishment, accomplishment and enforcement of the British paramountcy in India. The territories which did not become possessions of the British in the beginning of the 19th Century, were under the jurisdiction of the independent Indian States. Although the Maratha Empire was still the factor to be reckoned with, all the rest of the powers were suffering from internal weakness. A shining example of it was the titular Emperor of Delhi, who was held up by the British as de-jure Emperor of the whole of India.

The papers in the Imperial Record Department, now National archives, at New Delhi, throw a flood of light on the situation. The steps delineated therein and the history they expose, are especially useful, when the British Paramountcy, which had no treaty basis is passing away. A. D. 1798 Transactions (Secret.)

On November 17th Nana Fadnis concurred with the Governor General in the necessity of the aid from the East India Company for the settlement of the Maratha Empire.

Is this not the beginning of the acknowledgment of the British Paramountcy by the then thitherto paramount power?

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9. For. Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. I, No. 283, pp. 85 and 521.

10. For. Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. I, No. 283, p. 653.

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On November 24th, report is made of the mutual confidence between Peshwa and Scindhia. It is also reported by the Resident at Poona that Anandrao, the Vakil of the Nizam, at Poona, made some extraordinary proposals to the Resident.

Probably they referred to the swallowing up of the Peshwa's dominions by these two powers. By this time the British felt themselves to be the paramount power, obviously.

In December communications were issued to all the Native powers informing them of the victory gained by Nelson over Napoleon.

This was apparently done to impress the States with the might of the British power.

Balaram Seth, who was the Minister of Maharaja Khande Rao Holkar requested the Governor General to grant his party exemption from Gaya Duty, levied on pilgrims. This was also granted.

1799 (*Political*)

Maharaja Kashirao Holkar of Indore, had in 1799 a desire to visit Gaya. So on 4th January of that year, he wrote to the Governor General about it. In those days, in States where there were no Agents of the East India Company, their Rulers sent direct communications to the Governor General and in some cases the practice continued long afterwards, even when the Agents were appointed. The request of the Maharaja was granted as a matter of course.

A house belonging to Maharaja Holkar at Allahabad was being pulled down. Maharaja Kashirao Holkar, in his letter dated the 19th March 1799, requested the Governor-General that this may be prevented. Col Kyd was asked to report. The Governor-General in his letter dated the 3rd May, replied to the above communications.

Following extracts are from Political Transactions 1801. There are three letters by the Private Secretary to the Governor-General, dated January 27, June 12th and July 27th, ordering the treasury to grant a lac of rupees, on account of the Darbar Charges.

To what use these three lacs were put can be easily immagined.

1800 (*Secret*)

On 16th December a letter was received by the Peshawa from His Majesty the King of England. The procedure for receiving it with due honour, such as a firing of a salute, was discussed and the next day it was received with due honour.

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1801 (Secret)

On may 4th, there is mention of a report of the evidence of two persons relating to the conspiracy of the Northern chieftains, against the British power.

On June 5th, there is a Communication that the weakness of Maratha powers and their jealousy will prevent any combination for the purpose of offensive operations against the British.

On January 10th the Governor General wrote to the Resident at Poona that the Peshwa will repent his having rejected the treaty of alliance with the British and the Nizam. How true this fore-sight proved ?

1802 (Misc.)

In September, letters were issued to Maharaja Kashirao Holkar, Nizam, Nepal, Peshwa, the king (of Delhi) and Scindhia informing them of the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace between England and France.

This was obviously done to undermine the infiuence of France and magnify the influence of England.

1803 (Secret)

On October 2nd, Scindia wrote to the Governor-General asking that Col. Collins may be permitted to wait upon him and remain with his camp, on the banks of the Narbada.

This was obviously done out of fear of Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar and besides it appears to be the tacit acknowledgment of the Paramountcy of the British Power.

On July 27th the Resident at Hyderabad transmitted to the Governor-General three papers received from Mr. Colebrook respecting the Maharathas as forming a conspiracy against the English.

These agents at various courts, thus safe-guarded the interest of the British.

1803 (Secret)

Native powers. On the 18th September 1802, the Governor-General wrote to Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar desiring him that he will cease aggression against the Gaikwad and re-call his Pendharis. In the reply received on the 11th February, 1803, the Maharaja promised compliance.

Both these examples show that the British Paramountcy was almost established by this time and was being so recognised by the then only independent Maratha Power.

On May 9th Peshwa Bajirao wrote to the Resident that his entry into Poona on the 16th instant may be proclaimed at all British Stations with the firing of the guns.

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1804 (*Political*)

On 18th April, the Governor-General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief announcing his intention to open war against Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar. On May 9th, the Governor-General desired the Commander-in-Chief to strike off the name of the Raja of Jodhpur from the list of independent Chieftains.

1806 (*Political*)

Proclaimation of the 20th August, 1804 to cease on 1st Sept. 1806. It related to the officers of foreign service calling upon them to leave and remain on pension or allowances from the British Government.

By this time the Paramountcy became de-facto, as the influence of Foreign European States was completly removed from India.

1807 (*Political*)

The following is an example of how the British kept up the dignity of their protegees. Amritrao had been Peshwa for a short time and was residing in exile in British territory at Chitrakut and later at Benares, as a Pensioner of the British. On October 23rd he wrote to the Governor General that he wished to visit Muttra and requested that a Salute of 21 Guns in his honour be fired there. On the 30th instant the Governor General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief to fire the guns.

On December, 1806, the Resident at Delhi wrote to the Governor General that with the aid of Scindia and Holkar the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaipur were about to commence hostility. The Governor General directed him to advice the Rajas of alwar and Bharatpur to remain neutral.

1808 (*Political*)

The Governor General wrote a minute on October 10th regarding the expediency of the appointment of a British Agent to represent the British at the Darbar of Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar and permanently reside there—a wish that was fulfilled only after 8 years.

Native Powers. Resident at Poona enclosed letters from Holkar and Scindia asking him to use his influence with the Peshwas to continue the land held by Gopalrao Bhau.

This shows that the Maratha Empire was dissolved and its place was taken up by the British Paramountcy, in the natural course.

Conclusion.

While so much is made of the disappearance of the British Paramountcy and its consequences to India, the way in which

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it was established, as shown in the examples given above, and its progressive establishment, if taken into consideration, will solve many of the difficulties of Statesmen and Politicians these days. It appears that the States Department of the Indian Dominion is following on the same lines and principles has a greater grip and so will accomplish union and that too much earlier than it took the British Government to establish its paramountcy.

THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS

BY

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The Company's servants in India were paid small salaries.[1] But they made large fortunes through private trade, and the flourishing condition of the Company's settlement in Calcutta enabled them to indulge in luxuries and extravagances, to which the Court of Directors were severely opposed. In 1725, they condemned the extravagance of the President Mr. Deane for having charged the company eleven hundred rupees for a pair of horses for his carriage, ordered that the sum should be recovered 'out of his effects,' and expressed strong disapproval of 'such superfluities', among their servants.[2] But in a letter, dated the 3rd December, 1731[3], they commented on 'the extravagant way of living' of the servants and recommended the newly appointed President, Mr. John Stackharse, "that he shews a good example of frugality ....." for himself and further "recommended the same to all those that shall be in lower stations, in order to check this luxury".

This seems to have produced some effect. The Court of Directors observed in another letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 31st January, 1734: "We are highly pleased that the extravagant way of living which had obtained such deep rooting among you is laid aside. Whenever such a practice prevailes in any of our servants, we shall always suspect that we are the paymasters in

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1. In 1712 their salaries were as follows :—
   President and Governor, Rs. 1,000 per annum.
   Senior Merchants, Rs, 320 per annum.
   Junior Merchants, Rs, 240 ,,
   Doctors, Rs. 120 per annum.
2. Auber, Rise of the British in India, Vol. I, pp. 28-29.
3. Ibid. p. 33.

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some shape or other, and it seldom fails of bringing them to penury and want; we must, therefore, both for your sakes and our own, earnestly recommend frugality as a cardinal virtue, and by a due regard to the said advice, we do not doubt but the diet and other allowances from us will be amply sufficient to defray all necessary expenses, as Bengal *is not only the cheapest part of India to live in, but perhaps the most plentiful country in the whole world.*"[4] With a view to enforcing a "system of economy in all branches of their establishment", the Court of Directors prescribed in February, 1737, a new form of oath for their servants, according to which they were to abstain from all pecuniary transactions with the Indians during the term of their offices.

Widows of the covenanted servants of the Company were granted pensions for their maintenance.[5]

The Court of Directors had come to know through some source, that "spirit of gaming (? gambling)" prevailed among their servants in Bengal and complained against it. At this the Council in Calcutta expressed the view in February, 1750, that had they "ever deserved the least appearance of this vice" they would have "suppressed it in its infancy" and assured the Court that they would henceforth punctually obey their orders in this respect.[6]

The Court of Directors suspected the prevalence also of other kinds of abuses among their servants in Bengal. Thus in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 24th January, 1753, they accused them of being "underhand concerned in the contracts for the Investments". The Council in Calcutta, however, tried to persuade them to believe that the charge was based on a false report of "malicious nature"[7] and assured them that they would do their utmost to check "extravagant and expensive" ways of living among the servants, whose high expenses, they noted, were due to dearness of all kinks of provisions and not to "uncommon extravagances" on their part. They also observed that they would regard it as an act of the "greatest favour" on the part of the Court if the latter took into consideration the small amount of allowance received by them and did whatever appeared to them to be just in that matter[8].

To put a stop to what the Court of Directors considered as "the pernicious custom of employing Black people" in their writing business, they sent a number of writers for the Bengal establishment early in 1754 and wrote to the Council in Calcutta that if any more of writers were required they would send them

4. Ibid, p. 34.
5. Letter to Court, 20th 28th August, para 142.
6. Letter to Court, 25th February, 1750, para 8.
7. Letter to Court. 3rd September, 1753, para 61.
8. Ibid, para 70.

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duly[9]. At the same time they communicated to the Council a very strong note of warning against "prevailing licentiousness" among their servants in Bengal, and also forwarded to them some positive commands for the regulation of their morals and conduct[10].

According to the orders of the Court, the servants of the Company in Calcutta and at the subordinate factories, who wanted to resign their respective posts, were to inform the Council in Calcutta in their intention in this respect twelve months before[11].

Suspecting that it was a common practice at all the subordinate factories to present wrong accounts, and to conceal the real amount of allowances granted to the chiefs and other important officers, the Council in Calcutta directed each factory in 1754 to specify "in the plainest manner and under their real heads in their accounts all disbursements, allowances, and charges whatever" for their inspection and approval[12]. They agreed to pay the Sub-Accountant and the Accountant-Generals Rs. 250 sicca Rupees each per mensem and thought of paying the Registrar of the Mayor's court at the same rate on his representing that the new regulations for making deposits in the Company's treasury had increased his work[13]. According to the orders of Court, they also took steps for "scrutinizing and regulating the Buxey's office"[14].

With a view to keeping all the junior servants in the Presidency of Bengal strictly employed, the Council instructed the Heads of their several offices to insist on the attendance of their assistants to their respective duties from 9 to 12 in the forenoon and also, when necessary, in the afternoon as well as evening[15]. When the Council asked the writers of the Company in Bengal to conform to the orders of the Court of Directors (as contained in the latter's letter, dated the 23rd January, 1754) regarding the reduction of their expenses, particularly by stopping the use of Chaise(?), Horses or palanquins during their writership, the writers represented to them for permission to use palanquins during the months of the summer and rainy seasons, when walking on foot was thought by them to be very much prejudicial to health. Their request was complied with[16].

At the end of January, 1755, the Court of Directors emphasised on the need of the "utmost attention" to the conduct of their servants at the subordinate factories whom they suspected to be

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9. Letter to Court, 23rd January, 1754, paras 75-76.
10. Ibid, para 80.
11. Ibid, para 73.
12. Letter to Court, 7th December, 1754, para 142.
13. *Ibid*, Para 154.
14. *Ibid*, para 158.
15. *Ibid*, para 143.
16. *Ibid*, para 144,

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"unfaithfully" interested in Investments at the cost of the Company[17]. For due control over these servants, the Court ordered the immediate formation of a Supervising Committee, consisting of the President, Mr. Charles Manningham, Mr. Richard Becher and Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell. This Committee was to exercise general supervising authority over the subordinate settlements in the matter of collecting investments therefrom and particularly with regard to the conduct of their servants employed in those places[18]. Taking into consideration the necessity of entrusting men of experience with the management of the Company's affairs at the subordinate factories, the Court then made it a standing rule that there should be in their set of servants at Cassimbazar two members of the Council and at least one senior merchant besides junior servants, at Dacca one member of the Council, a senior merchant and a junior servant, and at Judgea or where the Judgea settlement was shifted one of the 'best qualified' servants next below the rank of a member of the Council[19].

The Court of Directors expressed at the same time their sentiments to show encouragement by due rewards to such of their servants as proved themselves worthy of it by virtue of their "Abilities, Integrity and zealous Endeavours to serve the Company"[20]. Thus Mr. Charles Manningham, who discharged his duty as Export Warehouse-keeper greatly to the satisfaction of the Court of Directors, was granted by them a personal allowance of four thousand current rupees a year "in lieu of all fees, rewards or perquisites whatsoever as Export Warehouse-Keeper", besides his salary as a member of the Council. Mr. Holwell too was, in recognition of his efficient services to the Company, given a promotion in his rank as a member of the Council[21].

In paragraph 64 of their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 24th January, 1753, the Court of Directors suggested the occasional rotation of the junior servants, from one factory to another. The Council, however, observed in their letter to the Court of the Directors, dated 3rd September, 1753, that this practice would cause some serious inconveniences and decided to wait for further orders of Court in this matter. The arguments of the Council were considered to be unsatisfactory by the Court who ordered them in 1755 to put into execution their previous directions relating to this affair[22]. To enable all the servants to "acquire a knowledge of Investment"[23] the Court ordered that every junior

17. Court's Letter, 31st January, 1755, para 56.
18. *Ibid*, paras 57-71.
19. *Ibid*, para 62.
20. *Ibid*, para 95.
21. *Ibid*, paras 93-94.
22. *Ibid*, para 97.
23. *Ibid*, para 96.

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servant of the Company should be employed in the *Cottah* for some time.

Every year in the month of June, when the Court of Directors reviewed the general state of the Company's affairs, they wanted before them the papers relating to accounts and other important transactions of the Company in India. In 1755 they complained against the faulty, irregular and unmethodical ways of keeping accounts and writing of the papers, in spite of some of the directors sent them the years before. They attributed these to the "general negligence" of both their senior and junior servants and ordered the formation of a Committee of Accounts and some other Committees "to examine and state facts and give their opinion on all Affairs that require consideration and attention". The Court, however, felt that for due enforcement of all their rules and directions, and for effective management of their affairs, it was necessary to invest the President with sufficient powers as the General Inspector and Supravisor (supervisor) of the whole machine" and so asked the Council to properly attend to whatever the President proposed to do for controlling the servants of all ranks and for management of the Company's affairs. The directors, communicated by the Court, were to apply to all the subordinate settlements according to varying circumstances[24].

On suspicion that luxurious style of living still prevailed among their servants of all ranks in Bengal, the Court of Directors asked tho Council in Calcutta to take proper steps to check and prevent it[25]. Large sums of money remitted to England by the Commanders of the Ships through Bill of Exchange on the Company led the Court to suspect that these were the 'produce of illicit trade' and so the Council in Calcutta were asked by them to take an oath from each Commander to the effect that his money was earned through legitimate means.[26].

In compliance with one of the abovementioned orders of the Court, the Council in Calcutta directed all their servants above the rank of writers to "attend the *Cottah* every *Cottah* Day in order to acquire a knowledge of the Investment"[27], constituted several committees[28] and transmitted to the respective factories relevant portions of orders[29]. They also granted the Head Assistant at the Cutchery the same salary as the Deputies of other offices, that is, 500 Sicca rupees per annum[30].

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24. *Ibid*, paras 101-110.
25. *Ibid*, para 100.
26. *Ibid*, para 111.
27. Letter to Court, 11th September, 1755, para 33.
28. *Ibid*, para 36.
29. *Ibid*, para 37.
30. *Ibid*. para 29.

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SECTION VI

Local History

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

BRAZ A. FERNANDES

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Bombay Historical Society is to be highly congratulated for having invited the Indian History Congress in Bombay and shoulder the responsibility of successfully organising the work of all the Sections, with co-operation of the Bombay University. It is indeed a pleasure to us to see eminent historians and scholars interested in the different periods of history should have assembled from all parts of India in our city which gave birth to History Congress in India, for, it was in Bombay that the first History Congress was held in 1931.

I am grateful to the organisers of the Tenth Session of the Congress not only for the distinction they have conferred on me by asking me to preside over the Local Section, but also for the opportunity they have afforded me of coming into personal contact with eminent historians like yourselves.

While the other Sections of the Session are restricted to certain period of Indian history, this section being purely regional, confined to Bombay and the surrounding district, is not restricted to any definite period, but we are left free to cover any period and any phase from pre-historic times to the present day.

Bombay city itself cannot boast of a long and ancient history. It finds no place in the brilliant tales of rich, populous and powerful cities of ancient and mediaeval times. Bombay's importance dates only from yesterday. Long before the Christian era, when the first settlers set their foot on the island,—the Heptanesia, as old Ptolemy called the islands in A. D. 150—was an archipelago of mere rocky islets, subject to a series of upheavals and depressions. Round about this Heptanesia, great cities flourished,—Sopārā, Thānā, Kalyāṇ and Chaul. Within the boundaries of the Province are to be found some of the most ancient ruins and monuments going back to the time of Âśoka and beyond. In Salsette alone, a little island of 240 square miles, there are no less than five groups of Cave temples, and numerous monuments in stone. A study of these

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tangible monuments, the heritage of North Konkaṇ, has thrown much new light on a past which, in spite of its many political vicissitudes, had many phases of brilliant activity.

From time to time individual lovers of research have given their serious attention to the study of the history, literature, arts and science of this Province. Erskin, Henry Salt, Charles Forbes, James Forbes: these are names which have become so well-known among scholars of Western India. Later on, our own countrymen rose to the occasion: Bhagvanlal Indraji, Bhau Daji, Gerson da Cunha, and scores of others devoted their time and talents in the cause of historical research, and have left behind them the bases on which we can now follow. Coming to recent time, I must mention Dr. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University. His contributions on the Rāshtrakuṭas and on the Śilhāhāras are of great merit.

In this Section we must include Maratha history which is of very special interest to the Bombay Province and specially for our local history, in the collection of which much valuable work has already been done; but we may say at the same time, much archival and critical work yet remain to be done. Various scholars have been engaged ever since the days of Ranade and Telang in making each his own particular collection and classification. Sir George Forrest collected certain documents and the government published them. Since then, the publication work was neglected till Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur Sardesai brought out the valuable material in Marathi and English from the Alienation Office and Residency Records. The Bombay Record Office remains practically untouched. Large amount of Portuguese records exist in the Bombay Record Office. The time has now approached for doing organised and systematic work on them. The Portuguese records are of very great value for certain period of Bombay history.

The Portuguese archives of Goa contain a very valuable mass of material connected with our Province, which require to be dealt with similarly. Unfortunately, the present attitude of the Portuguese Government, does not give us much hope. The archivists of the Portuguese archives seem to think that the archives are meant for their own use or misuse.

Though our knowledge of the country is mostly confined to kings and courts and battles, we hardly know

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anything about ordinary men and women; their standard and mode of living, their festivities and their institutions. We must avoid the tendency to make our history a mere chronicle of heroes; and although many of us are concerned with character and achievements of great men, we must interest ourselves through all the ages in the lives and development of our people—their arts and philosophy, their science and culture. This we deem not less important than the more spectacular lives of our heroes, our leaders or our appressors. Much work lies ahead. An important part of it could hardly be done without the active sympathy of government. The Bombay Historical Society and the Indian History Congress, let us hope, will supply that want and be the means of providing a common platform for doing efficient work, of inestimable value to the coming generation.

Coming now to our immediate subject, it is believed that Âśoka held complete sway over the North Konkaṇ which at that time, was known as Aparanta. According to the Buddhist writings, although partly legendary, Sopārā was the capital and the great centre of commerce about 540 B. C. A fragment of a boulder containing few lines of the eighth edict of Âśoka was discovered close to one of the old landing places at Sopārā in 1882. We cannot however come to the conclusion that the edict was erected at Sopārā. A historian is like a judge sitting in a law court; he must have evidence for every statement made; the parent stone of the fragment has not been found. Can it not be possible that the fragment may have been brought to Sopārā from elsewhere by one of the trading boats as balast and thrown on the landing place? However, from the existence of the Buddhist Stupa and other important ancient remains, we have no doubt that Sopārā was a great Buddhist centre and a port of commerce.

We learn from the Bible that Hebrews and Phoenicians in King Solomon's time, a thousand years before Christ, traded to a place called Ophir, whence Indian products were imported into Palestine by the way of the Red Sea. Now where was this Ophir? Various places in India, Africa and Malacca have been identified with Ophir by various scholars. More recent scholars have shown that Solomon's Ophir was no other than Sopārā. The name Sopārā was probably changed into Ophir by the Phoenicians, and in the Septuagint version of the Bible the Aryo-Greek language restores the *s* and we find Ophir is written Sophirā.

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The legendary lore of the country is full of extravagance, but the allusion to it in the Hindu and Greek literature, puts it beyond doubt that it was a great place in ancient times. The Purāṇas relate how Paraśurāma after reclaiming and colonising the Konkaṇ with Brāhmins, established certain *tirthas* in Bassein, one of which was Nirmala. The Vaitaraṇā in the neighbourhood is one of the holy rivers in India. We may conclude from this fact that Sopārā was a Brāhmanic centre before the rise of Buddhism; for wherever we come across a sacred spot we are justified in assuming that it was one of the oldest Âryan settlement. Âryan invaders coming from a Gujarāt port seem to have founded a colony near the Vaitaraṇā before the Âryan occupation of the Deccan.

Under Âśoka the coast was enriched by the opening of a direct sea trade with Egypt. It was a golden age of Buddhism, and Aparanta was one of its flourishing centres, though side by side with Buddhism, and at peace with it, Brāhmanism remained a strong power. The wealth of architectural productions and the attraction this district had for the Buddhist monk and the Brāhmanic ascetic, can only be explained by assuming a high degree of commercial prosperity in the country.

The relics of the past speak of the convulsion of two thousand years during which dynasty followed dynasty, civilisation supplanted civilisation, towns and prosperous villages arose and crumbled into dust. Yet with all these changes and revolutions there is one feature that gives unity to the history of Aparanta. At all times it owed its prominent position in Western India to its trade; the same cause that has raised Bombay to the rank of one of the finest and wealthiest cities in Asia. From time immemorial there have flourished on this coast some great centres of commerce which attracted the conqueror and the peaceful merchant. Trade has supplied the means to construct the temples and palaces, and to cut the Buddhist and Brāhmanic monasteries out of the solid rock.

With all the activities of the great trading centres round about, Bombay remained a cluster of rocks; the sea gradually doing its alloted task; throwing the sand and mud over the bare rocks until by natural process, the seven rocky islets became seven islands of fertile land on which the first settlers could build their crude huts and grow vegetation.

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It was in these wretched islands, always exposed to inclemencies of the waves, that the earliest inhabitants of Bombay—the Koli—now playing such an insignificant part in its great life, came to settle. The Kolis cast their nets into the water; they tilled the virgin soil; they worshipped the ancient gods and trees and stones; they appeased the spirit of the sea, before the superior Āryan civilisation had made its appearance to leave a mark on the rugged islands.

Written records of Aparanta begin to fall after Ptolomy; but it can be inferred from the prosperity of the country which it reflected in the Buddhist establishments of Salsette. The cave city of Kanheri, the cradle of Aparanta civilisation, is growing after 200 A. D. The monks acquire wealth and live in great pomp. The Yavana craftsmen settle at the foot of the Kanheri Hill and found their settlement of Magathān. A new monastery is cut out of the rock at Condivti. The silence of foreign writers after Ptolomy is only broken by the single voice of the Byzantine monk, Cosmas Indikopleustes, who wrote in 535 or shortly after. The trade between India and the two western empires, the Byzantine and Persian, was still in a flourishing condition.

We now pass from the Koli settlement in the island of Bombay through the inarticulate gloom of several centuries of the rule of the Āndhrabṛityas, Kshātraps, Traikutakas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, to the advent of the Śilāhāras. Every period of Konkaṇ history is important and interesting from the point of view of an historian; but the Śilāhāra period has a special interest as they introduced into our sparsely populated island a social and religious element hitherto altogether unknown. They fostered colonisation and welcomed immigrants. They brought the country into a living contact with the brisk and bright life of the various Konkaṇ cities. They set up a regular form of administration and a taxation and erected various monuments and shrines.

The Śilāhāra princes were a race of builders, and patrons of literature. There are monuments of their architecture in well-dressed stones and richly carved sculpture scattered over the North Konkaṇ. A great number of inscriptions in stone and copper recording grants and privileges and dating from the 10th century and onward, have been discovered in the neighbourhood. We can derive from them the history of the Śilāhāra dynasty for about 500 years

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(800-1260). It was a period of comparative prosperity. Foreign commerce was considerable though not assuming the proportion of a thousand years previous. Even before the rise of the Śilāhāras Brāhmanism had gained the upper hand. Though Buddhism clung to Kanheri till the last monk was driven out by the Portuguese, the great architectural works after the 8th century, works of considerable merit, are of Brāhmanic origin; the Jogeśvāri caves, the Elephanta caves and the Āmbarnath temple being the noblest monuments of this period. It is plausible supposition that the Kolis of Bombay met the many strangers during the rule of the Śilāhāras, and that the large trade connections which those chiefs maintained between their ports of the North Konkaṇ and the outside world introduced into the islands from time to time a considerable floating population of traders and merchants, both Hindus and Mohammedans, Arab and Persian, and even Jews and Chinese.

The Śilāhāra capital of the North Konkaṇ is said to have been a town called Purī. Historians and archaeologists have given vast amount of attention to the identification of this Purī, and some of them have come to the conclusion that this remarkable city was on the north-eastern portion of the island of Ghārāpurī, or, what is now known as the Elephanta Island. Some scholars have tried to identify Pūri with Rājāpūri in Jangirā State; also Rājāpūri in the Ratnāgirī State; Mangalpūri, once the capital of Chāḷukya Mangalarāja, has also been mentioned as likely identification. No conclusive identification has yet been established.

According to the Aihole inscription, Pūri was also the capital of the Mauryas in the North Konkaṇ. Did the Mauryas reign in the North Konkaṇ about the year 643 A. D.? If they did, were they the descendants of the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra? Has the Aihole inscription been read correctly? These are questions awaiting solution. Personally we think the word *Maurya* in the inscription has been misread. Should it not be Moreys, a branch of the Paramāra dynasty which ruled Chitore during the eighth century? The Moreys seem to have ruled the North Konkaṇ for some time before they came in collision with the Chāḷukyas. A stone inscription of this period found at Vāḍā in Bassein district, and now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, shows that a Morey king of the name of Suketuvārma was ruling in the Konkaṇ. I commend this fact to the attention of scholars. Re-reading

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of the Aihole inscription may, perhaps, put some light on the question and help us to identify Puri.

We now come to the next stage of the history of Bombay. On the decline of the Śilāhāras, a new dynasty arose to rule over Bombay. The name of the first prince of this dynasty is given as Bhimadeva or Bhīma Rāja. But before Bhimadeva, Yādavas of Devagiri and the Anahilvada kings of Gujarat had held the North Konkan for brief periods. Bhimadeva is said to have settled at Mahim. With the advent of Bhimadeva and his followers begin the history of the growth and colonisation of Bombay.

The political success of the Mohammedans in the north produced their natural reaction in the south, and the Mughal extended his sway over these unimportant and out-lying islands. The Mohammedan rule was of no importance to Bombay. The establishment of a separate dynasty of Gujarāt Sultāns, at the close of the fourteenth century, revived the interest of the Mohammedans in the North Konkan. But this act of the Island-drama beginning early in the fourteenth century and ending in the middle of the sixteenth, is devoid of any real excitement, and has left no durable monument.

By the treaty entered between Sultān Bahadur Shāh of Gujarāt and the Portuguese Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha, on 23rd December, 1534, Bahadur Shāh "gave and bequethed to the King of Portugal from that day for ever the city of Bassein, its territories, islands, and seas, with its revenue in the same way as he, the Sultān Bahadur Shāh of Gujarāt held them before". Thus the seven islands of Bombay came into the hands of the Portuguese. The history of Bombay under the Portuguese is to a great extent the history of religious and educational expansion under the protection of the King. Although trade and commerce were neglected, cultivation was improved. Social and moral changes in the life and habits of the converts were introduced. The lands were constantly distributed and redistributed and churches built on a liberal scale.

We have hastily travelled through the dim ages to the middle of the seventeenth century, and have witnessed the various acts of our island drama. Out of the infinite background of the ages we have seen a motely crowd of actors, big and small, advancing from various directions to play their destined part in the history of Bombay. Most of them have left their traces behind. The ancient

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Dravidian introduced the hut settlement and the fishing trade; the Āndhrabṛitiyas, the Shākas and the Rāshṭrakuṭas introduced currency, the Silāhāras taught us the art of temple building and complete polity. We have followed briefly the fortunes of the Portuguese. We now come to the final act of our drama.

The opening scene is laid in the palace of Whitehall. It is the 23rd of June, 1661. A group of distinguished diplomats signed a document by which the island of Bombay became the property of Charles II of England. On 27th of September, 1668, Charles II transferred the island to the East India Company at a farm rent of £10 in gold per year. Thus within less than a century and a half the Island of Bombay saw three successive transfers. First, on the 23rd of December 1534, from the Sulṭān of Gujarāt to the Portuguese, then by the cession of the 23rd of June, 1661, from the Portuguese to the British Crown; and lastly from the British Crown to the East India Company on the 23rd of September, 1668. It will be observed that the date 23rd is singularly recurrent in the events connected with Bombay. Two more changes has Bombay witnessed since then. First, the retransfer from the Company to the Crown in 1858, and then its transfer from a Royal into an Imperial city in 1877, when Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India.

The progress of Bombay and its geographical, physical, social and industrial transformation was a slow, and at times, a very painful process. Among the modern cities none perhaps has taken so much time for expansion and growth as the city of Bombay. It was only when the two rival East India Companies had made peace between themselves and had joined hands that Bombay witnessed progress. In 1858 the function of the East India Company ceased and Bombay reverted to the Crown. The seven islands, had by this time, formed one single island. From Humphrey Cooke to Jonathan Duncan, Bombay took about one hundred and fifty years to develop from a mere hamlet into a fair town.

Bombay has now grown into a great cosmopolitan city of five millian inhabitants, representing all nations of the world, and perhaps, all languages and creeds. All castes and tribes of India flock to Bombay, and from traditional beliefs, social instincts and tribal affinities are drawn to certain areas in the city, where their tendency is to

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agglomerate rather than to disperse. Bombay, indeed, draws, as the metropolis, the best talent from provinces and districts around.

Thus rose the edifice of a snug little island on the Konkan Coast, destined to be the Gateway of India, and rule over a great part of a vast Continent. It has passed through various critical phases of growth and development, through years of joy and sorrow, periods of unnatural inflation alternating with those of apparently helpless depression, but in spite of all this, Bombay has grown, slowly at first, but rapidly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. And to-day we find Bombay, varily the *Urbs Prima in Indis.*

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot conclude my address without offering you my sincere and cordial thanks for the indulgence which you have throughout so kindly extended to me.

UNDERGROUND IN BOMBAY

BY

SAMUEL T. SHEPPARD.

Although there have been many important additions to the published history of Bombay in recent years they have been almost wholly derived from old records and forgotten manuscripts, and it is possibly natural that it is to such sources that one must increasingly look for any further disclosures. Various lines of research must be in the minds of students of Bombay history, but there is one that may have been overlooked or discarded, because it offers no great prospect of valuable results.....and that is research by digging. It is true that the opportunity of field work is so limited that some may say it is non-existent; yet he would be a rash man who would affirm that the history, for instance, of Bombay Castle has been fully explored. That is the most obvious example, but there are others.

Almost at the end of a 25 year sojourn in Bombay I paid a farewell visit to the old fort on Sion Hill, in order to carry away the memory of a view which, though surprisingly little known to many of my friends, is always full of interest and, though in a way constant, always seeming to change. As I stood gazing at the view an Indian whom I did not know joined me and we discussed what changes and innovations we could discern.

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Just as I was leaving he casually remarked that there was said to be an underground passage joining Sion fort to the ruins of an out-post on the creek which could still be traced. At the time, I confess, I was sceptical; but, on thinking it over, his statement appeared likely to be true and I regret I had no time to put it to a test.

The history of Sion fort can be partly disentangled from the Gazetteer (Materials. Vol. 2. Chapter 4.) At the time of the 17th century there was an out-post on the hill and in 1702 Government ordered a small fort to be built there. In 1737 it was agreed to accept an offer from one Ramji Parbhu to build a wall along the seaside from a new fortification at Rewa (or Riwah) to the battery at Sion. It was noted that "the raising of such a wall will be great security to the island as opposite thereto is a shallow pass". A few years later Sion fort was found to be badly in need of repair, and, "considering the great consequence of that post", an additional officer was posted to it. Life in that isolated spot must have been hard and dreary, especially when the barracks there became "so damp and unwholesome that the people there fall sick very fast"; and it was agreed in 1740 that "a reasonably commodious lodgment or cazern.....and a place to serve for a hospital" should be built there. Those details are cited only to show the considerable importance that was attached to Sion. Indeed, its position at the northern point of the seven islands was clearly of much tactical value so long as the garrison was adequate and communications with the main force in Bombay fort and with the neighbouring little fort to the west, at Rewa, could be maintained. The wall built between Sion and Rewa must have afforded some cover to the movement of the troops between the two forts, and it is reasonable to suppose that this curtain along the short line of lateral communication was duly strengthened by being covered over. As the smaller fort gradually fell into disuse that "covert way" would be neglected, on the landward side it might be hidden by jungle growth, and, if the roof were strong enough, it would in time become the underground passage about which I was told.

That conclusion is theory not fact, but it is a theory that can be supported by the known facts that such "covert ways", forming part of what in the language of military engineering were called hornworks, were constructed elsewhere in Bombay. There is plentiful reference to such works in the Gazetteer. There was proof of one of them when the foundation of the G. I. P. Railway long distance station were being dug in 1929 or thereabouts, and the excavators came across a covered stone passage, with solid walls and a teak door at the exit, which lead from somewhere near the Bazaar Gate of the fort to the fort on Dongri hill, that hill which was levelled in the middle of the 18th century in order to remove the chief menace to the fort from the landward side. The soil from that hill was used for filling up adjacent

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batty grounds and in the process of levelling the ground outside the fort walls the old hornwork must have been buried, which would have been cheaper and easier than its demolition. It was my misfortune not to hear of that underground passage until long after access to it was impossible, owing to the railway building having begun.

I was more fortunate however, in hearing of another excavation when the foundations for the enlarged Legislative Chamber were dug in 1928. It was on record that when the Sailors' Home was built traces of the Mendham's Point cemetery were found, so it was naturally to be expected that further traces would be found when digging nearby; but I doubt if anyone had anticipated the extent of the human remains then laid bare. I have left a record of that discovery ("Bombay in the days of Queen Annee", p. 25) which need not be repeated. It is impossible to surmise how many English soldiers and sailors are buried there, and to this day I recall with awe the feelings I experienced as I stood among the bones of these countless men who died two or three centuries ago. Burnell did not exaggerate when he wrote that the name of the cemetery was "more terrible to a sick Bombaian than the Inquisition to a heretick; a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives".

One other experience of that kind came my way some years ago when the pavement outside *The Times of India* office was up and a trench was being dug for an electric cable or some such purpose. The workmen uncovered a skeleton of a man not far below the surface. He was possibly some criminal who had been hanged on the gallows that used to stand on Bori Bandar—at any rate a *memento mori* for journalists and others who gazed on him. But odd things are found near newspaper offices. The jawbone of an ass was dug up when some alteration was being made to the offices of *The Times* in London, and that usually austere journal claimed that it knew all the jokes that could be made about that discovery and that they were copyright.

It may be deduced from what has already been written that if any further contribution to the history of Bombay is to be recovered from below the ground, it will be as the result of chance rather than of design. There is no one site to which one can point with certainty and say that there some clue to the distant past should be found by digging, though Bombay Castle with its dungeon is the most likely place to reward inquirers. James Douglas explored that dungeon ("Bombay and Western India" Vol. II. p. 226) but does not seem to have found anything of interest in it. There should at least be some names of captives out on those walls.

The only purposeful exploration that I can recall was when the foundation stones of the Byculla Schools were lifted and that was disappointing.

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Lady West left a record of how the stones (there were two of them) were laid ("Bombay in the days of George IV, p. 176):—

"May 5, 1825. This morning at 7 we went to lay the foundation stones of the two new Central Schools for the boys and girls. Lady Chambers and myself for the girls, the Governor and the Archdeacon for the boys. The children sang the Hymn of Praise, we then laid the stones, depositing an engraved brass plate and some coins".

There, it seemed, was a certainty, and, when the work of demolition got below ground level and the stones were found, hopes of finding the customary coins and documents were high. All that was found, however, was a small cut glass bowl—a delightful little bowl, it is true, an ornament to any lady's dressing table, but empty. Who took the gold mohurs or other coins? It is one of Bombay's unsolved mysteries. A cynical friend told me at the time, and there was a small gathering of interested people at the ceremony of raising those stones, that he believed foundation stones in India were always lifted before the mortar had set and replaced as soon as the trifling loot beneath them had been abstracted. If not, he said, embroidering that fantastic theme, it would be worth while to float a company to explore beneath all those foundation stones laid by Viceroys and Governors in some such quarter as Kathiawar on which no building had been raised. Such flippancy is irrelevant to my theme. It is not the chance of buried gold that one hopes for, unless some Yogi with the gift of divination should give a clue, in Bombay, but fragments of history, traces of old perils and endeavours that have long been forgotten as Bombay developed on its romantic course. It is for such traces that watch should be kept when building is undertaken on the area devastated by the great explosion during the war. There should be no more reports of stone passages being found and covered up again at once; if any are found they should be explored and their original use and place in history determined.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME UNFORTUNATE OFFICIALS OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT

BY

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Bombay is the first city in India not only so far as its municipal administration is concerned but also as regards its layout, its magnificent harbour, its grand and beautiful buildings, its philanthrophy, its public spirit and its commercial activity.

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In black-marketting too, it would give points to any other city in India. The moral tone also of the servants of the Government was not of the highest order in the earlier years of the British Government in this island and though we perceive a gradual improvement as years rolled on, yet many of its high officials, from the Governor downwards, had been dismissed, suspended or removed from office for one reason or another. The object of this Paper is to relate in brief an account of these high dignitaries right from the day when Bombay became a British possession, that is from 1661 upto the end of the 19th century.

We begin our narrative with Humphrey Cooke, the first Governor of Bombay, who ruled the island for two years in 1665 and 1666. During his governorship he had neglected to take the precaution of ascertaining the rights of the king as well as those of the landlord of the island. There was evidence to show that his neglect had been intentional and that he had a large hand in granting fictitious title-deeds for which he had accepted bribes. He was charged with fraud and embezzlement and it was ascertained that he had misapproriated 12,000 Xeraphins, *i.e.*, about Rs. 9,000 for his own use. He had, in short, purloined the revenue, manufactured title-deeds and had accepted illegal gratification upon the passing of sentences and in one case the bribe was stated to have been Rs. 300. He was dismissed from service and he fled to Goa and was proclaimed a rebel and a traitor. Such was the sad fate of the first Governor of Bombay.

Four years later Captain Henry Young, Deputy Governor of Bombay, was tried by Governor Aungier and Council, the charge brought against him being, *inter alia*, those of murder, tyranny in the discharge of his official duties, illegally imprisoning subordinates, throwing contempt upon religion and lastly of having threatened to hang the Governor. The order of the tribunal before whom he was arraigned was that he should be deported to England "but at the same time be treated with as much respect as possible" on account of his high position.

In 1670 Governor Aungier appointed Simon Serron as Legal Adviser to the Hon'ble East India Company, a post analogous to that of the present day Advocate-General. Two years later, he was removed from his office having been found guilty of various "cheates".

In the same year, that is in 1672, Captain John Burges, Member of Council, came into trouble on account of his rudeness and disrespect to the Deputy Governor, and other misconduct tending to the great dishonour and contempt of the Hon'ble Company. He was immediately suspended and committed to prison. He was later reprieved and taken in Government service but he lost his seat in the Governor's Council.

In 1674 Captain John Shaxton was Deputy Governor of Bombay and was also in command of the troops, the Commander-

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in-Chief of Bombay of those days. He was held responsible for the mutiny in Bombay in May, 1674 by some 60 to 80 English soldiers mostly belonging to his company, due to disaffection on account of default of pay. He was tried in Bombay for complicity in this mutiny. Of 15 various charges brought against him, he was convicted of 5 and as for the sentence he was referred to the Hon'ble Company in London and sent to England but he died at the termination of his voyage.

In those days Bombay was governed from Surat, the Chaplain of which city was Rev. Gilbert Calton, appointed in 1671. This Reverend gentleman, although belonging to a religious order, had occasional lapses into insobriety and was spirituously rather than spiritually inclined. Governor Aungier therefore decided that in view of his "scandalous and debauched behaviour", it was unsafe to continue him in his appointment and he was tactfully invited to visit his friends in Bombay and given a passage to England after his three years' Chaplaincy.

In June 1671 an ex-Governor was sentenced to imprisonment. He was Captain Henry Gary who had been Governor of Bombay from May, 1667 to December, 1668, when Bombay was transferred from the Crown to the Company. In 1670 when Khwaja Alauddin, the Moghal Emperor's Ambassador, came to Bombay, Gary backed his spurious claims to property and was accused of "caballing" with him and was described as "his onely intimate Councellour". Governor Aungier therefore had to summon him before the Council and reprimand him for his disloyalty and misbehaviour. In the year following he got into trouble for selling intoxicated liquor and perversely insisting on the "justness and reasonableness of his conduct". Three years later, he was tried in the Court of the Governor and Council for seditious conduct and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment but on his submission, the punishment was remitted and in 1677 he was appointed to do the work as Justice of the Peace jointly with his other colleagues. In the year following he was appointed Chief Justice. Malabari says in his *Bombay in the Making* that "it was the good fortune of Bombay that Gary was not allowed to lord it over his inhabitants for long for he turned out as great a scamp as Cooke", his predecessor in office. He was reputed to be a scholar having been acquainted with Latin, Greek and Portuguese and was engaged in writing a treatise in Arabic.

In 1675 Captain Thomas Niccolls was appointed Judge of Bombay. Five years before his appointment he had been convicted by a Court Martial for insubordination and the use of "scandalous and seditious words tending to mutiny" and was sentenced to confinement pending deportation to Surat; but Governor Aungier had the sentence suspended and Niccolls was employed in the Government service. He was described by Deputy Governor Gary as "a most pestilent and turbulent fellow". His

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term of office as Judge was remarkable for severe sentences and he made himself very unpopular on account of his vagaries. For his contempt of the Government, his scandalising the authority of the Bombay Council and for his passion and prejudices, he was suspended from office pending instructions from Surat which subsequently confirmed the Judge's suspension for maladministration of justice.

In 1683 Charles Ward, Deputy Governor of Bombay and Member of Council, brother-in law of Governor Sir John Child, was found guilty of playing the traitor, he having been in complicity with Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Empire, to bring to port a fleet in Bombay and was imprisoned.

About the same time John Petit and George Boucher, were second and fourth member, respectively, of the Bombay Council. They were doing private business of their own in diamonds, and earned a good amount, half of which, it was said, Governor Child claimed as a perquisite to his post. This was refused and so Child wrote to the Court of Directors that the Councillors had been encouraging interlopers and holding secret conferences with the Moghul Government, and orders were received from England for their dismissal from office.

In 1685 another Chaplain, the Rev. Wattson of Bombay, was dismissed for taking part in Keigwin's Rebellion. "Let Mr. Wattson, that scandalous Chaplain," wrote the Court of Directors, "have no salary from us.....he is no more our servant .....banish him the island and let him take care to pay for his own passage home.....".

In the following year Dr. Stallworthy, Surgeon-General of the Garrison and Island of Bombay, came into trouble for having fallen in love with one Mrs. Gape's Indian female servant and neglecting his work. He was suspended pending reply from Surat. The Bombay authorities complained to Surat that they used all means to reclaim the Surgeon-General but all in vain and that they were apprehensive that several soldiers had died on account of his negligence. The Doctor was ultimately dismissed.

Dr. John St. John, who had been the first Judge of the Court of Admiralty and was the Chief Justice of the Court of Judicature in 1684-85, had taken cognizance of accusations against the Governor, Sir John Child, which fact was regarded as a presumptuous challenge to the head of the Government by one who, under his commission from the Company, was to be subordinate to the Governor and his Deputy. The Doctor had also gone out of his way to extend his legitimate jurisdiction. The Court of Directors were, moreover, irritated at his writing to high personages in England about his grievances. Accordingly they authorised Governor Child to dismiss him from the Judgeship but the latter had, in anticipation of the order, already removed him from

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office. After his return to England the ex-Chief Justice of Bombay petitioned His Majesty in Council but nothing seems to have come out of it.

Soon after 1684 Sir John Wybourne was sent to Bombay as Deputy-Governor, Vice-Admiral and Second in Council. He was also Judge of the Admiralty Court. He owed his appointment to King James II whom he had rescued from a watery grave and for which service he had been knighted. Wybourne was alleged to have been not sufficiently submissive to the Governor, and the Court of Directors ordered him to be dismissed; but he did not live to hear of his disgrace and died before the order reached Bombay.

John Vaux was Chief Justice of Bombay from 1685 to 1690 and in the latter years was appointed Deputy Governor and Member of Council. Alexander Hamilton in his *New Account of the East Indies*, calls him "but two degrees wiser than an idiot". Ia 1692, a French Fleet captured the *Elizabeth* one of the East India Company's ships, within 50 miles from Bombay and when that fleet arrived at Surat, Vaux purchased on his own account the Company's ship from the French. This transaction and some of his 'unworthy" letters written to London which were read in Parliament, drew upon him the wrath of the Court of Directors who forthwith ordered his suspension.

In 1698 Samuel Annesley, who had acted as Governor of Bombay in 1694 and was thereafter appointed Chief of the Surat Factory, was removed from office by order of the Court of Directors for his "many and great abuses". He is described as "a cunning and designing fellow" and it is said that he compelled those of his countrymen who had been employed on native vessels, to pay him a part of their wages and harassed those who did not comply with his unjust demand. Through the influence of Sir Stephen Evance, the Court Jeweller, he was re-instated ten years later with second place in the Bombay Council. Annesley was the maternal uncle of John Wesley, the great founder of the Methodist Church.

Thomas Woodford, Member of Council, was charged with embezzlement about the year 1700, he having misappropriated the Company's cash to a large extent. Instead of meeting the charge he made good his escape but was arrested and would have been deported to England in a ship which was about to sail "but that there were too many such order'd" on her.

Next came the turn of John Hall, Provost Marshal of Bombay, about a year later, an infamous drunkard and a bad character. When asked to clear himself of the charge, he cursed and swore at everyone from the highest to the lowest. The local officials confined him at the Doongri Fort and ultimately shipped him off to England as in the opinion of the Bombay authorities

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he was "a restless, factious and turbulent spirited man ever promoting or carrying on his rascally designs".

A few years later Captain John Wyatt, Commandant of the Bombay Guards, also came into trouble, as the result of over indulgence in intoxicants. One night he returned home much the worse for liquor and having been irritated at the sentry who had struck the gong according to the established rule, he took the man by the arm and ran his sword through his side. The sepoy dropped down dead on the spot. The Captain then kicked and otherwise abused the corpse of his victim. He was subsequently put up before the Governor-in-Council who deprived him of his commission and he was put into irons and deported to England. As to how he was dealt there, the records are silent.

In 1702 John Lock, Fifth Member of Council, was suspended for striking Sir Nicholas Waite, President of the New Company at Surat, and refusing to apologise and for maintaining that he had acted rightly.

A couple of years later, Dr. John Maxwell, Surgeon, who was in attendance on Sir William Norris, Ambassador from England to the Delhi Court, was dismissed there for ill behaviour. He returned to Surat and continued "his lewd debauched life" and was in consequence expelled from the service. He then went to Cochin, placed himself in communication with pirates and gave them secret information as to the whereabouts of vessels. He made no secret of these disloyal transactions but boasted of the large sums he had received in return for his treachery.

In November 1704, Sir Nicholas Waite became the Governor of Bombay He had come from Surat where he had bribed the Mughal Governor in order to imprison Sir John Gayor, his immediate predecessor in office, so that he might succeed him to the governorship. He continued his carnival of misrule in Bombay and appeals from England were disregarded. Drunken broils and duels were of daily occurrence and moreover the Governor himself outraged public opinion by marrying his own niece though his wife was still living. In 1708 the Court of Directors sent orders for the dispensation of his services but before the letters arrived in India his Council had been forced to place him under restraint.

In about the year 1720 Captain James Johnson arrived in Bombay as Chief Engineer to instruct the workmen in the construction of the fortification necessary for the defence of the island. He was ordered by Governor Charles Boone to join an expedition against the pirate Angria. Johnson considered the order *ultra vires* and refused to obey and was consequently dismissed.

It was through the indefatigable efforts of the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain at Bombay, that the St. Thomas' Cathedral came into existence on X'mas day in 1718. It happened that at that time Government had suspended one of their colleagues and the

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Reverend gentleman preached a sermon criticising even to the extent of sedition the action of the authorities. He also passed unfavourable remarks on John Braddyll, Chief Justice, for having employed labourers to work on Sundays and declined to give him communion and called him "a notorious and evil liver". This was a serious allegation made against a high dignitary of the rank of Chief Justice. The Bombay Government declared that Cobbe had "greatly misbehaved himself in his ministerial function" and he was therefore suspended from office.

In 1720 another Chief Justice of Bombay came into trouble. He was Laurence Parker who had been deputy Governor in 1715. The charges against him were of improper conduct, *viz.*, that he employed soldiers on court duties and thus had flouted the Governor's orders not to meddle with the military. Another charge against him was that he had challenged the Governor's authority by insisting on exercising jurisdiction over the military, and yet a third one that he had clandestinely erased his own signature from an important minute of proceedings. The Chief Justice was tried before the Governor and Council and ordered to be suspended from office.

Parker was succeeded by John Braddyll as Chief Justice of Bombay and he was dismissed within a year of his assuming office. The Chief Justice from the beginning was in open conflict with Governor Boone and his Council. The Governor had committed to jail a naval officer for mutiny but the Chief Justice had considered the confinement illegal without a warrant from the Court and had refused to sign it on the ground that the deposition against the prisoner did not justify his being imprisoned. This and other actions taken by the Chief Justice led the Governor to believe that there was a plot to disparage and supplant him in the Government of Bombay. He therefore denounced the Chief Justice in Council and said that he had openly disturbed the public peace and welfare of the Bombay Island. The Governor's Council unanimously found that the charges were made good and the Chief Justice was dismissed from the Government service. It may be montioned here, however, that the Court of Directors re-instated him as Member of Council in the year following and Braddyll again acted as Chief Justice seven years later.

In 1730 Thomas Rammal, Member of Council, having dissented from the rest of his colleagues on a certain question, the Council suspended him for his "scandalous and malicious" minute. The Court of Directors, however, took the Bombay Council to task for their action whereby "the laudable practice of dissenting would be banished quite out of doors" and issued general orders to prevent a repetition of such tyranny.

In 1731 came the turn of Edward Page, the Mayor of Bombay and Secretary of the Bombay Council, to be dismissed from the

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latter post. In his capacity as Mayor, Page ordered a minor Hindu boy, a Christian convert, to be delivered to his mother. The matter having been brought before Government, the Governor and Council decided that the Mayor's Court had exceeded its powers in dealing with causes of a religious nature and warned it not to interfere in such cases. The Mayor and his colleagues strongly protested against this Government interference. The Council therefore in their resentment turned the Mayor out of his post of Secretary. The Court of Directors again came to the rescue of the dismissed Secretary and in their Dispatch mentioned that the expression of free opinion should not be stifled in such manner.

In the following year Samuel Heydon, Captain Commandant, was dismissed for illegally confining a Lieutenant in the Mahim Fort.

Robert Cowan was the Governor of Bombay from 1729 to 1734 and during his Governorship had given so much cause to excite the displeasure of the Court of Directors that the Bombay Quarterly Review of April 1856 called him "a systematic rogue". He was charged with violating, from mercenary motives, the standing order of the Company which prohibited their servants from engaging in commercial transactions. He also permitted a Portuguese vessel to dispose off its goods in Bombay in consideration of bribes offered to him, a charge which he stoutly denied. In March 1734 the Court of Directors ordered his dismissal but that "he should be treated with respect so long as he remained in Bombay".

Henry Lowther, Justice of the Peace and Member of Council in 1735, was involved in debt and on account of his indebtedness to the Company and other creditors, he had to abscond in March 1735. He was removed from office by the Bombay Council almost at the same time that the Company in London had ordered his dismissal for "gross mismanagement".

Georgius Meisters who was Surgeon of the Fleet, had a slanderous and abusive tongue and on account of his excessive drinking, was not employed by any one in the Factory. The Bombay Government in 1737 ordered Meisters to come to Bombay from Surat and when he came he was relieved of his appointment. He was, however, allowed a pension of Rs. 40 per month until he died in 1746.

In the same year Dr. John Neilson, M.D., head of the Bombay Hospital, was dismissed "being a troublesome person and a nuisance to the place" and ordered to repair to England. The Bombay Consultation of 12th August 1746 records that "one of such a character ought not to remain amongst us".

We have now to record the exit of another Member of Council who was also Justice of the Peace, Marine Paymaster

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and Keeper of the Custom House at Mahim. He was George Scott. In 1748 three persons were brought before him for theft and he ordered their confinement in a guard-house without enquiry. After a fortnight they pleaded guilty, paid Rs. 10 and were discharged; but this sum was not accounted for by Scott for which delinquency he was tried, fined £. 5 and deprived of his commission. After stating that the Bombay Government were just as bad as himself, he resigned the Company's service.

In March 1753 Captain J. de Funk was the Chief Engineer in Bombay but the Bombay Government being dissatisfied with his work, appointed James Mace Principal Engineer, and ordered de Funk to lay all his plans, designs, description, etc., as to how the island could be made defensible, before the new incumbent. Then there arose a difference of opinion between the rival engineers. The Bombay Government sided with Mace and ordered that de Funk should be dismissed from the Hon'ble Company's service for disobeying the Company's orders.

Charles Crommelin who ruled Bombay for seven years from 1760 to 1767 was ordered by the Court of Directors to resign his post for insubordination with respect to altering the destination of a vessel which proved very detrimental to the Company's interests and for the irregularities in the disposition of their shipping. The members of his Council who concurred in the above transaction were most severely reprimanded. Crommelin was directed to resign his post on 31st January, 1767 but was permitted to remain in Bombay in private capacity for adjusting his domestic affairs and during that period it was ordered that "all due respect be shown him consistent with his late situation".

A decade later, Shaw, Member of Council, was suspended the service for having spoken improperly in public of an affair concerning Colonel Keating and for having sent him a challenge which was not accepted.

John Carnac who took the latter's place in the Bombay Council, had been a member of Parliament for Leominster but he too shared the fate of his predecessor for his share in the Convention of Wargaum in 1779, signed after the First Mahratta War, in which an English Army sent from Bombay towards Poona to place Raghunath Rao on the throne, had suffered a severe defeat and had to surrender all acquisitions obtained since 1773.

In 1779 James Tod was appointed the first Commissioner—then called Lieutenant—of Police of the newly organised Bombay Police. After eleven years' service, he was tried for corruption, the principal witnesses against him being his native receivers of bribes. Tod expatiated on the danger of convicting Europeans on the testimony of black agents but he was found guilty, reprimanded and suffered to resign his post.

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In 1803-1804 on account of severe famine the Bombay Government had prohibited the export of grain from the island and appointed Robert Henshaw as Superintendent of Food Supplies. He was the most respected European resident in Bombay and when the great Duke of Wellington had visited Bombay after his victory at Assaye in 1803, it was he who had read the Address of Welcome and Congratulation from the Bombay residents. Henshaw was arraigned before the Recorder's Court presided over by Sir James Mackintosh, for clandestinely exporting grain from Bombay, found guilty of receiving a bribe of Rs. 17,840 and ordered to pay a fine of a like amount and was dismised from his post.

Another Police Commissioner of Bombay who was then known as Superintendent of Police, Charles James Briscoe, an officer of the Bombay Volunteers, who had been made an Alderman in 1803, an office which carried with it magisterial powers, was found guilty in 1810 also of accepting a bribe to prevent the trial of three rich Indians charged with murder, was found guilty and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment

Robert Rickards, Member of Council, from 1808 to 1811, was made to resign his post on account of his radical views. He had protested against the oppressive trade policy of the East India Company and the high rate of the land revenue. On leaving these shores he was given a Farewell Address by the Indian inhabitants. After his return to England, he entered Parliament where he did yeoman service to the Indian cause.

William Hockley of the Bombay Civil Service who was appointed to a judgeship, was tried for corruption and bribery in 1821 in the Recorder's Court and was acquitted by the Grand Jury. He was, however, dismissed from service with a pension of £150. He was described as a writer of genius. He has written two excellent books describing the condition of the people of this land.

William Erskine, the son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, was a great Oriental Scholar and had left a lawyer's office in Edinburgh to come to Bombay for a job. He became a Clerk of the Small Cause Court and in 1823 was appointed Master-in-Equity and Magistrate. As Clerk of the Small Causes Court, he was charged with deducting Rs. 10 for taking the sum of Rs. 459 to the house of a poor Parsee woman for whom the amount had been paid in Court. The second accusation against him was that he charged Re. 1 instead of 8 annas the proper sealer's fee. He was also alleged to have charged fees for subpoenas which had not been issued. He admitted the irregularities and his defence was that owing to illness the business of his office had been left to his native clerk and that he did not derive any profit from them. The Recorder's Court, presided over by Sir Edward

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West, disbelieving the defence story, unanimously ordered his dismissal.

William Cunninaham Bruce, who was brother of Sir William Bruce, joined the Bombay Civil Service in 1815. He had acted as Collector of Custom and in 1832 was elected Chairman of the Justices of the Peace. He came in conflict with the Earl of Clare, Governor, whose Government claimed the power of appropriating a portion of certain funds to wnich the Justices would not agree. Shortly afterwards in another matter Bruce wrote to the Governor officially that the arrangement the Governor had made arose out of a desire to gratify his private pique. The letter was put before the Council which desired Bruce's dismissal for imputing bad motives to the head of the government. Every effort was made to induce Bruce to withdraw his letter and even the Governor's Military Secretary went to him but all in vain. He was therefore punished by deprivation of his office. Under the succeeding administration of Sir Robert Grant, Bruce was re-instated and even made Sheriff of Bombay.

Lt. Col. Vans Kennedy, another Oriental Scholar, who was Judge Advocate-General of the British Army and Persian Translator to the Bombay Government, was brought to a Court Martial for repeated disobedience to the lawful command of his superior officer, was found guilty, severely reprimanded and removed from the situation of the Judge Advocate-General and appointed Persian Translator, a post suited to his literary talents.

In September 1838, Edward Grant, Civil Servant, Judge and Session Judge, Ahmedabad, was suspended from office by the Bombay Government but owing to the hermetically sealed mode in which business was managed at the time, the public knew nothing about the exact degree of his guilt. On receiving the order of suspension, Grant wrote upon the document—"Injustice"—and in a fit of insanity pointing a pistol at his head met with an instantaneous death.

Vishnu Shastri who was Professor of the Poona Sanskrit College, latterly known as the Deccan College, was distinguished for his liberality of sentiment and his readiness to co-operate with European Orientalists in the investigation of the antiquities of India. He was dismissed by Government in 1839 on a charge of peculation connected with the pay of the pensioned students of that institution.

Richard Spooner, British Representative at Sawantwari, was removed from office in 1840. It seems that in that quarter there was a rising of the people and his order was "to take no prisoner" which, he explained, extended to those rowdies actually in arms and resisting lawful authority. It was, he said, far from his mind to issue any order for the murder of innocent members of the public. He was, however, unceremoniously expelled but was

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granted one of the furlough allowances of £. 500 per annum for a period of three years.

Mr. E. F. Danvers, Junior Magistrate of Bombay, who had acted as Senior (Chief Presidency) Magistrate in 1840 was suspended by Government in 1851 in consequence of surmises having arisen that he had mis-informed Government on the state of his liabilities to his Indian creditors. He immediately proceeded to Europe to offer explanation to the Court of Directors but died on his way at Alexandria.

In 1853 Messrs. P. W. Le Geyt and Gregor Grant, Judges of the Sudder Adawlut, were removed from office in consequence of charges brought against them by the *Bombay Gazette*. Both of them had acted as Senior Magistrates of Bombay. It seems that the cause of the removal of these two Judges was their having been involved in debt and the Bombay Government had to abide by the order of the Court ot Directors forbidding them to select anyone for Judicial appointments who had been financially involved.

Sir James Outram, the Bayard of India, who distinguished himself in the Indian Mutiny, was removed from the office of Resident at Baroda by Governor, Lord Falkland, in 1851 because he had exposed corruption in high places. "This is his reward for being too honest for a British Resident at a Native Court", wrote the *Bombay Guardian* of the time.

Mr. A. K. Corfield who had joined the Bombay Civil Service in 1828, was formerly the Post-Master General, Civil Auditor, Government Director of the Bank of Bombay, Member of the Municipal Committee and the Committee of Management of the Government Savings Bank. He was Senior Magistrate in 1855 and was alleged to have illegally convicted Vithoba, a poor tailor and sentenced him to three months' rigorous imprisonment. After doing his time Vithoba, who was financially and otherwise supported by Dr. Bhau Daji, the great Oriental Scholar, filed a suit against the Chief Magistrate who was found guilty of "trespass" in giving judgment without evidence and was ordered by the Supreme Court to pay the plaintiff Rs. 501 as damages and all costs. He was thereafter dismissed from his post by Government and Mr. Crawford who also came into trouble five years later, was appointed to replace him.

Captain S. B. Haines, the conqueror of Aden, was dismissed from his post of Political Agent at that Port in 1855. A deficiency of about Rs. 2½ lacs having been detected at the British Treasury there, he was ordered out to Bombay for having the matter investigated. He was put up before a Magistrate, committed to the Session and was acquitted. But the Government of Lord Elphinstone, thereafter got a verdict in their favour in the Civil Court, arrested him and he was thrown into the debtor's jail, was

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deprived of his pay and pension and dismissed from the service. He languished behind prison bars for full five years but was released by Sir George Clerk, Elphinstone's successor, on 9th June 1860. He died within a week of his emancipation and was buried at the Colaba Cemetery.

Mr. H. P. St. George Tucker, Judge of the Koncan, having disregarded the order of the Court of Sudder Adawlut in refusing to reinstate the Nazir of the Thana Court whom he had suspended and his conduct having been reported to Government, was superceded. He was reinstated in later years and was raised to the High Court Bench in 1863, Six years later, he became member of the Governor's Executive Council.

Mr. Turquand, of the Bombay Civil Service, Collector of Ratnagherry, was suspended in 1859 for insubordination. His suspension so preyed on his mind that he committed suicide by shooting himself at Poona in July 1861. He was a perfect master of the history of the Southern Mahratta country.

Mr. William Crawford who had been Senior Magistrate for five years, was censured by the Bombay Government in 1860 for using derogatory language towards Mr. Forjett, Deputy Commissioner of Police, with whom he had not been on friendly terms. As reported in the *Bombay Times* in an address from the Bench referring to Mr. Forjett he had said that 'he (the Magistrate) was not so competent as he (Mr. Forjett) was in the working of the (Police) department as he had not like him been born among the natives...". Although Crawford denied that he had uttered such words, Government passed severe censure upon him,

In April 1861 Mr. F. Hutchinson, Collector of Bombay, was dismissed on account of his having remitted the value of surplus Government lands encroached upon and occupied for more than 20 years. His explanation was that he had only followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in office. Mr. Hutchinson was a Grand Juror, a Justice of the Peace, an active and zealous public officer and as a Sanatory Conservator, Bombay was greatly indebted to him.

The name of Captain Richard Burton, popularly known as Haji Burton, the celebrated traveller and translator of the Arabian Nights who had made pilgrimage to Mecca, was removed from the Army List as from 27th October 1861 as announced in the *Bombay Government Gazette* of 9th January 1862. He was employed in Bombay since 1842 as an Ensign to the Bombay Native Infantry. The dismissal was due to the Captain having accepted the post of Consul at Fernando Po without the sanction of the Indian Government.

In 1859 Mr. Edward Pratt, Assistant Secretary in the General Department, was snubbed by the Chief Secretary to Government,

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for transacting his duties at home instead of at the Secretariat. Six months later he was suspended for insubordination. When he was First Class Assistant Commissioner, Bombay Customs, in 1869, he was again suspended for six months for dereliction of duty. In 1871 he was once again suspended for a like term with forfeiture of pay for insubordination. He seems to have owned and operated an excitable temper for within a short time of his suspension he was brought before a Magistrate for assaulting a Parsee gentleman and fined Rs. 25.

Major General the Hon'ble Alexander Gordon, Commanding Poona Division, was suspended from his high position in March, 1870. He had held the office of the Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, provisionally for a couple of years in 1868-1869. He had then insisted on his right to take his seat in the Governor's Council but had received a snubbing from the Secretary of State. He then appealed to the Commander in-Chief, India, and was suspended on account of some contempt committed by him in connection with that appeal.

In 1873 Mr. Narayan Jagannath Bhide, Public Prosecutor, Poona, having laid charges of immorality and debauchery against Justice Pinhey of the Bombay High Court and the matter having been reported to the Chief Justice, a Full Bench heard, *in camera*, Mr. Bhide who made his own defence. He was, however, suspended for two years. Mr. Bhide thereafter went to Europe to lay his case before the Secretary of State but nothing came out of his visit.

Mr. Theodore Bosanquet, Bombay Civil Servant, reported in 1880 that the high mortality at Satara was due to the fact that the people had no state relief when needed. As this statement was not in accordance with the public utterances of Sir Richard Temple, Governor, Bosanquet was asked to withdraw the same which he declined. Thereafter a charge of combining for the purpose of creating a riot was brought upon some people of Kolaba but Bosanquet, the Collector, found the charge unfounded. Government thereafter asked for a new trial and the men were convicted. Sir Richard then immediately before relinquishing his Governorship, removed Bosanquet from a position in which his salary was Rs. 2325 to one where it was Rs. 1,000 but his successor the Hon'ble Mr. Lionel Ashburner restored him to his previous post which he refused to accept and sent in his resignation.

In September 1880 Justice Marriot of the Bombay High Court, severely criticised the conduct of Nana Moroba, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, for having kept in jail an under-trial woman prisoner for 54 days. It was alleged that the Magistrate's son, Sadasiv, who was a Barrister-at-Law, had been engaged by the prosecution so that he might use his influence with his father on behalf of his client. Justice Marriot without imputing any

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motive to the Magistrate, marvelled how such a thing could be done and how wrong it was that a son should practise before his father. In October 1880 Mr. Nana Moroba was requested by Government to resign his post in view of the conduct of this case. Mr. Moroba had for some time been Sheriff of Bombay in 1875.

In 1885 at a Prize Distribution gathering of a Poona School at which Mr. (Sir) William Lee Warner, Acting Director of Public Instruction was present, one of the items in the programme was the singing of the National Anthem which was omitted. Taking affront at this apparent disloyalty Lee Warner asked for the inclusion of this song but Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the Oriental Translator, who was also the Secretary of the Institution, declined to comply with the request. But Lee Warner as head of the Educational Department then ordered the Headmaster to have the song sung and it was accordingly done. Mr. Pandit's explanation was that if the National Anthem had been sung, the entire gathering would have had to stand but as the custom was not properly known to an Indian audience, there would have been unnecessary confusion on account of some members not standing and hence the omission. Government, however, in a Notification disapproved Mr. Pandit's action. Immediately thereafter he went on two years' leave and on his return he was appointed to a post inferior to that of the Oriental Translator.

In 1888 Arthur Travers Crawford, C. M. G., after whom the great Bombay market is named, Commissioner, Central Division, was charged with corruption and borrowing money from his Indian assistants. He was tried by a special Commission which found him Not Guilty of corruption or of borrowing from official subordinates, but Crawford himself pleaded guilty to borrowing money from natives within the Division of which he had administrative charge. The view taken by the Bombay Government, however, in reviewing the Report of the Commission was more unfavourable to Crawford than that arrived at by the Commission and the Secretary of State ordered the removal of his name from the list of the Bombay Civil Servants.

We have in the above article chronologically reviewed the history of the dismissal, suspension or removal of Bombay officials right from the advent of the English in India upto the end of the last century. And here we must halt. It is not desirable to include in this review the names of those who have come under the Government ban in our own times and thus unnecessarily ruffle their feelings. We leave that task to the industry of future historians.

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THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF HISTORY

BY

REV. THOMAS MOLINA, S. J.

It is the privelege of history to have occupied the human mind from the earliest to the present times. The well-educated man and the scholar lives more in the past than in the present, He is better acquainted with the dead men and women of past ages than with those alive in his own life time and feels he can pass final judgment on their personalities and actions. Few of us, to be sure, have escaped the influence and the fascination exercised by the dead past—alive to us in our innermost minds. No wonder that nations desirous of recapturing their own souls have recourse to their own history. These are remarkable facts that at once reveal the intrinsic value of history.

In this paper we propose to touch upon the practical aspects of this vital subject with the hope of intensifying the enthusiasm that we already feel for it.

History as Information

History is nothing if not information. In this, chief of all aspects, history has at once the widest possible and the narrowest possible scope. A mere catalogue of names or dates is history. The synchronisation of the doings of the whole human race is history. The historian's diligent perseverance, his sagacity and good sense, his mastery of his subject assist him in the production of his informative work. The world expects much from the historian, as he has a high tradition to keep up. To mention a few distinguished names of the clssical age, Pliny the Elder, who perished a victim to his inexhaustible love for learning claims in his only extant work that he collected 20,000 facts derived from 2,000 works by 100 select authors, the extracts from sources filling 160 volumes. Livy, the author of a monumental history of Rome, lived to complete 142 books in 30 years, out of the 150 he had proposed to write, 30 of which have come down to our times. But the greatest of all Roman scholars, Varro, still active and writing at the age of 80, wrote 74 different works on practically all the arts and sciences known to his age. Among his works are 41 books of Antiquities, an encyclopaedia of the liberal arts in 9 books, and 700 brief biographies of Greek and Roman celebrities, illustrated with portraits, perhaps the first illustrated history ever written. Another classical scholar, Callimachus, the founder of the celebrated grammatical school of Alexandria, is said to have written 800 works on the greatest variety of subjects, known to us only by the few poetical fragments that have survived. And lest it should be

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imagined that we are impressed by quantity more than quality we may mention the greatest of Roman soldiers—Caesar—whose fame to a great historian rests on a couple of historical pamphlets that even high school boys find easy when they learn the Latin language.

History as a Teaching Subject

History in this case is to be placed before a class of students who are supposed to digest the facts in a definite period of time and be able to reproduce them in oral or written examinations. The pupils learn history to acquire an academical qualification.

The class-room historian may or may not be a learned man, but he must be a good school master or professor. His task is a difficult one in itself as he may have to bring within a narrow frame a large historical panaroma. The danger of distortion is great; the temptation to omit may prove irresistible; the difficulty of keeping the right proportion may prove an effort beyond his power, so that he may finally produce a maimed or confused picture. Actually, however, this department of history has received so much attention that the history text-book hardly needs comment.

One point must not be glossed over. On behalf of the student we demand the highest honesty and sincerity on the part of the historian; the text book must be above reproach in point of factual accuracy and the judgment passed on historical persons. A deceived or deceitful historian may produce untold harm and incalculable mischief in the juvenile mind by poisoning the wells. The disarming innocence of the pupil requires that the text-book historian give the child's mind the kind of food that nature provides as food for the child's body—the pure milk engendered near the heart of his own mother.

History as Propaganda

The above consideration leads us straight into this aspect of history. History as propaganda sounds strange indeed, for propaganda, in the modern sense of the word means sophistry, while history in its simplest form spells truth. We ought to be well aware that history is not seldom falsified, abused, to use a stronger word, prostituted, for the sake of material advantage. Never was a greater crime committed against this pure form than to submit her to the unholy desires of brutish hearts. History is truth, history is honesty, history is sincerity. Vice, malice, injustice are but enemies of history.

There is, however, a use of history somewhat resembling its damnable abuse. Such we have no difficulty in advocating. We mean the use of History to inculcate patriotism, courage, high ideals of loyalty, disregard of self in the hard service of God, truth or humanity. This, even if branded as propaganda, is pro-

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paganda, of the right type. It is one of the functions of history to teach high moral lessons—of the lessons love of virtue for imitation, and lessons of the hatred of vice for detestation. It may be argued, and with justice that this is the business of the parent and the teacher more than that of the historian, but the historian cannot escape the onus of his responsibility by claiming greater responsibility for parents and teachers. Unfair propaganda may be carried out not only among the young but also among the ignorant and the half educated whether young or old. We simply condemn the abuse of history for the sake of immoral propaganda and welcome the use of historical knowlege in the service of moral virtue, religion and true patriotism.

History as Art and Literature

That we claim for history the power to become Art and Literature will cause no surprise. Some of the most ancient historical records we possess are just that. The work of Herodotus, who has been named the Father of History, and of Thucydides, of whose prose style it has been said that nothing finer has been written, are two only of many examples of the artistic historian. Moreover, the early history of many peoples is wrapped up in poetry and song or in highly poetical prose. True enough, it is no easy question to decide what is the proportion of myth and fact in many of the ancient histories. But they laid the foundations of all history, and that is enough praise for them as well as enough apology for their errors.

The point not to be missed in connection with this aspect of history is this. History is indeed the best material out of which the artistic temperament of a historian can produce undying art for the joy of all future ages. History is at times more incredible than fiction and qulte comparable to the imaginary heights reached by legend in the hands of literary genius. But, without having to suppose such unusual circumstances, we can easily perceive that history, specially if taken on a national or international scale, provides inexhaustible fund of material which at the magic touch of the capable historian displays the sparkling radio-activity in the mind of his readers.

History as Philosophy and Theology

Much has been written with varying success as the philosophy of history, and with or without the name, as the theology of history. It would have been strange if man, whose inquisitive mind is constantly asking itself "Why", had not put himself this question when his attention was applied to the events that had taken place around him. The fact is man did ask himself that question.

Thus was born the philosophy of history, its founder being the

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Greek historian Thucydides. The theology of history was born about one thousand years later and the parent of this child is St. Augustine, the IV century bishop of Hippo in North Africa, and the author of "De Civitate DEI" or "On the City of God." He it was who attempted an answer to the theological question of the "Why" of human history. After him, the same answer was given by the eminent French bishop, Bossuet, in XVII century. The theist answer has not been replaced by any better. Only late in the XIX century a more radical attempt was made to replace it, and the credit of that attempt—an atheistic attempt—goes to Carl Max. He replaced God by the economic urge, a typical anticlimax, fabricated by the materialist man of the modern age. No one, to be sure, will grudge Carl Max the credit of finding a valuable postulate capable of explaining many of the historical phenomena in the world. But as Darvin's theory of Species or Freud's theories of Sex, propounded by these authors, so the Marxian theory, too, labours from over-simplification. Such theories, while they win a following for a time, are soon left stragglers by the relentless march of science only to be eventually disowned by their votaries. So we need not tarry. Suffice it to say that history has this philosophical and theological aspect. The serious historian on his part will not merely content himself with narrating events accurately and critically, but will try to trace causes and consequences, the light they throw upon character, and, if he has faith and vision, will discern the hand of an unerring Providence guiding the destinies of mankind.

Journalism as History

Journalism may fittingly be described as the youngest child in the family. Radio and the Pictures are primarily intended for pleasure and entertainment and may be considered as historical records only in so far as they acquire some permanence. But journalism is true history. The virtues and defects of journalism as history are patent to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. Journalism is a constant and recurring flow of history without a parallel in previous ages. It represents not only the great ocean storms, its gigantic waves rolling in imposing masses of unforgettable events, but the ripplings of the quiet surface of the sea. No historical event of any importance fails to find its way to the daily press. The almost unsurmountable difficulty facing the learned historian consists in sifting the chaff from the corn, and in marshalling together in an organic body of truth the unwieldy mass of reports awaiting his patient and intelligent handling in a bewildering multiplicity of languages. When we learn of the pains taken by some ancient author or other who spent perhaps the major part of his long life in writing a couple of volumes which now may be encompassed in a pocket edition of his works, we begin to appreciate our good luck. With a pair of scissors in our hands and a diligent and trained eye to search for reports, we

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can in a year or two fill up trunks of useful paper cuttings for a *magnun opus*. We owe it to present day journalism that our contemporary history is hourly recorded as it were by magic. To give a recent example, only lately twenty pages of newspaper were devoted to the Indian film industry in one of the local Divali Supplements and twelve pages on the snme topic in another.

It is not the vast farrago of press reports that creates the chief difficulty. Not infrequently the press is delibrately unfair to truth and this unfairness is a danger to an undiscerning mind. Insidious rumour is as bad as if not worse than open distortion of history. The *Supressio Veri* or the studied silence about truth, is a cowardly resort, one less unpardonable in a prisoner before a court of justice, than the dispenser of the blessings of journalism.

The Encyclopaedia as History

The Encyclopaedia aims at the *multum in parvo* ideal and is the natural issue of the colossal proportions which human knowledge has attained. We need a handy store of that vast knowledge where we may test our conclusions or verify references. The Encyclopaedia has come to our rescue.

Magnificent encyclopaedias have been produced. Every nation has produced its own in its native language where special attention is given to national history. Britain, for instance, has given to the world the well known "Encyclopaedia Britannica". Spain has its Espasa Encyclopaedia in 80 volumes, and fascist Italy produced an Italian Encyclopaedia in 37 splendid volumes, These are costly works, and as the world changes fast, they soon go out of date and need ropeated revision. But they are most useful and, from the national point of view, necessary. For no nation knows enough about the national history of another and no foreign encyclopaedia finds space sufficient to do justice to other national causes as it does to its own, It is, therefore, devoutly to be wished that India, who begins to tread so vigorously on the newly found path of freedom, will not lag behind other nations, and will embark at no distant date on the mighty enterprise of producing an Indian Encyclopaedia.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

BY

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I propose to present in this paper a brief survey of the history of the beginnings of the library movement in the Bombay Presi-

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dency. This might appear to be a somewhat unusual theme for a paper at a Historical Conference, but I believe it is one that falls well within the legitimate scope of the historian's interests and activities provided we agree, as I trust we all do, to visualise history as a "compendium of all the facts, ideas, forces that impell the progression of man on the earth.[1] There is a further reason why I have decided on the choice of this topic for discussion. I represent at this Conference the Mumbayee Marathi Granthasangrahalaya, one of the largest libraries in the Bombay Presidency ; and in this capacity it is my natural duty to draw attention to the valuable contribution that the library movement has made and is likely to make to the cultural life of the people of this province.

2. Although I wish to confine myself on the present occasion to the history of libraries that came into existence after the advent of the printing press in India, and mainly during the British regime, it will not be out of place to make a passing reference to valuable part that libraries have played in preserving and enriching our cultural traditions since ancient times. Great libraries have existed in India from ancient times. There was a library attached to each of the famous ancient Universitis in Taxila, Nalanda, Patuliputra (the present day Patan) and Benares. It is said that the book collection at Nalanda was called "Ratnodadhi." In addition to these large collections of books were owned by various centres of cultural life in ancient India, such as temples and Maths. The valuable collections of Jain literature at Patan, Jesalmer, Surat, Bhatner and Ahmedabad are well known. The origin of the Patan collection go back to the 11th or 12th centuries. The Jains probably stand pre-eminent among the Hindus in their keen appreciation of the value of collecting and preserving books.

3. It should be worthwhile, before proceeding with an account of the growth of the library movement in India, to summarise briefly the known facts about the advent of the printing press in India, since for obvious reasons, the growth of an indigenous library movement has been closely bound up with the extension of the art of printing to ancient and modern Indian literatures. As is well known the art of printing originated in Europe in the fifteenth century ; but it was not until a hundred years later that it made its appearance on the Indian scene.

(*i*) On the 6th November 1556, some Jesuit missionaries stepped on the Indian shore with a printing press and a technician. This printer was a Spaniard named Juan de Bustamonte. The only types in this printing press were of Roman characters and Latin and Portuguese books printed in this press are extant. Another printing press was established at Rachol in Goa and the Marathi classic Christa Purana composed by Fr. Thomas Stephen

1. Living with Books by Helen E. Haines, 1935, p. 248.

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was printed in this press in 1616. While the language of this work is Marathi it was printed in the Roman script. Incidentally it may be remarked that Fr. Stephens was the first Englishman to come to India and in fact it had been suggested that the idea of founding the East India Company owes its origin to the letters he sent from India to his father. Other Marathi books printed in this Rachol Press are also available.[2] In a book called "Wanawalyancho Mallo" (Jardim dos Pastores) printed in this press in 1658, the printing press is referred to as "*Lihita Mandap*".

(*ii*) The credit for the second attempt to establish a printing press in India goes to Bhimji Parakh. An unauthenticated tradition appears to be current in connection with this attempt. Sjt. K. M. Munshi in the course of an address delivered on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition organised in connection with the Fifth All India Library Conference in 1942, referred to this in the following words : Shivaji Maharaj set up a printing press, but as he could not get it worked he sold it in 1674 to Bhimaji Parakh, an enterprising Kapol Bania of Gujarat who not only set it up but called out an expert printer from England."[3] There are references to Bhimaji Parakh's press in the contemporary Factory Records, but neither in these, nor in any other contemporary document whether in Portuguese, English, Marathi or French, have I been able to find any reference to Shivaji's prior interest in Parakh's press. On the other hand the following information extracted from a letter dated the 3rd April 1674, addressed from London to Surat, would appear to throw grave doubts on the authenticity of the tradition. "We have also entertained Mr. Henry Hills a printer for our Island of Bombay at the salary of £50 per annum and ordered a printing press with letters and other necessaries as also a convenient quantity of paper to be sent along with him as you will perceive per the Invoice all which is to be charged upon Bhimjee from whom you are to receive it.'[4] It will be seen that this extract would appear to indicate that Bhimaji himself imported a printing press in 1674, and there is no reference to Shivaji's part in the episode. As an admirer and student of the life and work of the great Shivaji, I shall indeed be glad if Sjt. Munshi would publish any evidence he might possess to establish Shivaji's connection with Parakh's enterprise.

(*iii*) The third attempt at establishing a printing press in India was due to the Danish Missionaries. On the 9th July 1706, a Danish Missionary named Bartholomew Ziengenbalg started on his way to India with a printer named Jonas Fincke. But

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2. *Vide* my article' हिंदुस्थानमें छापखानेका आरंभ' (प्रेमी अभिनंदन ग्रंथ) 1946, p. 167.

3. Proceeding of the fifth All India Library Conference held in Bombay, 1942, p. 56.

4. English Records on Shivaji, 1931, Part I, DOC 450, p. 327.

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this printer died on the way at the cape of Good Hope. The printing press was later worked with the help of a soldier at Tranquebar, but no books printed in it are extant. Another Danish Missionary, Frederich Schwartz persuaded and helped the Maratha King Sarfoji of Tanjore to establish a printing press at Tanjore.[5] Marathi and Sanskrit books printed in this press are available. In an edition of Marathi Ramayana printed in this press in 1809, the printing press is referred to as 'Arna-Yantra.'[6]

(*iv*) These early attempts cannot be said to have directly helped in establishing the printing press in the position of ever increasing importance which it came to occupy during the early British period in India. In this sense, the honour of being the pioneer in the art of printing in India goes to Sir Charles Wilkins. Sir Charles moulded types in Bengali script in 1778 and types in Devanagari script in 1795. The services of technicians who received their training at his hands were later utilised by Dr. William Carey in setting up a printing press at Serampore. Type moulded by him was also used in printing the first Marathi book which appeared in Bombay in 1823.[7] However, types in Gujerati and Marathi Modi scripts had been moulded in Bombay at the end of the 18th century and used for printing advertisements appearing in "the Bombay Courier." The oldest available English book printed in Bombay (1793) is "Remarks and Occurrences of Mr. Henry Becher."

4. Much of the literature printed and published in India as a result of the early attempts at printing in India has disappeared in the absence of any systematic efforts to collect, house, and preserve it; and such of the works as are still extant are scattered in various collections all over the world. I need not emphasise the value of this literature to a historian trying to reconstruct this important period in Indian history, and I merely wish to point out the need for taking immediate steps to collect and house as much of this literature as is still available in India and also to make available at a central place photostat copies of such other works as may not be available in India in the original.

5. The late advent of the art of printing in India did not of course prevent attempts in India at collecting books printed elsewhere. A large collection of European literature built up by a private individual belonging to the medical profession in Bombay,

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5. The Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library, Vol. I, No. 2, 1939-40, p. 17.

6. सरस्वतीमहालसंग्रहांतील मराठी ग्रंथांची बयाजवार यादी (भाग १ला) 1929, p. 346.

7. *Vide* My speech delivered while declaring open the exhibition of Marathi Rare Books held in Bombay, 1946, पंचारती, 1946, pp. 5-6.

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was secured from him by Sir James Mackintosh in 1804 and formed the nucleus of the library of the Literary Society which he had himself founded during the preceding year. This may be said to be the first library established in Bombay. The Literary Society was meant entirely for the exclusive use of the European community and no Indian was allowed to join it. In 1825 the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in London and in 1829 the Literary Society of Bombay agreed to function as the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The present Library at the Town Hall in Bombay thus came into existence. A Parsi gentleman named Maneckji Cursetji succeeded in securing admission to this Society in 1340 and the way was thus made clear for the entry of other eminent Indians like Dr. Bhau Daji, Justice Telang, V. N. Mandalik, who made their contribution to Indian scholarship through this society. Their work is well known and it is not necessary for me to dwell upon it here[8].

6. The various libraries established at different places for the benefit of the various Civil and Military stations in the presidency may be considered as constituting the second landmark in the development of library movement in the Presidency. Of these it would appear that the Surat Library is the oldest. Information about the rise of this library and reading room is available in a letter addressed by its secretary to Mr. Charles Morris, Secretary of the Government of Bombay, on 18th January 1828[9]. It contained: Stock of books, about 2000 volumes; two English newspapers; all Bombay papers; one paper each from Madras and Calcutta. This letter also thanks the government for giving them the privilege of receiving Bombay newspapers post free; and requests to be allowed the use of certain buildings in the Dutch Bunder for accommodation of the library and reading room. It also refers to the worsening in the financial position of the library owing to the reduction in the numbers of Europeans stationed in Surat. Similar correspondence for other institutions of this kind at the other stations is also available in Bombay Government Records. In a letter dated the 16th April 1826 the Secretary of the Baroda Library asks for a free gift of books published under the Government of Bombay since a similar gift was made to the Surat Library[10]. In a letter dated 16th February 1828, the Secretary of the Poona Library, while thanking the government for the privilege of receiving Bombay papers post free, requests that the privilege be extended to cover papers and books

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8. The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Extra number, 1905. p. 15; Proceedings of the fifth All India Library 194:, p. 188.

9. Secretariat Record of the Government of Bombay, General Deptt. (GD.) 1828, Vol. 13-166 pp. 11-14.

10. G. D. 1826, Vol. 10-118, p. 184.

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receiving from England[11]. In a letter dated 18th August 1828 the Secretary of the Ratnagiri Book Society asks the privilege of receiving newspapers post free[12]. In reply to a letter dated 27th November 1827 from the Bhooj Residency Library asking for the privilege of receiving newspapers post free they were informed that while this privilege was granted in connection with the Bombay newspapers, it could not be extended to Calcutta papers[13]. In a letter dated 10th June 1830 the Secretary of the Malcolm Pait (Mahabaleshwar Hill) library requested that a recently constructed government house be sold to them on favourable terms[14]. In a letter dated 17th July 1829, the Sholapur Library requested the Post Master General, Bombay to allow them the privilege of receiving Bombay papers post free since a similar privilege was granted to Surat and Bhooj Libraries[15]. In a letter dated 30th December 1839 the Ahmadnagar Library asked for the same privileges in respect of newspapers and books passing post free as the Poona Library[16]. In a letter dated 15th December 1834, the Ahmedabad Library asked that the privilege of receiving newspapers from Bombay post free should be extended to newspapers received by them from Bengal, Cawnpore and Madras[17]. The following remarks in a letter from Governor Clare might also be of interest in connection with requests for exemptions from postage: "As Ahmednagar is the only Library where letters are allowed to pass free, this privilege must be cancelled and the Post Master General informed of this. The Bombay newspapers may go free to the Rajcote Library, but not books; pamphlets or reviews etc. to any library can go free of postage and this may be explained to the Post Master General"[18].

In order to appreciate the reason for the great concern shown in this correspondence in the matter of postal charges one has to remember that at this time, the system known as Bangi Establishment was current; under this, the charges made were: for newspapers etc. at the rate of 4 annas per 10 tolas; for parcels of less than 4 pounds weight one rupee, and 4 annas extra for every pound in excess of 4; and Rs. 8 for a whole Bangi or mail weighing less than 30 pounds. The postal charges thus formed a heavy burden on the finances of institutions like libraries. It was only in 1854 that the basic postal charge for newspapers and other

11. G. D. 1828, Vol 13-166, p. 19.
12. G. D. 1828, Vol. 13-166, p. 29.
13. *Ibid* pp. 1-3.
14. G. D. 1830, 207, p, 164.
15. G. D. 1829, Vol. 9-186, p. 3.
16. G. D. 1831, Vol. 12-231 p. 87.
17. G. D. 1835, Vol. 8-323 pp. 92-93.
18. G. D. 1833, 10/281. p. 145.

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printed matter was reduced to 1 anna per 10 tolas from the previous figure of 4 annas for 10 tolas[19].

7. It will be noted that the efforts at establishing libraries described so far were due exclusively to European initiative and were intended mainly for the benefit of the European community. There were many reasons why Indian enthusiasm in this field of activity was not forthcoming. Knowledge of English of a level sufficiently advanced to profit from English literature was confind to comparatively few individuals. The demand for English books could therefore come only from a limited circle of Indians. On the other hand, very few books in Indian languages had been published. In fact, the class of educated persons and book lovers at this time was largely drawn from the Brahmin community and they entertained a strong prejudice against the printing press on religious grounds. Govind Narayan Madgaonkar refers to this in his book "Mumbayeechem Warnana" in the following words : "Some of the superstitious and orthodex Brahmins among us used to be afraid of touching a printed paper. And even today (*i.e.* in the year 1863) we come across many persons in Bombay and outside who do not touch printed paper nor read a printed book"[20]. Even prominent individuals who had had the benefit of education under the new system and were outstanding members of the new intelligentsia could not succeed in ridding their minds completely of prejudice of this nature. A remarkable instance of this kind is found mentioned in the Marathi autobiography of R. B. Dadoba Pandurang, the well known Marathi grammarian. When he showed his translation of Laghu Kaumudi from Sanskrit into Marathi to Bal Shastri Jambhekar, who was then the Secretary of the Board of Education and a Professor at the Elphinstone Institution, the latter expressed the opinion that since the Sutras from Panini's Ashtaddhyayi appearing in that work were "Vedokta" an attempt to defile them by printing would incur popular displeasure[21]. Professor Bal Shastri edited a monthly periodical "Digdarshan". In an article describing Lithography appearing in this periodical in 1840, it is stated that while animal fat is normally a constituent used in preparing printing ink, the ink used for printing the "Digdarshan" contained ghee instead of fat[22]. Mr. Havaldar, mentions in his Marathi biography of the late Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, a prominent Maharashtrian jurist, that the latter did not touch a printed book after his daily bath[23]. It is not surprising that with such strong prejudices

19. Bombay Courier , 26th March 1825.

20. मुंबईचें वर्णन by Govind N. Madgaonkar, 1863, p. 248.

21. रा० व० दादोबा पांडुरंग by A. K. Priolkar, 1947, p. 159.

22. दिग्दर्शन, Vol. I, 1840, No. 8, p. 213.

23. रा० सा० विश्वनाथ नारायण मंडलीक यांचें चरित्र by G. R. Havaldar, Vol. I, 1927, p. 277.

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against printed books deeply ingrained in the minds of the proportionately small educated class, it took a comparatively long time for the Indians to cultivate the habit of book collection and to realise the value of libraries. Despite such somewhat uncongenial circumstances an attempt to establish a library for the common benefit of both Europeans and Indians was made by Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, the then Editor of Bombay Courier, in 1829. As this remarkable attempt is little known today, I present here an account of the procedure followed by Mr. Stocqueler, in his own words :[24]

"There were two or three young Hindoos and a Parsee at Bombay in whom I took considerable interest, because they manifested an ardent desire to cultivate English literature, and under the auspices of the Native Education Society, this laudable passion was increasing. But Bombay labored at the time under the great disadvantage of being deficient of a public library to which all classes might have gratuitous access. The library of the Asiatic Society was only available to the patrician members, and the libraries of Messrs. Lugrin and Baxter were consecrated to the lightest literature. I put myself, therefore, in communication with a clever young Irish friend, who had come out as a private artilleryman (and had devoted himself to the study of Hindostanee and Marathi), in view to the formation of a general library. Robert Xavier Murphy was an Irish Catholic, and had probably been intended for the priesthood.

"Doomed his father's soul to cross,
By penning staunza when he should"—

be studying his breviary, he was spoiled for the Church, but he made an excellent interpreter in the supreme court at Bombay. Law gained what Theology lost.

Murphy opened a correspondence with all persons likely to aid our project. I asked Sir John Malcolm to give us a helping hand. If he did anything in that way, it has passed from my recollection. Sir John and I did not stable our horses together very comfortably. I attended one or two of his public breakfasts at Parell—the time when interviews were granted ; but I could not eat oatmeal 'parritch', nor laugh at very poor jokes ; and as these were the conditions of preferment and favor, I am not sure that I had a right to expect services even in the public interest.

On the 15th of November 1829 the general library was opened in magnificent and airy apartments engaged for the purpose. There was a large assemblage of subscribers and friends, and a report was read from which, with pardonable pride at the success of or Joint exertion, I extract the following passage :—

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24. Memoirs of a Journalist by J. H. Stocqueler 1873 pp. 66-70.

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"In less than a fortnight, upwards of 1,000 printed volumes and nearly 50 valuable oriental manuscripts were presented to, or deposited in the institution. The ornamental part was not forgotten ; the globe and charts that lie upon your table, the pictures, busts, and statues that adorn your walls, and by far the greatest part of the very furniture around you, are the voluntary gifts of your own members. In adverting to the quality of the works which now lie upon your shelves, I am happy to see that it forms a yet greater subject of gratulation than the numerical amount. To enter into details, and attempt to enumerate them would be trifle with your time ; but I may be allowed shortly to state that they contain almost all the celebrated writers of Greece and Rome—poets, orators, historian, and philosophers—with a selection of the most eminent authors of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal—that in our own language, in addition to every classical prose writer from the time of Henry VIII to the commencement of the present century, every poet of eminence, from Spencer to Byron,—we can boast of a respectable assortment in several departments of science, history, biography, philosophy, travels and the higher branches of novel writing—that in the particular department of literature, which throw light upon the history, religion and manners of the East, and in the whole range of oriental philosophy, from the earlier writings of Meninski to those of Sir William Jones, Lumsden, Colebrooke, Wilkins, Gilchrist, and the more recent labours of Carey, Wilson, Alexander Murray, Kennedy and Molesworth, our collection is such as will afford the amplest field to the lovers of Asiatic literature. The modesty of those gentlemen whose contributions have thus enriched us, forbids me publicly paying that tribute to their liberality which it merits ; but one valuable donation, at least, I feel it to be my duty to particularize, because it proceeds from a public body composed of individuals distinguished alike by the highest rank, character, and acquirements and evinces the liberal feeling and lively interest with which this institution is viewed by those whose approbation must stamp a value wherever given. I allude, gentlemen, to the Native Education Society of this presidency. To Mr. Money, the highly-gifted secretary of that Society, I was directed by the committee to address a letter, intimating the formation of our library, detailing our proceedings and soliciting his support. The answer to that letter I shall now read, convinced that it would afford to every one present the same unmingled gratification that it did to the members of the committee :—

To The Secretary to the Bombay General Library,

Sir,—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of yesterday's date. I am directed by the Native Education Society to present to the General Library and Reading Room, a copy of all works published and printed under its superintendence. I shall be most happy to assist, in any way I can, in forwarding

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the views of your Society, and in attending to any proposition likely to promote its success.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. C. Money
Secretary to the N. E. Society.

Bombay, the 12th November 1830.

"The present which accompanied this letter lies before you ; it consists of nearly 40 volumes, forming a selection of best works in the Hindostanee, Guzerati, Mahrathi and Persian languages, the greatest part lithographed in characters of great beauty. Amongst the Persian books is the elogant poem of Yoosoof and Zuleika, and the celebrated Anvar-i-Schili, a work consecrated by the admiration of Sir William Jones, who pronounces it a mine teeming with all that is rich and harmonious in the language of Iran, and since raised to a yet higher fame by the public eulogium lately bestowed upon it by one whose voice, in everything that relates to the history or literature of Persian, must be considered decisive. Independent of these publications, others, now in the press, are to be forwarded when complete ; of these, the principal are Ferishta's History of Hindostan, in Persian. and Major Molesworth's Mahratta Dictionary. The former is already well known from C. Dow's paraphrase ; on the latter any commendation that I could bestow could confer no value ; but that the worth of this present may be duly appreciated, justice bids me declare that any candid man, who has seen the mass of sheets struck off, must pronnounce it to be one of the most nicely critical productions of any age or country, every way worthy of ranking side by side on the same shelf with the works of Johnson, D'Alberti, Meninski, Richardson, and Horace Wilson.

" With regard to the manuscripts, they include, amongst others, the arryas of Moropant, the amatory system of Koke Pundit, the Ovid of the East, the inimitable dramas of celebrated Callidas, who has justly been termed the Shakespeare of India, and those of Shreehursh, a royal bard who blended the cultivation of the muses with the cares of a kingdom, and gained by the sweetness of his lyre an immortality which might have been denied to the lustre of his crown.

" This outline will give a general idea of the volumes which we already possess."

Mr. Stocqueler also introduced the library movement in Calcutta. He further writes—

"Finding by my letters from Bombay that the 'general library' had taken firm root and was flourishing, I determined to attempt the introduction of a similar establishment in Calcutta, for that city was equally destitute of a public library. The endeavour had been made some years previously and had failed.

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Receiving a good deal of countenances from the upper classes, my project was now submitted to a public meeting over which Sir John Peter Grant, one of the Judges of the supreme court, presided and was so well received that subscriptions rapidly poured in and books were presented. I was appointed honorary secretary to the library, and received vary gratifying public tributes to my humble endeavours to supply a real want."[25]

I have not been able so far, despite some efforts in that direction to trace the subsequent history of this Institution or to locate the peresent whereabouts of the collection of books owned by it. Nevertheless, the importance of this attempt consists in that in it Indians and their needs figure prominently for the first time in the history of the library mevement in the province and I should like to describe this institution as the third landmark in this history.

8. The establishment of the Native Library, Ahmednagar in 1838 which was the precursor of the establishment of a whole net-work of similar institutions all over the province, may be said to constitute the next stage in the development. A reference to this library is found in the Report of the Board of Education for the period 1-1-1850 to 30-4-1851. The following extract from this report deserves transcription:

" During the period now under review, an impulse has been given to the formation of Native libraries in some of the principal zillah towns of this Presidency. The first effort in this direction appears to have been made by Captain French, who succeeded in forming a Native library at Ahmednuggar, as far back as 1838. It was afterwards closed for want of support, but in 1847 it was revived ; and it now appears to be in a promising condition. The next effort was made at Baroda by the same officer in 1849. Subsequently the subject came under our consideration and we recommended to your Lordship's Government that Native libraries should be encouraged as much as possible. It appeared evident to us that unless these institutions were generally established, our plans for the diffusion of knowledge would be incomplete, as the education of the youths brought up in the schools would otherwise cease on their quitting them."[26]

It will be noted that the significance of the present stage lies in that we find in it for the first time a clear recognition on the part of those associated with the foreign government of the great importance of the library movement as an integral part of the efforts to promote education among Indians.

It will be interesting to present here with following facts gleaned from Government records about the subsequent history

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25. *Ibid*, p. 107.

26. Report of the Board of Education for 1850-51, p. 70.

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of this Native Library of Ahmednagar. The following letter from Mr. Benjamin Hutt, Acting Judge of Ahmednagar, is available in the Government records : [27]

To

The Secretary to Government;

Bombey.

Sir,

The native community of this place have lately formed a society for the establishment of General Library, an institution calculated to do a vast deal of good, but which from the poverty of the people will require some assistance in the outset. I beg you will consequently do me the favor to bring it to the notice of the Right Honorable, the Governor in Council, of whom I would venture to solicit a donation in money and few copies of such works in the native languages as Government may possess.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Benjamin Hutt

Ag. Judge.

We also find in the Government records mention of a gift of Rs. 100 from the Government of India to the Native General library of Ahmednagar, on the recommendation of the Bombay Government of 23-6-1838.[28] It appears from the East India Register that Captain French, the founder of the Ahmednagar Library, was in Ahmednagar in 1842. It would appear that he left that place in 1843 to take an appointment as Assistant to Governor General Ag. Rajpootana and in his absence the library seems to have ceased to function. The following information is contained in a letter addressed on 15-5-1850 by the President of the Native Library of Ahmednagar to the Secretary to the Bombay Government : "The library continued in existence till 1840, when after Captain French's departure from Ahmednagar, owing to want of encouragement and fund, it was closed. It was reopened in 1847 and now numbers 41 subscribers (European and Native) the amount of whose monthly subscription aggregates 27 rupees, 7 annas. The subscription has been fixed at a very low rate in order to make the benefits of the institution more generally available to poorer classes." [29]

9. Captain Part. Theo. French, who is referred to above as

27. G. D. 1838, Comp. 448, p. 11.

28. *Ibid*, p. 13.

29. G. D. 1850, Vol. 47, p. 211.

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the founder of the Ahmednagar Library deserves a place of honour in the annals of the library movement in India. An account of his career and services to the library movement will not therefore be out of place here. In 1838 he was the agent for Bhils at Ahmednagar. Later he worked there as the Commander of the Ahmednagar Police force. As pointed out above, he left Ahmednagar for Rajputana in 1843. In 1845 he was appointed as the Political Assistant Nimar. On 8-10-1846, he was appointed as the Private Secretary to Governor and on 20-3-1848 as the Town Major for the Bombay Presidency. He left Bombay on 1-1-1849 for Baroda as Ag. Resident. Even here, he not only founded a library at the Residency but continued his efforts for the establishment of similar libraries at other places in the province. In a letter addressed on 18-8-1849 to Mr. Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, while giving an account of the Baroda Library, he wrote : [30] " I hope that similar libraries to this now began in our office, in all the collectors and judges kucheris would give much support to the cause, creating to some extent a market and increasing the diffusion of books." It would appear that even while he was acting as the Private Secretary to the Government of Bombay he had already initiated a campaign for establishment of a network of libraries all over the province. A native library was founded in Poona in 1848. Its Secretary R. B. Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh gratefully acknowledged the services of Cap. French in writing about the Poona library to the Marathi Periodical "Prabhakar" on 26-3-1840. He wrote : "The Governor Saheb has initiated measures to dispel ignorance among Hindus not only in Poona, but also in Ahmednagar ; he has also issued orders to Residents and other officials at various centres to take similar steps. We must be grateful to Captain French, Private Secretary to the Governor Saheb, for having initiated this policy." Captain French went on furlough from the 11th November 1851 and retired from the service on the 3rd June, 1854.

10. The Board of Education was not in a position to provide financial assistance to these libraries out of the limited finances available to it. In its report for the year 1850-1, it made the following suggestions in this connection :

"Under these circumstances, we stated our opinion that we considered the most practical method for Government to adopt, would be to request the different Judges and attached Assistant Judges to exert their influence in raising subscriptions among the Natives for the purpose of establishing such libraries. We at the same time stated our readiness to present a copy of each of our vernacular publications to every Native Library within the Presidency, on application being made to this effect".[31]

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30. *Ibid*, p. 74.

31. Report of the Board of Education 1850-51, p. 71.

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The Board also recommended that the Government should supply Marathi periodicals like "Dhyana Prasarak" and "Bodh-sagar" to the libraries in Maharashtra and Gujerati periodicals to the libraries in Gujerat.

11. I append here a list of various libraries that came into existence during this period at various centres, together with the years in which they were founded:

Ahmedabad, Belgaum, 1848; Kolhapur, 1849; Thana, Surat Andrew's Library, 1850; Sawantwadi, Satara, 1852; Malegaon Campt Library, 1853; Dharwar, 1854; J. N. Petit Library, 1856; Sholapur, 1857; Dhulia, Bassein, Kaira, Barsi, 1863; Kalyan, Karwar, Mandvi (Cutch) 1863; Uran, Binwadi, Hubli, Malegaon Town Library, 1865; Panvel, Yeola, 1866; Surat (Nahanpura), Bhuj, 1868.

It is possible that some of these libraries have ceased to function. Others came to be established at later dates.

12. Two libraries of this period deserve special mention here. The Native General Library of Nasik was established in 1840. No information about its founder nor about the conditions in which came to be established is available. It is not impossible that it might represent a transformation into a Native general library of an earlier Civil or Military Station library. The centenary of this institution was celebrated in 1940 and a Marathi volume named "Pradakshana" was published to commemorate this occasion. It is a matter of regret, however, that no information about the early history of this institution appears in this volume.

Another library that deserves individual mention in the history of Library movement in the province is the Native General Library of Bombay. This was established in 1845. It would be interesting to know how intimately Capt. French's inspiring personality was associated with this attempt. There is no direct evidence available on the point; but Capt. French was present at a meeting organised to consider a memorial for Framjee Cowasjee in 1852, and seconded a resolution proposed by Nana Shankar Shet to the effect that the Native General Library be housed in the building of the Framjee Cawasjee Institute.[32] The prospectus issued by the promoters of this library at its inception is signed by Raghoba Janardhan, Native Head Clerk to the Military Board Office. The preliminary meeting at which it was decided to establish this library was held in a small house near the Trinity Chapel at Dhobi Talao. The Managing Committee elected at the meeting included the following individuals: John Mullaby, President. European Members: (1) M. F. Truman, (2) G. McKeon, (3) J. Mathleson, (4) A. R. Dickson, (5) J. King, (6) A. L. Murdock, (7) M. Groundwater. Native Members: (1) Raghoba Janardhan,

32. Fourth Report of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, 1853, p. 20.

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(2) Pandurang Bhaoo, (3) Narayan Amrootrao, (4) D. P. Rodriques, (5) Pundlik Sunker Warde, (6) Bomanji Fardoonji, and (7) Shri Krishna Sadashivji. The number of members during this year was 270. The library was later transferred to the building of the Framji Cowasji Institute on 1st January 1864 at the suggestion of Sir Erakine Perry when the Dhyana Prasarak Library of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society was absorbed into it. This library has had the benefit of generosity of men like Maharaja of Gaekwad, Maharaja of Travancore, Nabab of Junagad, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Bairamji Jeejeebhoy, Gokuldas Tejpal, John Harkness; and of the organising abilities of outstanding personalities like Sir Erakine Perry, Naorosjee Fardonji, Dr. Bhaoo Daji, Dadabhoy Nawroji, Ardeshir Framji, Bala Mangesh Wagle, Vinayak Vassudeo, Narayan Dinanath, Karsondas Mulji, Rev. Charles Gilder, K. T. Telang, J. V. Yajnik, V. N. Mandlik. The high esteem in which its activities were held by the Bombay public can be inferred from the fact that it could raise Rs. 27,000 in 1863 in response to an appeal for funds addressed to the Bombay public.[33] Its membership rose to 1100 in 1895. As a result of a donation from N. M. Wadia Trust in 1916, it was renamed as the N. M. Wadia General Library. Subsequently the library came under the control of Damodardas Govardhandas Sukhadwalla Trust in 1930 and it was decided to change its name into the People's Reading Room and Library, Dhobi Talao Branch. At present it functions as a free library and there are no members. As a consequence of this, no additions are being made to its book collection for want of adequate finances. It is very desirable that an institution with such splendid traditions should be enabled to function fully as a live institution, and I would suggest that those in control of its destinies should consider reinstating a system of membership, as a source of income from which its book collection could be replenished.

13. Before I bring this account of the development of the library mevement to full maturity to a close, it is necessary to mention only one further stage. The various libraries so far mentioned were mixed libraries in the sense that they collected books in all languages, English, Sanskrit, Persian, Marathi, Gujerati, according to local needs. But, as was to be expected in conditions prevailing at that time, English literature claimed a predominant position in these libraries, and an Indian language appeared in the position of a Cinderella. The literature in Modern India languages was growing at a rapid rate during this period but it did not find its legitimate place in these libraries. A certain rather meagre sum was earmarked for purchase of books in Indian languages, and only such books as could be purchased out of this amount were introduced in the library. Under these condi-

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33. *Vide* Fiftieth Annual Report of the Bombay Native General Library, 1895.

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tions, it was natural that thinking men should come to realise that the library movement could not make its full contribution to the task of promoting advancement of Indian people, unless libraries devoted solely to the different Indian languages came into existence.[34] It is said that the first person to give expression to this need of the times was R. B. Gopal Hari Deshmukh, better known under pseudonym Lokahitawadi. However, the first person to give a concrete shape to the idea was Vinayak Lakshman Bhave who founded the Thana Marathi Granth Sangrahalaya in 1893. A similar attempt appears to have been made at about the same time under the auspices of an institution called Bharat Sevak Samooha. The promoters of this attempt were Messrs. Ambadas Puntambekar, Modak, and Shezvalkar. They actually established a free public library named Chatrapati Vachanalaya, but it had to be closed down for lack of public support. Nothing daunted by this failure, the enthusiastic organisers of this attempt succeeded in securing the cooperation of eight other friends and tried again. Thus came into existence the Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya of Bombay, the institution which I have the honour of representing at this conference. This institution was founded in 1898. At present it is housed in its own building, possesses the largest book collection among Marathi libraries and has branches in Girgaum and Dadar. I am glad to report that it has been possible this year, as a result of generous help received from the Government of Bombay to extend the scope of the functions of this institution to a fresh field of activity by establishing a Post Graduate Research Institute under its auspices. I may mention also that Mr. Ambadas Puntambekar, the founder of the Sangrahalaya whose sad death occurred on 6th November last, continued to be actively and prominently associated in its activities till the end of his life. The third attempt to found a Marathi library was made at Poona in 1911 and subsequently hundreds of other libraries devoted to a single Indian language have come into existence. It will be noticed so far as this last stage is concerned, I have

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34. The first Annual Report of the Marathi Granthsangrahalaya, Thana, 1894, contains the following remarks :

"आपली देशी भाषा सुधारण्याकरितां आजपर्यंत पुष्ककांनीं पुष्कल उपाय केले, कोणी नवीन ग्रंथ लिहिले, कोणी नवे ग्रंथ मिलवून तपासून ते प्रसिद्ध केले, परंतु हे सगले ग्रंथ एके ठिकाणीं जमविण्याचा प्रयत्न कोणी नीटसा केलेला ऐकिवांत नाहीं, आयल्या देशांत पुस्तकालयें बरींच आहेत. परंतु मराठी भाषेच्या सबधानें पाहतां त्यांतील व्यवस्था समाधान कारक नाहीं बहुत करुन सर्व चांगल्यासर्व ग्रंथ संग्रहालयांत मराठी व इंग्रजी या दोन्ही भाषांतील पुस्तकें ठेवण्याचा संप्रदाय असतो आतां इंग्रजी भाषत मराठीपेक्षां ग्रंथसंग्रह विशेष चांगला व जास्त मामुलें बहुतेक पैसा इंग्रजी पुस्तकें घेण्याकडेच खर्चीं पडतो व मराठी ग्रंथाचा संग्रह एहावा तसा होत नाहीं, ही आपल्या देशांत भाषेसंबंधी एक मोठी उणीव आहे. ही उणीव लक्षांत घेऊन हें मराठी ग्रंथ संग्रहालय स्थापन झालें."

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confined my attention to developments with reference to Marathi literature. Similar attempts must have taken place in the Gujerati and Kannada districts of the provinces; but unfortunately I could not secure information about them.

14. The library movement today has received active encouragement and support at the hands of the popular government in this province and it is proposed to integrate it and widen the scope of its activities enormously so as to cater for the needs of the remotest village in this province. There seems a full realisation for the first time of the fundamental role that the movement could play in an active democracy and willingness on the part of the government to play their full part in promoting the movement. I, therefore, conclude this account of the development of the movement by expressing the hope that the peoples of this province will extend their full and active cooperation in these efforts and that the prospects of a bright future for the movement will be realised in the immediate future.

IDENTITY OF RAJA BIMB WITH WHOM THE PĀṬHĀRE PRABHUS MIGRATED TO BOMBAY IN THE 13TH CENTURY A. D.

BY

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There are a number of theories about the place from which the Pāṭhāre Prabhus migrated to Bombay. There is also a wide diversion of opinion regarding the identity of Raja Bimba with whom they came to the Konkan. "Yet with all this conflict of testimony one must in the end accept the fact that a king named Bimba ruled in Salsette in about A.D. 1300, that he made Mahim in Bombay his capital and granted various offices and rent-free lands to his followers."[1] We also know for certain that these followers of Bimba were Pāṭhāre Prabhus.[2] Let us now see who this Bimba or Bhim was who seized the north Konkan and made Mahikawati or Mahim his capital.

1. Mr. Nayak in his History of the Pāṭhāre Prabhus says that the Prabhus were ruling in the east. Being pressed by the rising tide of the Muslims they came to the south and settled at Paithan, which was ruled over by one Ram Raja. This Ram Raja

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1. B.C.I. Gazetteer Vol. II, page 16.
2. Rajwade, Introduction to M.B., page 52.

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had three sons—Keshav Deo, Bimba Deo and Pratap Deo. In 1288 A.D. one Ahmedshah invaded Paiṭhaṇ and killed Rām Rājā. The Pāthāre Prabhus fled from Paiṭhaṇ with Bimba Deo, the second son of the Raja, and came to the Konkan and settled there.[3] All this is pure myth. In the 13th Century Paiṭhaṇ was under the rule of the Yadav Kings of Devagiri[4] and there is no proof that it was sacked in 1288. Again the Maharastrian saint Dnyāneshwar who stayed at Nevāse not far from Paiṭhaṇ says in the concluding lines of his great work "Dnyaneswari," which was written in 1290, that King Ramchandra, the scion of the Yadav dynasty ruled over the land.

2. Rao Bahadur Moroba Kanoba states that the Prabhus came to the Konkan with one Bhāgelā (possibly Waghela) King Bheem of Gujerat.[5] There is no historical proof for this. In fact we find that there was no one by the name Bhim Deo or Bimba Deo in the whole dynasty of the Wāghelā, or Bhāgelās.

3. Relying upon Laxman Prabhu's Bimbakhyan, Dr. Gerson DaCunha says that the Pāṭhāre Prabhus came to Mahim in 1026 A.D.[6] with a Bheem or Bhimdeo, a Chalukya Prince of the house of Solankis, who reigned for 42 years from 1022 to 1064 A.D. He further says that "the Solanki Bheem, after the expedition of Mahmud of Gazni to Somnath and his invasion and capture of Anhilawada in 1026 A.D. fled from his country and to make up for the loss in the north marched with his followers from Patan into the south and settled at Mahim. The reason the Prabhus call themselves Pāthāre or Pāthāne is that they derive their origin from Gujerat Pāṭaṇ and not from the Deccan Paiṭhan."[7]

This story cannot be true, because we know it for a fact that immediately after the departure of Mahmud, the Solaṇki Bheem returned to Anhilwādā, rebuilt the temple of Somnath and reigned at Anhilwada till his death in 1064 A.D[8].

Again the two Jain chronicles of Gujerat "Prabandh Chintāmani" and "Dvyasrya" have recorded the most minute details of the reigns of the Chalukya kings of Anhilwada. It is therefore impossible to accept that they omitted to chronicle so important an event like the conquest and colonization of Mahim by the Solanki Bheem and his Pāthāre Prabhu followers.[9]

4. Mr. Vyavaharkar says that the Prabhus when ousted from the Paṭhār by the Parmars of Malwa went to the Punjab

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3. Nayak, P.P., page 48.

4. Vide Paithan Copper Plate Grant of Ram Deo of Devagiri in Ind. Arc. Vol. XIV, page 119.

5. Moroba Kanoba, Epitome of the History of Bheem Raja, p. 16.

6. DaCunha, The Origin of Bombay, p. 36.

7. *Ibid*, p. 39.

8. B.P. Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 169-179.

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and established their rule there. In the Punjab they had to encounter the Trans-Indian hordes and consequently moved to Gujerat via Sind. They established themselves first at Mungi Paṭṭaṇ, but soon shifted to Somnath Paṭṭan or Dev Paṭṭaṇ. Soon, however, the Pāṭhāre Prabhu princes accepted the sovereignty of their stronger neighbours the Anhilwada rulers. After the invasion of Mahmud Gazni the Pāṭhāre Prabhus with many other Kshatriya families, came to the Konkan and settled at Kelve Mahim "under the leadership of Bheem, one of the Anhilwada princes". He further says that Bhimdeo II of Anhilwada who had considerable power at sea[10] might have come to Konkan.[11] There is no record whatever that any king of the Solaṅki dynasty ever ruled over the north Konkan. "Again this Bhimdeo II was so weak a man that he earned the sobriquet "Bholo" the simpleton. Was this the man to colonise Mahim and wrest sovereignty from the powerful Silahar rulers like Aparaditya and Kashideo?"[12]

Both Dr. DaCunha and Mr. Vyavaharkar have adopted this theory probably because the Bimbakhyan and the Kaustubh Chintamani state that Bimba came to the Konkan through Gujrat.

5. Mr. N. V. Purandare in his history of the Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmans tells quite a different tale. According to him Bimba belonged to a Suryavamshi dynasty of Udaipur. His family name was Rāṇe, Gotra Bhāradwāj, and family Goddess Prabhāvati. In or about the 8th Century his ancestors established themselves at Sinhi in Udaipur. Because of the Muslim pressure Bimba's father Ramdeo left Sinhi and came to Paiṭhaṇ to Raja Vikram Bhoj. Ram Deo had three sons—Keshav, Bimba and Pratap. Keshav established hismself at Anhilwada. In 1288 Allauddin Khilji invaded Devagiri. Keshav went to the rescue of his father but was defeated and killed. Pratap who started from Anhilwada met with the same fate. Bimba came as far as Paiṭhaṇ, but finding himself no match for Allauddin turned towards the west and founded his kingdom at Mahim.[13] There is absolutely no historical truth in this story. It simply betrays lack of information about mediaeval Indian history.

6 The Bombay City Gazetteer tells us that "the inscriptions left by the Silaharas include the names of many of their ministers and officers—some of them have surnames that are now found among the Pāṭhāre Prabhus. One may reasonably infer that the period of the Silahar rule witnessed the settlement of both Pāṭhāre and Kāyastha Prabhus".[14] Ragarding the identity

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9. S.M. Edwardes. Rise of Bombay, p. 24.
10. Forbes, Ras Mala, p. 188-189.
11. Vyavaharkar, History of the P. P., p. 37.
12. S.M. Edwardes, Rise of Bombay, p. 24.
13. N.V. Purandare, Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmin, p. 13-16
14. B.C.I. Gazetteer, Vol. II p, 13-14.

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of Bimba, the Gazetteer further says "he is said to have been a Suryavamshi Kshatriya like his followers, the Pāṭhāre Prabhus. A reasonably probable supposition seems to be that he was simply a leading member of the Pāṭhāre Prabhu Caste, which had already held high offices during the Silahar period, and which had ample opportunity of setting up a kingdom of its own in the confusion that followed the Mohamedan invasion of the Deccan.[15]

As against this theory, however, we have the testimony of Rajwade who says that before Shaka 1215 (A .D. 1293) there was not a single Pāṭāṇā Prabhu in the north Konkan.[16]

7. Bhārat Itihasa Sanshodhak Mandal, Poona, have got a Bād (manuscript) of about 50 pages which, it seems, was copied by one Naranji, a Pāṭhāre Prabhu, in 1798 A.D. The Bād has five chapters. The first called Shree Ram Mahima deals with the exploits of one Ram Raja the father of Raja Bimba who came to the Konkan in about A.D. 1144 from five Paiṭhaṇs viz. Chāmpāner, Hastināpur, Nāgabāj, Mañgi Paiṭhaṇ and Panhālā. It also mentions sixty six families of the Pāṭhāre Prabhus. The second gives a general history of the north Konkan from the advent of Raja Bimba to its conquest by the Muslims. The third speaks of the Vaitarni Teerth of Sopara, the fourth mentions eighteen Pāṭhāre Prabhu families while the fifth gives the dynasty of Kings from Bimba to the last king who was dethroned and killed by the Muslim. The first and the fourth chapters together mention ninety-five families of the Pāṭhāre Prabhus including those of King Ram Raja and his ministers. Of these, twenty eight came from Paiṭhaṇ, thirteen from Chāmpāner, nine from Nāgabāj, seven from Panhālā, seven from Cherṇe, three from Daulatabād and two from Anhilwāḍā. Thus we find that some families came from Maharashtra, some from Rajputana and some from Gujerat.

The Bād shows that the first chapter was written in 1388, the second in 1614, the third in 1306 and the fourth in 1738. It does not say anything about the time of the composition of the fifth chapter, but from its language it seems to have been written after the advent of Muslims in southern India. The Bād, if true, disproves the theory that the Pāṭhāre Prabhus migrated to the Konkan wholly from Gujerat, or wholly from Rajputana or wholly, from Paiṭhaṇ. It states that these people came to the Konkan from all the parts to the north and to the east of the Konkan.

It gives a list of seventy family goddesses of the Pāṭhāre Prabhus families. It also gives the names of a number of "Cotras" many of which are not found in the present "Gotras" of the Pāṭhāre Prabhus.

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15. Ibid,

16. Rajwade, Introduction to M. B., p. 52.

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8. In 1294 A. D. Allauddin Khilji invaded Devagiri. Finding it difficult to face the Muslims, Ram Dev, the Yadav King of Devagiri sent his second son Bimba to the north Konkan. There came with him nine families of Yajurvedi Brahmins of Mādhyandin Shākhā, twenty seven families of Somvanshis, nine of Shesha Vanshis, five of Pāñchals, seven of Āgris, one of Dasalāḍ, one of Veesalāḍ, and three of Modh.[17] Of the surnames given of 39 Suryavanshi and Somvanshi Kshatriyas, twenty four are surnames now current among the Pāṭhare Prabhus.[18] The Mahikavatichi Bakhar gives the names of fifty four Pātāṇe Prabhu Sardars who came with Bimba.[19]

Let us now examine the evidence which proves that this Yadav Bimba was the Bimba who came to Mahim in the last decade of the thirteenth century.

1. From a Persian Firman issued by Nawab Chand Khan, the Subha of the Province of Daman and dated A. D. 1495, we learn that "Bimbashaha, hearing the defeat of his father Ramdev of Devagiri by Allauddin, fled with his Rāj Guru Purshottampant Kāwaḷe and eleven Oomraos (all of whom according to Rajwade were Pāthāre Prabhus). He came to Mahim and divided the country into twelve parts giving the province of Malad unto Rājguru Kāwaḷe".[20]

N. B. It may be incidentally noted here that the descendants of this Rājguru Kāwaḷe are still at Mālāḍ (a suburb of Bombay.).

2. A Persian patent bearing the Seal of Mahmud Dalil, the Dewan of Sultan Allauddin of Bedar and dated A. D. 1436 shows that "in the Shalivahan Era 1212 (A. D. 1290) Raja Bimbashah, having taken the ownerhip and possession of the north Konkan from the hands of 'Karson' *kept it for himself.*[21]

Now we know that in A. D. 1290 a Brahmin named Krishna was the Viceroy of Ramdeo of Devagiri in the north Konkan.[22] We can easily identify this Krishna with 'Karson' or the patent from whom Raja Bimba took possession. From this we note that Bimba took possession of north Konkan from his father's Viceroy and established himself as King thereof.

3. Again we have a Dan-patra or Grant of the rights of Sardesai and Sardeshpande, made by King Bimba Dev to his Rajguru in the year 1299 A. D.[23]

4. The two inscriptions of A. D, 1273 and 1291, recently found near Thana, purporting to be the grants of Anjur and

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17. B. C. I. Gazetteer Vol. I, p. 144
18. Purandare, Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmin p. 20.
19. Rajwade, Introduction to M. B., p. 46,
20. S. M. Edwardes, Rise of Bombay, p. 25,
21. Ibid. p. 26,
22. R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of Deccan, 239.

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Owale (Thana District) leaves little doubt that, that province was ruled over by the Yadavas.[24]

The above evidence leads us to the conclusion that Bima Dev who came to north Konkan in the last decade of the 13th century was Bimba, the second son of king Ramdeo of Devgiri. With him came his followers or Sardars, the Pāthāre Prabhus who helped him to found the capital of Mahikavati, modern Mahim " bringing with them a new polity, much bureaucratic skill and some culture, thereto unknown amongst the primitive settlers of the Island."[25]

We have also to admit, however, that the Pāthāre-Prabhus must have gone to Devagiri from some parts of north India like Rajputana, Kathiawar[26] etc. because "their language still contains a considerable admixture of Gujerati, Kāṭhiawari and even in lesser degrees Mārwāḍi words. Their manners and customs show traces of a northern origin, and the so called Prabhu turban, now falling rapidly in disuetude is found in some parts of Kāṭhiawar[27].

Again from the evidence of the Silahar inscriptions and the Bād referred to above, we must accept the possibility of a few Pathare Prabhu families being in the north Konkan during the Silhar period.

HOW, WHENCE AND WHEN MAHARASTRA CAME INTO BEING ?

BY

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(1) How Maharastra came into being ?

Maharastra is the name of one of the regions of Bharata Khanda. This name has been given to it on account of the colonizers being Maharastriyans. The country is referred to in the 6th century[1] A. D. as Maharastrakah, in the 2nd century[2] A. D. as Maharatta, in 3rd century B. C. as Maharattha[3].

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23. S. M. Edwardes, Rise of Bombay, p. 26.
24. K. A. Padhye, Hemadri p, 148.
25. DaCunha, Origin of Bombay, p. 48.
26. Enthoven, Tribes and Castes of Bombay, p. 241.
27. B. C. I. Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 241.
1. Verse 25 of the Ihole inscription. Ipi. Ind. Vol. VI P I ff.
2. Book XIX Translation of Manime Khalai, 1918 Ed. by Rao Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. p. 100 and p. 159.
3. Mahavanso by Prof. K. N. Bhagwat, 1936 Ed. p. 65.

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The word Maharatta (a Prakrit form) must have been the outcome of the amalgamation of the territories of the Rattas[4] or Rastrikas. The name of Ratta or Rastrika must have been given to those people some time after they had settled there and reached a certain stage of differentiation from the original stock.

Another thing to be noted in this connection is that these Rattas or Rastrikas are the descendants of the Vaidika Aryas who entered Bharata Khanda and colonized some of its parts which subsequently formed themselves into one confederation of the name of Maharastra.

To find out how this Maharastra came into being, we shall have to peep into the history of the colonization of Bharata Khanda by the Vaidika Aryas with the help of Rigveda, their earliest document which furnishes not only historical and cultural events but also geographical locations. Thus we get Sapta[5] Sindhu country mentioned in it which is the present N.W.F. Province[6] and the Punjab. The name Sapta Sindhu is given to it on account of the seven rivers[7] it contains. This is the first colony the Vaidika Aryas have made. The Vedas do not mention the names of the other colonies but mention the rivers on the banks of which these were made. Thus in and round about the duabs of Ganga[8] and Yamuna they formed the second colony and on the banks of Ganga as it flows further on, and on the banks of Gomati[9] and Sarayu[10] they made their third colony and on the banks of Ksipra[11] they brought out their fourth colony. The whole of this process of the colonization of the Bharata Khanda by the Vaidika Aryas can well be understood if the theory of the river-side-colonization is taken into consideration. The Vaidika Aryas reached Ksipra through Carmanvati[12] which meets Yamuna some miles east of Agra. And it is neither unnatural nor impracticable if some of these colonizers on the banks of Yamuna might have chosen to go by the banks of the new river *i.e.* Carmanvati which they met on their way. They had to proceed further rather than to settle on the banks of this new river on account of the barren and rocky nature of the region being unsuitable to make homes. They were, therefore, obliged to continue their journey till they reached the banks of Ksipra which is rich in fertility and being a high level plane, healthy from climatic point of view. This story

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4. Early History of the Deccan by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar 1884 Ed. p. 9 and 10.
5. (a) Rig Veda VIII : 24 : 27, (b) Vedic Index Vol, II, p. 424.
6. (a) Ind. Ant. XIII p. 144. (b) p. 24 : Vol. XXI Annals of B. O. R. I.
7. Rig. I 32 : 12 and 34 : 8 and 35 : 8 ; IV. 28, I ; VIII 96 : I.
8. Rig. X 75 : 5.
9. Rig. X 75 : 6.
10. Rig. IV 30 : 18.
11. Rig. IV 8 : 8.

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of the colonization will be found still more convincing, when we see the four spoken dialects of these four colonies.

The literary and religious language of the Vaidika Aryas were Chanda[13] and Sanskrit languages throughout Bharata Khanda, the former being used for Vedas and the latter for Smrtis and later religious, historical, philosophic and ritual literatures. These two cultured languages did not live long as spoken ones but made room for new comers which were being termed as Mlechah[14], Apabhashah[15], Apasabdah[16], Alpiymasah[17], Sabdah, Apabhramasah[18] from 3000 B. C. and down-wards till these types of dialects received the term Prakrita[19] by the time of Siksa. These Prakrits reached later on the literary stage in different colonies and status as high as that of Sanskrit and hence felt the need of grammar, which was composed by Vararuchi about the 5th century[20] B. C. This treatise contains grammars of the four languages *viz.* Paisachi, Sauraseni, Magadhi and Maharashtri. These being the four languages of the four prominent colonies referred to above made by the Vaidika Aryas in geographical sequence. Maharastri Prakrit was the spoken dialect of the Maharastra colony. Thus the history of the Prakrits substantiates the story of the colonization of Vaidika Aryas and the story of how Maharastra came into being, as the last and fourth colony of the Vaidika Aryas.

(2) From whence Maharastra came into being ?

It has been already told that Maharastra came into being on the bank of the Ksipra river which region is called Avanti or Malava Desha or Malva or C. D. and hence nothing more is required to say on this point.

The objection that might be raised to the above proposition is that at present Malva or Central India is not a part of Maha-

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12. Natya Shastra, XVII. 62. There is no reference to Carmanvati in Vedic literature but there is mention of an Acharya Carmasirah in Nighantu, 3 : 15.

13. Sec. XIII. Ch. V. of Culla Vagga Edited by Olenberg 1880 Ed. p. 139.

14. Satapath Brahmana III, 2 : I, 23 and 24.

15 and 16. Patanjala Mahabhasya Vol. I, p. 26.

17 and 18. Sayana Carya Krit Rig Veda Bhasyopakramainka : Calcutta 1925 Ed.

19. Paniniya Siksa, Sloka 3rd.

20. (a) Preface pages VI and IX Sanskrit Dictionary by Dr. Wilson.

(b) Pracina Maharastra (Marathi) by Dr. Ketkar, Vol. I, pp. 250 to 265 and pp. 311 to 15.

(c) P. VI of the preface to Prakrit Prakasha, by Cowell ; Edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya.

(d) Dr. Sir Bhandarkar assigns Vararuch to Salivahana period.

(e) Max Muller, Pishal, Konow say that Varauci and Katyayana were one, p. 222, Dr. Gune's Lectures, 1916-17.

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rastra, how is it that it was so in ancient days? My answer to this is that I did not say that Malva is now-a-days a part of Maharastra but it was so upto atleast the 12th century A. D.[21] I give below my authorities in support of my statement.

(1) By the 6th century[22] A. D. Malava *i.e.* Central India and Gurjaratra *i.e.* Southern Rajaputana were geographically divisions of Maharastra and by 12th century the northern boundary of Maharastra came down to Narmada[23].

(2) A stone tablet[24] in Maharastri is found at Dhar in Central India dated 1132 of the Shaka Era.

(3) Words of Maharastri Apabhrmsha[25] are given in Sloka 10th of the commentary of Sloka 17th of Alankara Shastra of Bhoja Deo of Dhar (1010-1055 of the Shaka Era).

(4) In the commentary Sloka 11th, it is said :—

महाराष्ट्र देशीयत्वात् देशीपदानाम् । सिद्धिर्महाराष्ट्रोत :।

It is clearly indicated from the above statements that this region was a part of Maharastra and the language there current Maharastri and Maharastri Apabhramsa.

(5) Dr. Grierson remarks[27] "Even Western Hindi forms can be adduced which agree with Marathi and Maharastri as against Sauraseni".

(6) Prof. Patankar of Benares in 1906 in a lecture[28] at Ujjain stated that the Rangdi dialect of that part agrees with Marathi in many respects.

(7) There is great affinity in the formation of many words and forms of Hindi and Marathi Poetry of the 13th century[29].

(8) Physical unity among the Marathi and Hindi proverbs[30] current to-day in both the provinces shows identical cultural and social heritage of both the societies.

(9) Dr. Gune,[31] Dr. Turner,[32] Dr. Grierson[33] tell us that Maharastri was once a prevalent language in the north of Narmada.

(10) Avanti[34] or Avantija *i. e.* the language of Avanti Desha was a mixture of Maharastri and Sauraseni.

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21 and 22. Vatsyayana's Kamasastra II, 5-29.
23. Vol. XXIII of the Annals B. O. R. I. pp. 503 and 4.
24. Vol. VIII Epi. Ind. p. 96.
25. P. 126 of Saraswati Kanthabharana (Kavya Mala 94) Baroda Oriental Library Department, Sanskrit Division 6529.
26. *Ibid.* p. 127.
27 and 33. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. VIII, p. 7.
28. P. 55 of the preface to Dnyaneshwari by Rajavade (Marathi).
29. Purusartha (Marathi monthly) Sept. 1941, p. 82.
30. *Ibid.* pp. 76 to 81,
31. Dr. Gune's Wilson Philological Lectures, (1916-17), p. 194.
32. Marathi Bhasa : Udgama and Vikasa by Prof. Kulkarni (Marathi). p. 96.
34. Prakrit Sarvasva of Markandaya : Pada 11 Sloka 1st.

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Out of these 10 references the last one proves the geographical extent of Maharastra beyond Narmada, 2 to 7 and 9 and 10 go to establish the existence of Maharastri and Maharastri Apabhramsa in that region and the 8th shows the social and cultural affinity of the regions on both the banks of Narmada river. Taking into consideration all these 10 references together, it goes beyond doubt to satify that (1) Avanti Desha was geographically, culturally, linguistically and socially a part of Maharastra till upto 12th century A. D. and (2) that Avanti was a border land where the region of Sauraseni touches that of Maharastri, and therefore we may safely presume that Avanti Desha was the region from whence Maharastra came into being.

(3) *When Maharastra came into being* ?

Now we have to decide the antiquity of Maharastra. No body will doubt that Vidarbha[35] was a part of Maharastra and (*a*) that it has been proved with astronomical references found in Satapatha Brahmana[36] that it was colonized by the Vaidika Aryas by 3100 years B. C. (*b*) that the Daksinapada[37] *i.e.* Daksinapatha and Narmada have been referred to in Rig Veda (*c*) that the formation of the word Godavari[38] can be proved by Vedic grammar and (*d*) that Vidarbha reached the same cultural level as that of Kuru Desha can well be assumed by the blood relations of the residents of those provinces reported in Maha-Bharata and Ramayana as Rukumini, Keshini[39] and Damayanti[40] were married to the kings of the northern Bharata Khanda. Of the three girls mentioned above Rukmini was living by the time of the Mahabharata war which took place some time about 5000[41] years from to-day. This date can again be ascertained by the date of Yudhisthira Shaka which is about 5000 years old to-day. All this story goes to prove that Vidarbha was by 5000 years ago not only colonized by Vaidika Aryas but it was well cultured also and that the Vaidika literature was being composed when they settled in Vidarbha and extended upto Godavari.

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35. Bala Ramayana of Rajshekhar edited by Govind Deo Shastri Benares, 1869 Ed. p. 302 Slokas 73 and 74.

36. (a) Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIV, p. 242. (b) Appendix (A) pp. 409. (c) of Dnyanakosha, Vol. II, By Dr. Ketkar (Marathi).

37. Rig. X : 61 : 8.

38. Foot note 17 (2) of page 273 Vol. XXX Ind. Ant.

39. Ramayana Balakanda : 38 : 3.

40. Mahabharat Vana Parva : 51 : 21.

41. Ihole Inscription : Slokas 33 and 34 give 3735th year of the Mahabharatha War by 556 year of Shaka era (1866-556=1310) Add 1310 to 3735.

42. (a) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Ancient History of India : (b) Carmichael Lecturers (1918), p. 53,

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Now let us go back to determine the date of the colonization of Avanti Desha by the Vaidika Aryas. It can very easily by taken that they reached Vidarbha after having crossed Vindhya and Narmada, but the queestion as to from where is to answered. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown close relations of Avanti and Ashmaka[42] and I have shown that out of the 9 routes[43] by which they had gone from Aryavarta to Daksinapatha only two routes have very often and from Ramayana and Mahabharata days,[44] upto Peshava conquests been used frequently, which are (1) from Avanti to Mahismati and (2) Bhopal to Handa, which clearly prove the close connection of Avanti and Vidarbha, and therefore we should take that the Vaidika Aryas went to Vidarbha after they have colonized Avanti Desha. It can also be presumed creating a colony in Avanti and feeling the necessity of going further down for a fresh land by crossing Vindhya and Narmada and creating a new colony in Vidarbha and a new culture of its own will certainly require some centuries, say a period of about one millennium, and I presume that the colonization of Avanti *i. e.* the date of coming into being of Maharastra dates back to the 6th millennium. The only point now left is whether from the inception of Avanti Desha, it was being called Maharastra. My answer to this is in the affirmative, though we do not find Maharastra referred to by so early a date as the 6th millennium.

My argument is this :—

That there was a corrupt form from Sanskrit as a spoken dialect for all the classes of the Vaidika Aryas from the very date they reached Sindhu river and began settling on the banks of it and created a colony of the same name. Region is called a colony after the colonizers form into a separate unit of society, independent of the former stock, having created a new culture, a new form of dialect and new modes of living. And unless the new settlement has all these aspects to suit the climate, circumstances and the company of the former residents of the region, amongst whom they are required to mix it will not come into being. According to this theory

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43. Routes between Arya Varta and Daksinapatha an article by this printed in B. C. Law Vol. I.

44. महाभारत वनपर्व : अध्याय ५८ श्लोक २०-२१-२२.
B. O. R. I. Ed. Pages 185-86.
एते गच्छन्ति बहवः पंथानो दक्षिणापथम् ।
अवन्तिमृक्षवंतं च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥ २०
एष विंध्यो महाशैलः पयोष्णो च समुद्रगा ॥ २१
एष पंथा विदर्भाणाम् अयं गच्छति कोसलाम् ।
अतः परंच देशोयं दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथः ॥ २२

45. Ind. Ant. Vol. XI III, p. 44.

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the Sapta Sindhu Desha got a new dialect of the name of Paisachi for it was Pisacha Desha. Similar changes occurred when the Vaidika Aryas reached the Duabs of Yamuna and Ganga and further on, on the banks of Gomati and Sarayu, to create new colonies of the names of Surasen Desha and Magadha Desha with new dialects for them of the name of Sauraseni and Magadhi. History is repeated in the case of the colony of Avanti having given birth to Maharastra and a dialect of the name of Maharastri for the people residing there to exchange their views and express their desires.

I may take that the dialect Maharastri might have come into existence one thousand years after the coming into being of the colony of Avanti and therefore I fix that 5000 years from this day must have been the birth date of Maharastra Desha and of its dialect Maharastri though the records tell us that these can be traced only as late as the earlier century of the Shaka era.

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APPENDIX A

ANNUAL REPORT—1947

The year under report has not been marked by any appreciable change in the position of the Indian History Congress in the academic life of India. Owing to the excessively disturbed conditions in the country it has not been possible to increase its membership. The difficulties of communication have also added to our difficulties in enrolling new members. Last year I had hoped that the membership will rise to 500 but I regret it has not been possible to attain that level. As in the previous years, a large number of our existing members have paid their membership fee quite close to the meeting of the Congress. May I appeal to them to remit their fee soon after the commencement of the financial year, that is April, and not wait for the meeting of the Congress. The total membership this year stands at 159 of which 20 are new.

It has been possible this year to bring out the list of the subjects of research which are being pursued by various scholars in different institutions of the country. The list is by no means exhaustive. I hope that the scholars will help us in compiling an exhaustive list by sending full information to me as soon as possible. Without a coordinated scheme of research there is bound to be a waste of intellectual energy. Such a list will help younger scholars particularly in selecting their subjects of study. It is hoped that such lists will be prepared from time to time.

As in the previous years, at the last session in 1946 also, most of the Indian Universities were represented by their nominees. A large number of learned Associations had also sent up their representatives.

It was not, however, possible for all the Provincial Governments and major Indian States to be represented at our session. An effort was made this year to seek representation of such governments but the prevailing conditions in the country could not prompt the governments to divert their attention to mere academic activities. I hope, however, that with the return of normal conditions in a free country the Indian History Congress will have among its members representatives of all the political units of the country.

A number of foreign universities and governments were approached to depute their representatives to attend the Indian History Congress this year so that contacts could be established between the scholars working in the same fields in the different parts of the world, and a real international fellowship of historians could develop. I am glad to report that the response is encouraging. Dr. Philips, Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, has sent us his plans and is eager to establish contacts with various educational institutions in the country. We have written to him that we shall very willingly cooperate with his effort. Though it has not been possible for the universities abroad to send their scholars to participate in our deliberations yet universities like Oxford and London have also extended their fullest cooperation to us and have appointed their delegates to represent them at this session. A number of others have conveyed their greetings and good wishes for the success of the Indian History Congress. I hope such contacts will be practicable in future and

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it will be possible to exchange notes on methods of research in history. We have also received requests for the exchange of our publications from Holland and England.

I have to report with regret once again that it has not been possible to publish any volume of the comprehensive History of India even this year. But happily Volume IX has been completed and the manuscripts of its chapters have been revised and edited by the editor concerned. Now it will be possible to send it to the press at the beginning of 1948. Volume V is also almost ready as all the chapters except 3 have been received and the editor is busy editing them, I expect the remaining chapters also shortly. It may be hoped that this volume will also be sent to the press by April 1948. The manuscripts of some other volumes are being received but unfortunately many contributors do not realize the importance of an early production of the volumes and have, in spite of the agreements which have been signed by them, been unable to send their contributions. In the new national set up it is all the more necessary that a comprehensive history of our country should be brought out at an early date. I hope the contributors will realise their responsibility and complete their work soon.

No new donations have been received this year for the scheme of the comprehensive history of India.

Unfortunately the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Presidnt of the Executive Board, has been in a very poor state of health this year which has compelled him to express his inability to continue to guide our work as the President of the Executive Board. The interest which he has taken in the scheme and the support which he has always extended to it have largely helped its materialisation. It will be difficult to replace him. I repeat here once again our sense of gratefulness to him and hope that he will soon recover from his illness and will be able to render effective assistance in the completion of our project.

I have to report with great sorrow the sad death of our first President and founder of the Indian History Congress, Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, whose premature and untimely death has robbed the Indian History Congress of one of its best and effective friends and supporters.

We are grateful to the University of Bombay and the Bombay Historical Society for so kindly inviting us to hold our session in Bombay.

In the end I have to express my most sincere gratitude to Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, President and Dr. Tara Chand and Dr. S. N, Sen, Vice-Presidents, for their unfailing support, guidance, sympathy and inspiration. I have also to thank Dr. P. M. Joshi, the Local Secretary, for his zealous efforts to make the session a success in spite of the numerous difficulties and obstacles.

December 26, 1947.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

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Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting 28th December 1947, Bombay

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The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress was held on 28th December 1947 at 11 A.M. in the Convocation Hall of the Bombay University. The following members were present :—

1. Prof. H. K. Sherwani
2. Prof. G. V. Rao
3. Mr. S. R. Shende
4. Mr. K. H. Kamdar
5. Mr. S. R. Sharma
6. Mr. C. N. Wadia
7. Mr. G. M. Moraes
8. Dr. C. C. Das Gupta
9. Mr. P. Seshadri Sastri
10. Mr. K. Sitaramaiya
11. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya
12. Mr. O. Ramachandraiya
13. Mr. I. B. Patel
14. Mr. Syed Hasan Askari
15. Dr. H. Goetz
16. Dr. J. N. Banerjea
17. Dr. H. D. Sankalia
18. Mr. B. N. Puri
19. Dr. G. C. Mendis
20. Dr. B. P. Majumdar
21. Dr. Nandlal Chatterji
22. Mr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli
23. Dr. V. G. Dighe
24. Mr. K. B. Vyas
25. Mr. M. R. Majumdar
26. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar
27. Mr. P. C. Banerji
28. Mr. R. K. Das Gupta
29. Mr. D. G. Mahajan
30. Dr. Pratul C. Gupta
31. Mr. S. K. Saraswati
32. Mr. S. P. Sen
33. Dr. D. C. Sircar
34. Mr. R V. Poduval
35. Prof. D. V. Potdar
36. Dr. K. K. Datta
37. D. B. C. S. Srinivasachari
38. Dr. R. N. Dandekar
39. Dr. A. S. Altekar
40. Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya
41. Mr, Rup Chandra
42. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar
43. Mr. A. V. Pandya
44. Mr. A. S. Gadre
45. Mr. M. N. Deshpande
46. Mr. H. S. Gupta
47. Dr. M. Rama Roo
48. Mr. Bhagwat Sahai
49. Mr. R. G. Gyani
50. Mr. C. R. Singhal
51. Dr. S. N. Sen
52. Mr. S. R. Tikekar
53. Mr. V. T. Gune
54. Dr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
55. Dr. M. B. Velkar
56. Mr. N. C. Zamindar
57. Dr. Tara Chand
58. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
59. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena
60. Prof. Mohammad Habib (*in the Chair*)

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read by the General Secretary and confirmed.

2. The following resolutions of condolence were moved from the chair and were passed all standing,

(*i*) "That the Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the sad and premature demise of Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the First President of the Indian History Congress and one of its founders and the General Secretary for a number of years, to whose untiring

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efforts and devotion the Indian History Congress owes largely its success."

That the copy of the resolution be sent to Lady Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

(ii) "That the Indian History Congress Association places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. M. H. Krishna, formerly sectional President of a Section and member of the Executive Committee and a historian and archaeologist of eminence."

3. The General Secretary presented the Annual Report for the year 1947 as recommended by the Executive Committee and it was adopted by the House. (Appendix A).

4. The House considered the accounts for the year 1946-47 as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved that the Accounts be adopted. (Appendix B).

5. The Treasurer presented the budget estimates for the year 1948-49 as recommended by the Executive Committee. It was resolved that the budget be passed.

6. The President reported election by the Executive Committee of the following office-bearers and President and Sectional Presidents for the 1948 Session :—

President :	...	Prof. Mohammad Habib
Vice-Presidents :	...	1. Dr. Tara Chand
		2. Dr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
General Secretary :	...	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Joint Secretary :	...	Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar
Treasure :	...	Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena

President and Sectional Presidents for 1948 Session :—

President :	...	Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar.
Sectional Presidents :		
Section I	...	Dr. Nalinaksh Datta, Calcutta University
Section II	...	Dr. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University
Section III	...	Rev. Fr. H. Heras, Bombay
Section IV	...	Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay
Section V	...	Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, Mysore University

7. The House elected the following members to the Executive Committee for the yaar 1948 :—

1. Dr. S. N. Sen
2. Prof. D. V. Potdar
3. Dr. K. K. Datta
4. D. B. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
5. Prof. G. M. Moraes
6. Dr. R. N. Dandekar
7. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya
8. Dr D. C. Sircar
9. Dr. A. S. Altekar
10. Dr. N. L. Chatterji
11. Dr. M. Rama Rao
12. Prof. H. K Sherwani
13. Dr. P. M. Joshi
14. Dr. J. N. Banerji

8. The House considered the venue for the next session of the Indian History Congress and in this connection considered the invitations extended by Baroda Government. Government of Orissa and Universities of Lucknow and Delhi. It was resolved to confirm the decision of the Executive Committee of the year 1946 *viz.* to accept the invitation extended by the University of Delhi. It was further resolved that the Baroda Government, Hon'ble Premier of Orissa and Lucknow University

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be thanked for their kind invitations and be requested to extend their invitation for 1949 and subsequent years.

9. The President reported that the Executive Committee considered a letter from the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru expressing his inability to continue as Chairman of the Executive Board, and reluctantly agreed to accept his resignation. The House adopted the following resolution recommended by the Executive Committee :—

> "That the Indian History Congress places on record its profound sense of gratitude to the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the inestimable services which he has rendered for the accomplishment of the scheme of the Comprehensive History of India as President of the Executive Board and deeply regrets that it has become impossible for him to bear the burden of his work any longer owing to ill-health and wishes for his speedy recovery."

It was further reported to the House that the Executive Committee had requested Dr. Tara Chand to take up the Chairmanship of the Executive Board in place of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and appointed Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad Secretary to the Executive Board in place of Dr. Tara Chand.

10. The House considered the recommendation of the Executive Committee and resolved that the Indian History Congress become a member of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and the President of the Indian History Congress be authorised to nominate its representatives to attend the meeting of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences whenever necessary.

11. The House adopted the following resolution moved from the *Chair* :—

> "That the Indian History Congress Association offers it most sincere felicitations to Dr. Tara Chand on his well deserved appointment as Ambassador of the Indian Union in Afghanistan."

12. The vote of thanks was proposed by Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari to the Reception Committee and Dr. P. M. Joshi Local Secretary, and the Volunteers, and other office-bearers for the excellent arrangements made in connection with the meetings of the Indian History Congress and accommodation of the delegates in the City of Bombay. He also expressed his admiration for the untiring efforts of the volunteers specially the Apte Brothers, who largely contributed to the success of the session by their zeal and devotion to duty, and thanked them on behalf of the Association. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar and others associated themselves with the proposal which was adopted with acclamation.

After a reply by Dr. P. M. Jhosi and Mr. R. G. Gyani on behalf of the Reception Committee and concluding remarks of the President the session concluded.

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

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MINUTES

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held on the 26th of December, 1947 at 5-30 p. m. in the University buildings, Bombay. The following were present :

1. Dewan Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
2. Prof. N. Venkataramanayya
3. Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar
4. Dr. K. K. Datta
5. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
6. Dr. A. L. Srivastava
7. Dr. J. N. Banerjea
8. Dr. S. N. Sen
9. Prof. D. V. Potdar
10. Dr. A. S. Altekar
11. Dr. B. P. Saksena
12. Dr. Tara Chand
13. Dr. P. M. Joshi
14. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
15. Prof. Mohammad Habib (*in the Chair*)

1. The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The Report for the year 1947 was presented by the General Secretary. It was resolved to recommend its adoption to the Business meeting—(Appendix A)

3. The accounts for the year 1946-47 were presented by the Treasurer. It was resolved to recommend their adoption to the Business meeting—(Appendix B.)

4. The Budget estimates for the year 1948-49 were presented by the Treasurer. It was resolved to recommend it for consideration and adoption to the Business meeting—(Appendix C.)

5. The following Office-bearers were elected for 1948:—

President :	...	Prof. Mohammad Habib
Vice-Presidents :	...	1. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
		2. Dr. Tara Chand
General Secretary :	...	Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Joint Secretary :	...	Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar
Treasurer .	...	Dr. B. P. Saksena

6. The following were elected as President and Sectional Presidents for the 11th. Session of the Indian History Congress :—

President :	...	Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar, Poona	
Sectional Presidents	...	Sec. I	Dr. Nalinaksha Datta, Calcutta
		Sec. II	Dr. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta
		Sec. III	Rev. Fr. H. Heras, Bombay
		Sec. IV	Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay
		Sec. V	Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, Mysore.

7. The Committee Considered the invitations extended by Baroda Government, Orissa Government, and Universities of Lucknow and Delhi.

It was resolved to confirm the decision of the Executive Committee of the year 1946, *viz* , to accept the invitation extended by the University of Delhi. It was further resolved that the Baroda Government, Hon'ble Premier of Orissa and Lucknow University be thanked for their kind invitation and be requested to extend their invitation for 1949 and subsequent years.

8. Mr. G. P. Jaiswal and Co., were appointed as auditors to audit the accounts for the year 1947-48.

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9. Items 8 and 9 of the Agenda relating to the publication of Journal and the use of Hindi as medium of the Indian History Congress were postponed.

10. The following Committee was appointed to consider the amendments to the Constitution and it was resolved that the following amendments for which notice had been given should be referred to the Committee consisting of the following :—

Dr. S. N. Sen
Dr. A. S. Altekar
Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Dr. B. P. Saksena
Prof. M, Habib

(*a*) In clause 7 (*b*) (1) substitute "before 1st December of the year in which the session is being held" for "upto date."

(*b*) In clause 19 substitute "making suitable arrangements for" for "the holding of" and delete "and for making suitable arrangements for" after "the Congress."

(*c*) In clause 16 add the following :

"He may appoint a Sectional Secretary who shall maintain a record of proceedings of the sectional meeting and assist the President in the discharge of his duties",

(*d*) In clause 22 substitute "papers along with their summaries shall reach the General Secretary" for "The summaries of papers should reach the Local Secretary" and delete the words "and the papers at least one month" after the words "Two months".

(*e*) In clause 4 substitute "Rs. 250/-" for "Rs. 100",

(*f*) In clause 10 add "considering resolutions proposed for the Business meeting" before (*a*) and renumber the sub-clause.

11. The Committee considered a letter sent by the Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru expressing his inability to continue as Chairman of the Executive Board, and reluctantly agreed to accept his resignation. It recommended to the Indian History Congress Association the adoption of the following resolution :—

"That the Indian History Congress places on record its profound sense of gratitude to the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the inestimable services which he has rendered for the accomplishment of the scheme of the Comprehensive History of India as President of the Executive Board and deeply regrets that it has become impossible for him to bear the burden of his work any longer owing to ill-health and wishes for his speedy recovery.

The Executive Committee requested Dr. Tara Chand to take up the Chairmanship of the Executive Board in place of the Rt, Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and appointed Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad Secretary to the Executive Board in place of Dr. Tara Chand.

12. The Committee considered a letter from the Chairman of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Paris, and resolved that the Indian History Congress become a member of the International

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Committee of Historical Sciences and that the President of the Indian History Congress be authorised to nominate its representatives to attend the meetings of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences whenever necessary.

13. The Committee recommended that the following resolution be moved from the Chair at the Business Committee meeting :

"That the Indian History Congress Association offers its most sincere felicitations to Dr. Tara Chand on his well deserved appointment as Ambassador of the Indian Union in Afghanistan,

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
General Secretary.

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APPENDIX B

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Statement of accounts for the year April 1, 1946 to 31st March 1947, of the Indian History Congress (Congress account No. I.)

Particulars.	Dr.	Cr.
	Rs. a, p.	Rs. p. p.
Opening Balance	...	4,192 14 0
Membership Fee account	...	2,150 0 0
Sale of Proceedings account ...	...	245 14 0
Life Membership Fee account ...	...	500 0 0
Outsanding bills paid	752 12 6	
Imperial Bank account	3,676 3 3	
Audit Expenses account	50 0 0	
Establishment account	452 8 0	
Stationery account	12 0 6	
Printing account	283 9 9	
Postage and Telegrams	190 2 0	
Printing of Proceedings account ...	1,608 12 0	
Bank Commission account	12 2 0	
History of India (Scheme) account ...	...	18 10 6
Miscellaneous account	22 8 0	
Imprest Money to Joint Secretary ...	15 0 0	
Cash Balance with office	32 12 6	
Total ...	7,108 6 6	7,108 6 6

Opening Balance for the next year

Imperial Bank Balance	3,676 3 3
Cash balance with office	32 12 6
Imprest with Joint Secretary ...	15 0 0
Total ...	3,723 15 9
Less History of India Scheme account to be paid	18 10 6
Opening Balance for the next year ...	3,705 5 3

O. P. BHATNAGAR, *Joint Secretary.* BISHESHWAR PRASAD. *General Secretary.* B. P. SAKSENA, *Treasurer.*

Examined with the books certified correct,

(Sd.) G. P. Jaiswal,

Registered Auditors.

APPENDIX C

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Budget Estimate for the year 1948-49.

	Actuals of 1946-47.	Estimate of 1947-48.	Estimates of 1948-49.
INCOME	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Opening Balance	4,192 14 0	3,705 5 3	..
Membership fee	2,150 0 0	2,500 0 0	2,500 0 0
Sale of Proceedings	246 14 0	250 0 0	250 0 0
Life Membership Fee	500 0 0	...	500 0 0
Total ...	7,089 12 0	6,455 5 3	3,250 0 0
EXPENDITURE			
Establishment	452 8 0	500 0 0	400 0 0
Printing of Proceedings	1,608 12 0	1,500 0 0	1,600 0 0
Printing and Stationery	295 10 3	250 0 0	300 0 0
Postage and Telegrams	190 2 0	200 0 0	300 0 0
Audit Expenses	50 0 0	50 0 0	25 0 0
Furniture	...	150 0 0	50 0 0
Bank Commission	12 2 0	20 0 0	25 0 0
Miscellaneous account	22 8 0	100 0 0	100 0 0
Total ...	2,631 10 3	2,770 0 0	2,800 0 0

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Joint Secretary.

O. P. BHATNAGAR,
General Secretary.

B. P. SAKSENA,
Treasurer.

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

List of Members for 1947 (Bombay) Session

Life Members.

1. The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, M. A., LL. D., D. C. L., P. C. Winter Road, Malabar Hills, Bombay.

2. Mr. Jehangir K. Seervai, Warden Road, Bombay.

3. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Department of Politics, Nagpur University.

4. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Department of Anciant History, Banaras Hindu University.

5. Syt. Manibhai Dwivedi, M. A., Research Scholar, Navasari (B. B. & C. I. Ry.).

6. Thakur Batuk Singh, M. B. E., Dy. Financial Adviser, Military Finance, Government of India, South Block, New Delhi.

7. Mr. K. M. Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad Division.

8. Mr. A. B. Pande, History Department, Allahabad Uniter-sity,

9. Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, History Department, Saugor University.

10. Sardar Ganda Singh, M. A., Khalsa College, Amritsar.

11. Mr. I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, Bombay.

12. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, M. A., D. Litt., Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau, C. I.

Ordinary Members.

1. Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Professor of History, Agra University.

2. Mr. Ajit Prasad, M. A., LL. B., Advocate, Ajitashram, Lucknow.

3. Dr. Abdul Haq, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Daryaganj, Delhi.

4. A. Chidambaram Esq., C. I. of Police, 10/98 Venkataswami Road, R. S. Puram, Coimbatore.

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5. Mr. A. V. Pandya, Rajpipla State.

6. Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, The Adyar Library, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

7. Dr. A. C. Banerji, M. A., Ph. D., 2, College Square, Calcutta 12.

8. Prof. A. H. Nizami, Durbar College, Rewa.

9. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, "Usha" 118, Shivaji Park, Bombay.

10. Dr. A. Halim, M. A., Ph. D., Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.,

11. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.

12. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L., Commissioner, Hindu Endowment Board, Cathedral P. O., Madras.

13. Syt. Benudhar Sharma, Historian, Charing P. O., Sibsagar, Assam.

14. Prof. B. P. Mazumdar, Gola Danapur, Bankipur P.O. Patna.

15. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D. Litt., History Department, Allahabad University.

16. Mr. B. R. Kulkarni, Hon. Secretary, Rajwade Sanshodhak Mandal, Dhulia (C. P.).

17. Mr. B. G. Tamaskar, 273, Golbazar, Jubbulpore.

18. Rai Bahadur Chintamani Acharya, M. A., B. L., Advocate, Cuttack (Orrisa).

19. The Curator, Muttra Museum, Muttra.

20. Prof. C. V. Joshi, Raj Daftardar, Baroda.

21. Mr. C. V. Bhide, B. A., B. T., Headmaster, Native High School, Uran, Kolaba District.

22. Dewan Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A., Principal, Raja Doraisingam Memorial College, Sivaganga, S. I.

23. Syt. Baij Nath Puri, M.A., Lecturer, Lucknow University.

24. The Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

25. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D., 2/1, Lovelock Street, Calcutta.

26. Mr. D. G. Mahajan, M. A., C.P. and Berar Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal (Berar).

27. Mr. D. V. Kale, M. A., "Kesari" and "Maratha" Office Poona 2.

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28. Dr. D. C. Sircar, P. 93/94, Manoharpukur Road, Calcutta.

29. Mr. Dimbeshwar Neogi, The Beauty Cot, Jorhat, Assam.

30. Dr. G. Yazdani, M. A., Ph. D., O. B. E., Office of the History of Deccan, Hyderabad Dn.

31. Dr. G. C. Mendis, 26th, 27th Lane, Colombo, Ceylon.

32. Prof. Gurty Venkata Rao, M. A., LL. B., History and Politics Department, Andhra University, Waltair.

33. Dr. G. N. Saletore, 12 Officers' Huts, Sikandara Road, New Delhi.

34. Mr. Govind Chintaman Tambe, Tikekar Road, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

35. Mr. G. R. Singhal, Numismatic Society of India, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

36. Mr. G. S. Dikshit, Professor of History, Fergusson College, Poona 4.

37. Dr. H. Goetz, Ph. D., 'Sitaram,' Race Course Road, Baroda.

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